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THE

# HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

VOLUME II.

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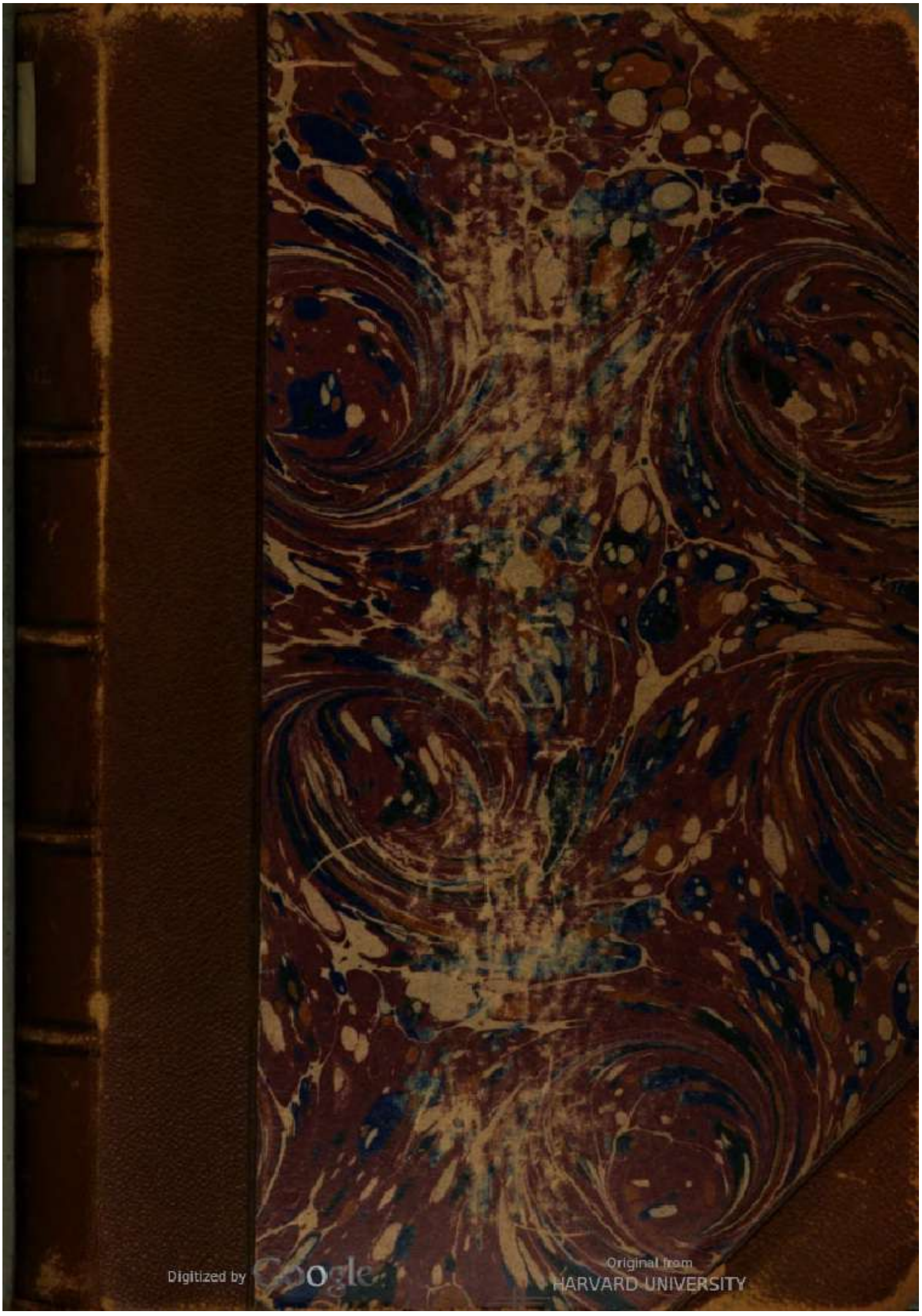
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FROM THE

# REIGN OF D. DINIZ

TO THE

# REIGN OF D. ALFONSO V.

1279–1481.

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# THE

# HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

FROM THE

REIGN OF D. DINIZ

TO THE

REIGN OF D. ALFONSO V

*(COMPILED FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORIES.)*

BY

EDWARD McMURDO.

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VOLUME II.

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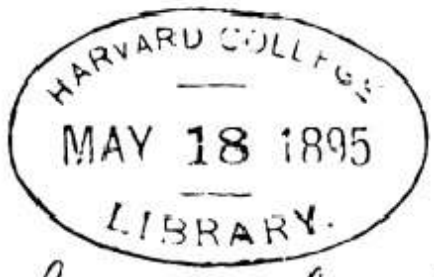


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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## VOLUME II.

## INTRODUCTION.

### THE DAWN OF A GLORIOUS REIGN.

THE Portuguese nation was entering the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and to all appearances its independence had become fully established. The Mussalman hosts had been repulsed far beyond the frontiers; the border lines of Leon and Castille acknowledged and respected its now uncontested autonomy. In the interior, however, the three great powers which ruled the State—the King, the Clergy, and the Nobility—were greatly divided among themselves, and the former strife for predominance was rekindled, dragging down into rival bands nobles and plebeians, and disseminating throughout the whole country nought but intrigues, jealousies, rapine, and perchance ruin.

The Pontificate, which, although already in the decadence as regards the civil power it exercised, was still powerful, and had fulminated over the head of Alfonso III. excommunications, releasing all Portuguese subjects from their duties of loyalty and obedience to the King.

For eleven years had the aged monarch, freed from foreign war, continued, with a tact and perseverance admirable at that epoch, the great civilising work of organising finance, promoting the increase of population, developing agriculture, and, by national works, raised the position of the inferior classes, and strengthened the institution of Councils by admitting them to take a part in the political assemblies of the nation; in a word, he administrated and governed this new and small kingdom in the highest signification of the word—this kingdom which was destined, with its maritime genius, to inscribe one of the most glorious pages in the history of the human race.



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But the social reforms of Alfonso III., as they deeply affected the privileges and extraordinary abuses of the nobility, and more especially of the clergy, brought upon him the odium of the Episcopacy, and raised the pontifical sword over his head, and a fearful storm burst around him.

When the year 1279 commenced, it became impossible, for the preservation of peace and public prosperity, that Alfonso should continue on the throne of Portugal. The monarch found himself surrounded by circumstances almost identical with those of his brother, Sancho II., when he, a simple Infante and Count of Boulogne, assisted by his present enemies, easily drove from the throne the brave soldier, and plucked from him the crown.

But on this occasion nature was more careful of the nation. The King, if not advanced in years, was broken down by trials and sorrows, and, moreover, in ill-health. He perceived, as we have seen in the first volume, that in order to bequeath the sceptre to his son, it was necessary to effect a treaty with his adversaries—to promise and to affirm, and induce and compel Diniz to promise also, and to pledge his word to all they should demand, almost to the point of abdicating royal power at the feet of the Episcopacy. Yet what he considered most important was to preserve to the legitimate heir the crown and the kingship; the rest depended on the future. He had sworn to the Treaty of Paris, yet knew, later on, how to withdraw altogether. Hence he left to his son the crown and a deep lesson.

But whether it was this mental reservation proper to his duplicity of character and shrewdness, or the fear of canonical censures and the terrors of death, which moved Alfonso III. to reconcile himself with the clergy before his death, is a subject which, besides its difficulty to solve, does not belong to us here to examine. The fact was this—that both pledged their obedience to the Roman bulls exacted by the Pontificate, and that three weeks later the monarch expired. The public peace had been re-established, and the crown passed to his first-born without any serious contestation, and even with almost unanimous assent.

None of the systems of government which exist and rule at the present time the civilised world governed Portugal in those days. There existed, by tacit agreement, the general right of an hereditary monarchy, but it was neither absolute nor representative. The government was of a mixed character, in which predominated diverse

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powerful elements. It was theocratic, because all its powers, more or less, were subjected by the national clergy and the great power of the Holy See, to which the kingdom from its foundation had constituted itself tributary—an idea which was declining, but which still existed, and because in the canon right consisted, in many points, the only legislation in vigour, partaking of feudalism, because the *ricos-homens*, the cathedrals, the monasteries, and the military orders divided among themselves a great part of the kingdom, and in their lands exercised plenary jurisdiction, with an almost complete independence of the central power, commenced, although incipiently, to become popular and democratic, by reason of the importance which the municipalities daily acquired, and due also to the growing power of the Cortes, which in a short time assumed a notable importance. It was monarchical and hereditary, because from the Count D. Henry royal power had been transmitted by inheritance to one only individual, whom all acknowledged as the supreme administrative, judiciary, political, and, above all, military chief of the nation.

Royalty enjoyed in itself the glorious traditions of nearly two centuries of victories, during which it always stood at the head of nobles (fidalgos), the popular classes conquering, inch by inch, the territory from the hands of the infidels, and defending it from the ambitious pretensions of Castille and Leon; it was the power anointed and blessed by the Papacy, it constituted the unity of the nation, and represented it before the Cortes and foreign princes. Hence, despite the internal weakness of the royal power, the King was an entity in whom the people of that time, ignorant and semi-barbarian, placed all their hopes, and from whence so much of the future of the kingdom depended.

In order, therefore, to continue the history of the kingdom, it becomes necessary to describe the King himself; both shall be done simultaneously.

D. Diniz was born in Lisbon, on the 9th October, 1261, a city for which, from his earliest infancy, he ever manifested a singular affection. He received the name of Diniz, hitherto unused in any of his predecessors of the monarchy, or even among his parentage, from the fact that he first saw the light on the day when the Catholic Church commemorates the feast of Saint Denis the Areopagite, and Saint Denis the Apostle of Gallias, Bishop of Paris and martyr. Taking the latter saint as his celestial patron, he dedicated to him,

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besides other churches, the sumptuous monastery of Odivellas, which he elected for his sepulchre—characteristic traits of that epoch of ardent religious devotion.

Alfonso III. was a prince enlightened for that age and for the country he belonged to. He had travelled and resided for a length of time in France, a country that in those days rivalled Italy in the first dawn of cultured civilisation; and later on when directing the public affairs of the State, he felt the need of giving the future king a culture both spiritual and scientific. Hence he endeavoured to afford his future heir the highest possible education.

Scarcely had the Infante attained a proper age, than he appointed as his tutor Lourenço Gonçalves Magro, an enlightened, lofty spirit, who possessed in himself the most glorious traditions of the charge, since he was the third grandson of Egas Moniz, the celebrated and legendary tutor of Alfonso Henry. He likewise appointed for the royal pupil Nuno Martins de Chacim, a member of the first nobility, erudite and experienced in the art of governing. He had also as professors, ecclesiastics distinguished in letters, whom Alfonso III. sent for to France, nominating a Portuguese called Domingos Jardo, a student of the celebrated University of Paris, of whom we shall have occasion to speak further on; and Aymeric d'Ebrard, a native of Aquitania, a deep student, and probably a lover of Provençal poetry.*

Such were the preceptors and masters of the Prince who was to govern Portugal for forty-six years, of the only erudite king-lover of letters of the Alfonsine dynasty, of the most illustrious monarch of the few who, among the Portuguese, knew how to unite to the arid and difficult office of governing, the sentiment of the culture and beauty of poetry.

The advantages which the monarch and the nation gathered relatively from this elevated education, besides being proved amply by history, proves likewise to us the nation's gratitude which has preserved the remembrance for ages of the names of the perceptors, and the recognition of their services that Diniz himself manifested to them when he ascended the throne.

---

* D'Ebrard was the son of the Lord of Saint Sulpice in Quercy, and belonged to a noble family of Cahors. He was a great lover of his country, and in it he erected a monastery in the valley of Paradis d'Espagne, where he desired to be buried. "Even to this day," says Fr. Diniz in 1846, "is seen the Church of the Convent and the simple tomb of the preceptor of the Poet-King of Portugal, over whose spirit he exercised so great an influence."

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To the descendant of Egas Moniz he gave the town of Arega, a donation he expressly confirmed later on, when revoking all the donations unofficially made during the first years of his reign. Chacim he appointed as his *Major-domo-mor*, the highest office in the Royal household and in the administration of the kingdom, and later on raised him to *Frontiero-mor* of the best districts or provinces of Portugal. Ebrard was elevated to the important bishopric of Coimbra, and Domingos Jardo to that of Lisbon.

The education of princes ought to be one of the gravest cares of hereditary monarchies, because by their birth they inherit the mission of directing the nations; hence it is indispensable that the refinement of intellectual culture should enable them to discharge that office. It is imperative that knowledge of letters, of history, and a general idea of the sciences, and, above all, love of the country, and of progress and justice, be instilled into them. In a word, it is necessary to instruct, form, and invigorate their character.

Nothing of this was wanting to D. Diniz. In his intelligent and well-disposed nature the sound seed of education germinated as far as the few years during which his education lasted and the rudeness of the times permitted. Behold the reason why he became a notable monarch in the annals of the country. But very quickly, perhaps prematurely, did political circumstances initiate him in the practice of governing.

As it belongs to the history of his father, we shall repeat in passing, that it was in the name of Diniz, when yet in his cradle, that Alfonso III., in order to obtain peace and dominion, although conditionally and limited, of the Algarve, constituted this kingdom with the obligation of assisting Castille with fifty lances in the event of war. The Infante remained, in respect to that portion of his future states, subject to the suzerainship of his maternal grandfather, Alfonso X.

And ere a few years had passed, this treaty of feudal obligation was called into action. The Mussalmans of Spain rose up against Castille, and it was feared that their co-religionists of Africa would make a supreme attempt to succour them and recover their former empire on this side of the Strait.

The Pope aided Alfonso X. with what means he had at command. He allowed him for this holy war one-tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, not only of Leon and Castille, but even of Portugal. In order to avoid contentions, and deliver the kingdom from an invasion of

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collectors of the pontifical imposts, and perchance to deliver himself from the suzerainship of the Algarve, Alfonso III. sent Diniz to the King of Castille with numerous reinforcements by land and sea.

As we said before, the Infante was about four or five years of age. In Seville he was received by his grandfather with all affection, and as the dreaded tempest had become dispelled, and aid was not required, the royal infant manifested such charms, and pleaded with such grace, and his tears were so moving that the grandfather dispensed his grandchild from the fee of fifty lances, and thus the Algarve remained since then fully and exclusively united to the Portuguese nation.

It would be puerile to ascribe the good result of this grave affair to the intelligence of so tender a child, but that he certainly showed an aptitude for governing appears manifested by other acts.

He was little more than sixteen years of age when his father associated him to the administration of the kingdom. All affairs were transacted in the name of the aged monarch, but it was the Infante who effected the general business with the Ministers of State, and who presided at the resolutions of affairs.

To enable him to be surrounded with greater splendour, and perchance, as some suppose, in order to further develope his superior education, Alfonso III. on the 20th June, 1278, assigned to him a separate palace for his residence, and constituted a numerous court of dignitaries and servitors, chosen among the noblest fidalgos of the kingdom, and allowed him, besides properties and endowments, a rental of forty thousand pounds per annum. Soon after this event the Infante departed from Lisbon to visit the kingdom and manifest himself to the people.

These facts, exceptional as regards the heir to the throne, nevertheless had a great aim in the deep, far-seeing spirit of Alfonso III. He was ambitious of power, not alone for himself, but also for his direct posterity. He had gained the crown at a great price, and had enlarged it at the cost of many vexations and labours; and at the approach of death he felt it totter on his brow, and foresaw the possibility that his beloved son might lose it also. As we have seen, this very power he had wrenched seemed now to be slipping from him.

Stricken down by sickness, for years he had been on the bed of suffering, and for political convenience he exaggerated the evil in order to deceive his adversaries.

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D. Diniz possessed a precocious intellect, affable, and courteous, and he had as yet no evil adversaries. Hence Alfonso was educating him to wield the glorious, yet difficult inheritance he was bequeathing to him, by laying a part of the affairs of government on his shoulders, since he was no longer able to support the whole weight; and, above all, accustom the Portuguese to consider his eldest son their future king by right, and actually accept him as such, thus destroying all possible reluctance, and smoothing, with the amiable candour of the Infante, the odiums and oppositions of his personal adversaries—all these reasons were ruling the heart of the father, and acting on his spirit as an ambitious king, and almost the founder of the collateral dynasty. In all public documents Alfonso III. declared D. Diniz his eldest son and heir to the throne, a fact which had not previously been done with any Infante. In order to further this scheme, both father and son pledged oaths of obedience to the exigencies of the Church, thus entering into a treaty of peace with their obstinate adversaries.

By this act the aged but shrewd monarch dispelled from over the head of his successor the fearful storm which, during his latter days, had hovered and swept around the couch of his terrible sufferings and death agony.

Alfonso III. died on 16th February, 1279. On that same day D. Diniz, who scarcely numbered eighteen summers, was proclaimed, with all the traditional solemnities of the act, King of Portugal.

It was the day-dawn of youth lifting up the dark shadows of the past which surrounded the iron crown of Alfonso Henry, and was the presage to the country of the inauguration of a long period of peace and civilisation.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE FIRST.

1279—1325.

### THE REIGN OF D. DINIZ.

**First acts of the new Government—Marriage of D. Diniz—Discords arise with his brother—Relations of Portugal with Castille during the reigns of Alfonso X. and Sancho the Brave—Position of the Church in regard to the civil power—First and second Concordats—Public instruction—Foundation of the University—Literature—Last two Concordats—Relations between Portugal and Castille during the minority of Ferdinand IV.—The sons of the Infante D. Alfonso are rendered legitimate—Treaty of Alcanizes—Relations with Castille and Aragon—The nobility—Orders of chivalry—The Templars—The Order of Christ—Santiago—The administration—Population—State of agriculture—Mining—Commerce—Various industries—The navy—Civil war—Death of D. Diniz—Syntheses.**

The solicitude manifested by Alfonso III. to consolidate the throne for his son, D. Diniz, was fully justified by the events which followed. The aged monarch had, for the time being, overcome the obstacles by the means already mentioned, and was, moreover, assisted by the fact that, happily, there did not exist any individual in the kingdom of sufficient importance or power to come forward to contend with the youthful king.

At first, it is true, the acclamation of D. Diniz as king gave rise to some murmurs, but these were so weak and unimportant that they did not check the course of public affairs. It was said that in France there lived a son of Alfonso III. by his first consort, Mathilde of Boulogne, called Robert. It was also affirmed that in Portugal there actually existed another son, called Alfonso Diniz, and that both were legitimate sons of the deceased king, and older than the Infante who had been elevated to the throne, and therefore to them the crown belonged.

Time and the investigation of the question dispelled these reports. Count Robert, who succeeded to the State of Boulogne, was the son of

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an aunt of Mathilde, and therefore a cousin, and not her son, since she had no children by Alfonso III., and Robert had received the countship through collateral succession. Alfonso Diniz was a natural son of the late king, and not legitimate, and he acknowledged his inferior position by always preserving a submissive friendship with his reigning brother. A more serious opposition was offered later, as we shall see further in our history, by the Infante D. Alfonso, the second son of the Queen D. Beatriz. But at the time he was barely sixteen years of age, and, unlike his brother, was not dowered with premature gifts of intelligence; hence his pretended rights to the crown did not meet with a response from the country during the first days of the new reign. Nevertheless, the precaution was taken of confirming, by consulting the jurisconsults and judges of canon law, the right of succession of D. Diniz. But this was useless, because he had in his favour the supreme political reason of all times—the possession by general assent, tacit wishes, almost unanimous, of the nation; therefore the king was able from the beginning to enter into the exercise of royal power, and administrate the affairs of the kingdom.

At the time all grave affairs of State were decided in the Curia, or Junta of ministers, prelates, ricos-homens, residents in the capital, all these usually signing the more important documents.

D. Diniz, taking in hand the reins of government, accepted with but few modifications the ministers and dignitaries of the court of the king his father. History has preserved their names—viz., the Bishop of Evora, D. Durão Päes, who was Prebendary of the See of Seville, and had become illustrious in Castille, and served for a length of time as priest of Alfonso III. in the discharge of public affairs; D. João d'Aboim, a great privy minister of the deceased king, one of the most wealthy fidalgos of the kingdom, founder of the town of Portel, and much esteemed in the court as poet and *trovodor;* Fr. Affonso Pires Farinha, Prior of the Hospitallers, a great traveller and well versed in the science of governing.

During the first epochs of his reign, owing to his youth and inexperience, and probably, as the chroniclers assert, because he was over-liberal, his mother, the Queen D. Beatriz, assisted either personally or represented by her lieutenant, Ruy Gomes, at the councils of government. In her name and that of the King were sent out ordinances, and both signed public acts. The Queen exercised a species of tutorship in regard to her son, or at least took a part in the

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government, which was justifiable owing to the youth of the King. But the young King did not long allow this, either from jealousy and impatience of governing alone, or because the spirit of the Queen yielded overmuch towards the policy of her father Alfonso of Castille, to the prejudice of the country, but within a few short months he freed himself of this species of co-governing by taking advantage of the first pretext which arose to withdraw the Queen, and himself departed for the provinces with his ministers to administrate justice to the country, leaving his mother alone in Lisbon. As a fact, we find him on the twenty-fifth of April of the same year that he ascended the throne in Evora, occupied without D. Beatriz in affairs of the State.

The assertions of many writers appear to us to be true and natural when they state that D. Beatriz was offended and grieved at her exclusion from public affairs; but it is nevertheless a doubtful fact that the King of Castille endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between his daughter and the Prince. Duarte Nunes of Leon affirms this when narrating the coming of the Castillian to Badajoz to beseech D. Diniz to proceed to Elvas to meet him on the frontier, and adds that the Portuguese monarch acceded to the first part of his demands. He received at Elvas the Infantes of Castille, Manuel the brother of the King, Sancho the heir of the throne, and his brothers Pedro and Jayme; that D. Diniz kept his uncles three days, and then dismissed them, saying that he would soon follow to see the King. The aged Alfonso awaited the arrival of his grandson with great trepidation when he was informed that he had departed from Elvas to proceed to the interior of the kingdom, thinking it a lesser grievance to avoid the conference than to refuse the petition of his grandfather. The Castillian did not insist, seeing that D. Diniz had acted with such deliberate intention, and he returned to Seville disappointed and grieved.

Ruy de Pina omits all the incident of the assistance given by the Queen in the government of the country, while Fr. Brandão admitted, or rather, if not confirming the first part, doubts the second, of the interference of the King of Castille, while alleging facts which do not altogether refute them. We cannot at the present day evidence the event, but documents prove as a certain fact the appearance of the Queen at public government, and it is probable that in order that she should continue doing so, the King of Castille may have endeavoured to use his influence. These interventions of States in the exclusive affairs of each other was the rule of that epoch, and to Alfonso X.,

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whose predominance throughout the Peninsula was acknowledged, this spirit of rude scheming so artfully manifested by a youth ere he had scarcely ascended the throne must have deeply wounded him; moreover, it was of great moment to the King of Castille, as facts will shortly prove, to have in Portugal a secure aid for his policy, and this pledge only rested in the filial affection of Beatriz of Guilhen, whom, from an illegitimate cradle, he had raised to the throne. It appears to us, therefore, most probable that he should employ every effort and means to effect this, and it is certain, however, that he did not succeed, and that the Queen D. Beatriz, although she later on withdrew to Castille, nevertheless was completely removed from the government of the State.

Fortunately, these misunderstandings between mother and son were maintained within prudent reserve, and no public perturbation took place, nor was there any rupture in their outward affectionate behaviour, D. Diniz ever manifesting to the Queen the filial homage due to her, and favouring her *protégés* by valuable honours. We see that in October, 1279, the King made a donation of the patronage of the Church of Aurega to the See of Tuy, whose bishop was D. Fernando Arcas, a favourite of the Queen, and assigning as a motive for so doing the services which this prelate had rendered him and his mother: *Pro multo servicio quod mihi et D. Beatrici matri mea impendit.*

The exclusion of D. Beatriz from the administration of public affairs and from the councils of the King did not, however, sever the traditions and the beneficent influence of the wise government of D. Alfonso III. Notwithstanding that in external policy D. Diniz followed a diverse path from that of his father, since he was more prudent than he, more elevated and fortunate; in all respecting the internal administration of the kingdom, the son trod almost faithfully in the footsteps of his progenitor, and the differences which we find very extensive between the two reigns proceed principally from the diversity of times, from the higher intellectual culture of the country, and, above all, from the King himself, and not from any change of fundamental principles in the policy and direction of public affairs. These were maintained in almost the same state for many long years. This state of affairs was mainly due to the fact that the above-mentioned ministers, Durando Paes, João d'Aboim, and the Prior of the Hospital were of the party of the widowed Queen, had been

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ardent helpers in the work of Alfonso III., and they ever remained firm adherents to his system of policy and government.

Hence the first acts of D. Diniz were directed towards maintaining the peace made with the clergy which Alfonso had initiated. The lengthened strife between the State and the Church, which had commenced with the early days of the monarchy, and had so perturbed the country, grieved all its monarchs, dethroned Sancho II., and embittered the last days of Alfonso III., was about to enter a new phase, and assume a character altogether different. Commencing by the triumphant ovation of the Church, it terminated by the decisive victory of the civil power in the laws of mortmain, which Diniz alone could turn into a reality with the royal *placet* established by Peter the Severe.

At first it was thought to carry out the fulfilment of the bulls of the Curia, since obedience had been pledged, to summon the exiled Portuguese prelates in Rome to the kingdom, to satisfy the cathedrals and monasteries with favours and promises, to entrust these high ecclesiastical dignitaries in union with the representatives of the State, to work out and establish a good understanding with the country, at the time when all seemed in good faith to desire it. Later on the general administration of the kingdom was attended to, which, owing to the ecclesiastical perturbations between Church and State, had been somewhat neglected.

In those days it was not the practice, as it became later on, for the monarchs of Portugal to establish any one important city as their particular residence, and from thence legislate the country. On the contrary, they would travel from town to town, administrating personally justice among the people, and examining for themselves all public wants and grievances, redressing evils, and applying a direct remedy to them.

In order to carry out this truly great service, there was in Portugal, as throughout Spain, an especial tribute, paid by lands either in kind or coin, for the maintenance of the monarch and his suite. This tribute or tax was styled *jantar d'el rei* (the King's dinner).*

* *Jantar d'el rei.* When kings undertook these journeys, each town gave them the cost of the sustenance of the suite that accompanied them. This was, however, only when they visited these towns to administer justice to the inhabitants, and it was only in that case that the tribute was paid, called the *King's dinner.* In the *Torre do Tombo*, in Lisbon, there exists a book wherein

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This system of administration was continued until the multiplied affairs of navigation and conquests beyond seas, the enervation of court customs, and the usages of material comforts induced the establishment of the seat of government in Lisbon, and for princes not to quit it except on special occasions.

As we said, Alfonso III., in his latter years, discontinued this former salutary practice, and remained for a long time in Lisbon, and left it but once to attend the Session of the Cortes in Santarem. D. Diniz, however, as soon as he took part in the administration of the kingdom with his father, commenced his visitation of the provinces, and renewed them nearly every year with singular perseverance until his death.

On the previous year he had visited the north of the kingdom, which, being more populous and wealthy, was better suited for the scheme of the paternal policy. After being acclaimed King, and ere the earliest signs of spring had appeared, he departed for Alemtejo, a province which became the objective predilection of his great activity. He visited nearly all the towns of that vast district, residing for whole weeks in the most important ones, receiving affably the people, and judging with his ministers and councillors the suits of appeals, dispensing favours and acquiring practical and prudent notions for the long administration he was inaugurating. As the first result of his labours he confirmed on 25th April to the inhabitants of the town of Alcaçovas the rights which had been given in 1259 by the Bishop of Evora, D. Martinho, and the Cathedral Chapter, and continued the

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are taxed the *jantares* of all cities, towns, monasteries, chapters, and military orders. That these tributes were to be paid on occasions when kings proceeded to administer the law, is declared by our King D. Diniz in one of the manifestoes published by him against his son, the Infante D. Alfonso, when the latter rose against him, and usurped this tribute. "This being," says the King, "only exacted for the dinner of the King when he passes through his lands to do justice."

This was also a general custom at that time among the kings of Spain, and we see it practised in Castille in the same form. The King Alfonso the Wise in the year 1283 gave to the Portuguese Queen, D. Brites, his daughter, the towns Serpa, Moura, Noudar, and Mourão, and reserved for himself the *jantar* of them. In privilege of the city of Segovia, which Diogo de Colmenares transcribed in his history of this city, the King D. Alfonso removed many impositions and reserved the *jantar* they gave him. The inhabitants of Palencia greatly marvelled that the Infante Don Juan, his son, when he pretended to the succession of the kingdom, should demand 1,000 *maravedis* as *jantar*, when the Cortes of Valladolid had assessed only 30 to the King. Hence the *jantar* was among us a certain imposition of maintenance for the house and person of the King when he distributed justice throughout the kingdom.

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predilection of his father for this healthy and fertile town, whose seigniority the cunning monarch, by an arbitrary sentence, had acquired for the Crown, and traced out rampart walls, designing to raise a royal palace within its ancient castle.

During the summer D. Diniz departed from Alemtejo, and proceeded to the Beiras, where he remained some months, employing his time in vigilant attention to affairs, leaving everywhere traces of his goodwill and justice, assigning to agriculturists, whenever he could do so, the uncultivated lands belonging to the Crown, confirming the rights and privileges of the councils, and repairing ramparts and castles. He quitted Coimbra at the beginning of November, remained a few days at Leiria with his mother, the Queen; then went to Santarem for Christmas, and returned to Lisbon. Scarcely had the summer of 1280 commenced than his active character induced him to visit the remainder of the kingdom, which he had not yet visited after his accession to the throne. D. Diniz, when visiting the north, manifested himself even more solicitous, liberal, and provident than he had been to the south; experience and practice appeared to be invigorating and perfecting his governing faculties. He continued in the north until the end of the autumn, and when he terminated the general visitation of the kingdom, the new monarch had captivated the almost unanimous sympathies of the nation. Nobles and clergy praised his courtesy, his instruction and liberality, the people his prudence, justice, and thoughtfulness in all public affairs.

The popularity which continued throughout his life had been laid, and the renown of his name among the people subsisted for ages.

However, amid all these excellent dispositions for governing, which had been so prematurely developed, other natural qualities began to be noticed in Diniz, which were a source of anxiety to his august mother, the ministers and councillors, and in truth which later on gave rise to serious perturbations that tore up the kingdom, and embittered the last years of the monarch's life. Diniz was gifted with a vivid, ardent character that not only inspired a taste for poetry and love of the beautiful, but also impelled him to be dominated by amorous and sensual passions. In order to avoid any scandals, and secure a direct heir to the throne, the Queen D. Beatriz, the ministers, the prelates, and nobility urged him to seek a consort.

Among the princesses of the various courts of Europe there was one greatly distinguished by beauty, proverbial virtue, and modesty, in

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the person of D. Isabel, the dearly loved daughter of Pedro III., King of Aragon, and of D. Constancia of Naples, daughter of Manfred, King of the Two Sicilies, and granddaughter of Frederick, Emperor of Germany. Besides the virtues and rank of this princess, policy indicated her as the most appropriate wife for the youthful King, because although close blood relationship united the Portuguese royal family to that of Castille, nevertheless this country was a neighbour that in those epochs of warfare and revolution it was convenient to guard against by strengthening national elements of defence by foreign alliances to counterbalance and keep down its power. The kingdom of Aragon being extensive, formed a part of the Spanish peninsula, and being a border province of Castille, had identical interests with Portugal, and it was likewise expedient for her to form an alliance with Portugal. These and such-like reasons, which in those times constantly existed, and were always considered by all Governments, assumed at the moment a more imperative character on account of the divisions that existed in Castille between Alfonso X. and his son Sancho, which threatened to involve other States of the Peninsula, and the secret designs that occupied the spirit of the Aragonese monarch.

Hence, in view of existing circumstances, D. Isabel was chosen for D. Diniz, and so early as the year 1280 the Portuguese Court sent to Aragon three of the principal nobles, to request the hand of the Infanta and arrange the marriage.

Ancient writers, unanimous panegyrists of this princess, tell us that, besides other pretenders to her hand refused by her father, who did not wish to separate himself from her charms and graces, she was solicited at that juncture by the heirs of the crowns of France and England, and that Constantine, the Emperor of the East, sent, although too late, an ambassador to Aragon, to ask her hand for his eldest son. It is a fact, however, that the Aragonese king, although grieving to part from his daughter, did not offer any difficulties when bestowing his daughter in marriage to D. Diniz. His future son-in-law was already a reigning prince; he had commenced his reign under happy auguries, and he stood at the head of a nation with whom it was his interest to favour an alliance. Pedro was a prudent, far-seeing character and a daring spirit, and he already sighed ardently to possess the crown of Sicily, which he, later on, so successfully conquered; therefore it was indispensable to his scheme, in order to carry out this perilous undertaking, to possess the

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friendship of all the Spanish monarchs who surrounded Aragon. Besides this, by the marriage contract he was not obliged to dower his daughter, but, on the contrary, she was to receive from her husband rich gifts.

Fr. Francisco Brandão says that, in the documents relating to this marriage, he did not find any clause which mentioned a dowry given to the Queen D. Isabel; and it was discovered that she had brought none in the time of Alfonso IV., when the union was projected between his daughter D. Leonor and the King of Aragon, D. Pedro.

The dowry, however, was proved by authentic documents. We transcribe an epitome of the first, which affords us a clear idea of the royal donations so frequent at that age, and runs as follows:—

"Let it be known to all that Diniz, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and the Algarve, dowers and confers, *propter nuptias*, to you, Dona Isabel, daughter of the illustrious King Dom Pedro, by the grace of God, King of Aragon, and of the Queen D. Constancia, whom we receive to wife, in conformity to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, these our towns, to wit—Obidos, Abrantes, and Oporto of Moz. These towns we desire and concede to be held by you, and possess all revenues and profits for all your life, whether in our company or apart, or whether we have issue or not. And as a security of your possession of these aforesaid towns, with all rights and dues, we deliver this present letter, and we confess to hold them from this time forward in your name, and we desire that all fruits derived from them from this day forward should belong to you, &c. . . . And we pledge in good faith and declare on the four Holy Gospels that we make this donation freely, and that we have the power to do so as above declared. We reserve, however, the presentation of judges and churches, and concede to you, to place in the Almoxarifes, procurators and officers as may be required in those places, and as is the custom of our kingdom. But for a greater security and strength of the aforesaid bequest, we assign as dowry to you, Dona Isabel, our best twelve castles, according to the usages of Portugal hitherto observed. Their names are as follows: Villa-viçosa, Montforte, Sintra, Ourem, Feira, Gaya, Lamosis, Anofrica, Santo Estevão de Chaves, Montforte do rio livre, Portel, and Monte-alegre. And those who hold these various castles to offer homage to us and to you, in order that, according to the custom of Portugal, they should obey you in the defence of your rights, as is the usage in Portugal as regards castles.



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"Given in Vide, on the twenty-fourth of April, by command of the King. 1319."

But this important donation appeared to the King to be small, since it was restricted to the lifetime of the Queen, and on that same day he gave her, with the privilege of willing it, £10,000, which could be drawn after her death from revenues of the bestowed towns.

On the 11th February, 1282, the marriage was solemnised by procuration in Barcelona. The Queen was conducted by her own people, with great solemnity, to Braganza, on the border of Portugal, where the brother of the King, D. Alfonso, awaited her, with many prelates and nobles, and from thence conducted her to Trancoso. On beholding his youthful bride, D. Diniz bestowed upon her a further donation of this town of "Trancoso, with all its villages, *termos*, and belongings, and all rents, exports, fruits, and profits." This decree of donation bears date 26th June, 1320.

The wedding was celebrated, the royal couple receiving the nuptial blessing in August, 1282, in those same fruitful lands, amid sumptuous feasts and the most lively demonstrations of joy. All that was noble and opulent hastened to attend, and around the circular rampart walls of the town were erected buildings and tents to house the multitudes that flocked in such numbers that it really seemed as though around Trancoso had suddenly arisen a populous city of varied and singular aspect.

This marriage merits an especial mention, because the diplomacy of the time held the unions of princes as the principal means of action; and this particular union was considered politically of great advantage, since it brought a Queen to Portugal who, on several occasions, was able to prevent torrents of Portuguese blood from flowing during civic strifes.

In these rude ages of violent ambitions, characterised by the elevated classes in individualities and deep selfishness, the bonds of the most intimate blood relationship and tenderest family ties were but weak barriers to the fierceness of covetous passions. Among reigning houses, most especially, contentions between parents and sons and brothers became general, and of daily occurrence and interminable. On expelling the Moors, and the prize conquered, they disputed the possession one with another, and to tear it up became the almost exclusive occupation of princes and kings. The narrative of these internecine family strifes constitutes the political history of Christian

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States up to the fourteenth century throughout the whole of the Peninsula. This fact, repugnant and sanguinary, was common in Portugal as in the rest of Spain, and forms the dark part of the otherwise splendid reign of D. Diniz.

The events, simple in themselves, with which we open the narrative of the present volume possess an importance, as they form the preludes of an inglorious unfraternal strife which for years was fought between the two eldest sons of the Count of Boulogne.

In the year 1281 the Infante D. Alfonso attained his eighteenth year. His father in 1270, some years previous to his death, had largely endowed him with the towns of Portalegre, Marvão, Arroches, and Vide—the three first were very important on account of their population, agricultural wealth, and fortifications. The Infante in his fourteenth year wedded D. Violante, daughter of D. Manuel, brother to Alfonso X., King of Castille and Leon, and this marriage united him to the most powerful and noblest houses of the neighbouring kingdoms, and he commenced to manifest to them his restless proud character.

These circumstances, which would alone render him a troublesome neighbour to any monarchy, were aggravated by his pretensions to the crown, whose supposed right he enunciated everywhere without reserve.

D. Diniz was the issue of the second nuptials of Alfonso III. while D. Mathilde his first wife was still living, and the second marriage had not yet been legitimized by the Pontifical powers. The birth of D. Diniz took place after the death of the Countess of Boulogne, and some days subsequent to the arrival of the bull of legitimation to Portugal.

D. Alfonso, taking these facts as his plea, accused the King, his brother, of being an illegitimate son, and therefore unfit to succeed to the throne, advancing that it rightly belonged to him, since he was an elder son and legitimate.

It was objected that the Pope's bull expressedly pronounced all children of Alfonso III. legitimate who were born by D. Beatriz de Guilhen, hence D. Diniz, who was born after the receiving of the bull, and should the date of legitimation commence only with the issue of the bull, he, the Infante, could not be legitimate, since his birth took place long before the date of the bull. But notwithstanding these arguments, conclusive as regards the Canons of Jurisprudence, which in those days

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ruled the affair, the Infante insisted in affirming loudly his pretended rights.

To a king of those times, young and ardent as was D. Diniz, nothing else was wanting to warrant acts of violence and authority; nevertheless, as far as things went, it did not exceed words, and the successor to Alfonso III. was able to repress himself within bounds. Towards the latter days of the winter of 1281, it came to his knowledge that his brother was turning Vide into a theatre of war, opening moats and surrounding the town with rampart walls. Vide was a town on the extreme of the Alemtejo, which then belonged to the territory of Marvão, and up to that time was an open place, solely defended by a small tower.

Diniz became agitated on learning this, and wrath rose up within him, as he saw in this act—perchance an indifferent one in the Infante, who only wished to fortify his lands—a proof of veritable rebellion. He at once summoned all his subjects, the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, the contingents which the cities and towns were bound to send, Lisbon being the city which furnished the greater number; and at the beginning of April he departed from Santarem with a large force, determined upon reducing his brother by force of arms to obedience. But the Infante D. Alfonso, on being advised, retired from Portugal to Seville, leaving the path open to him, offering no resistance, and allowing him to enter freely into Vide. There was no spilling of blood on this occasion, but discord was declared between the two brothers.

It was about this time that, fortunately, the two ambassadors of Pedro III. of Aragon arrived in Portugal to ratify the treaty of marriage with D. Diniz. These ambassadors were persons of note—one was a dignitary of the See of Tarragona, the other an admiral related to the Queen D. Constancia, and favourite of the Aragonese monarch. These personages represented to the King the inexpedience of manifesting hostilities against a brother whose disobedience was not proved, at a moment when an alliance was in treaty, and a matrimonial union was being arranged which all desired should be prosperous and happy. It also appears that Sancho of Castille, son of Alfonso the Wise, had likewise interceded for the Infante. With such influential mediators, in a short time a reconciliation was effected between the two brothers.

The Infante pledged himself to demolish, within a fixed period, what had been newly erected on the tower and walls of Vide, and to be

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knighted at the hands of D. Diniz, thus constituting himself *his vassal* for life, excepting in the event of acquiring a foreign kingdom or county, and even for its acceptance it would be necessary to have the royal permission. In compensation, Diniz increased his income by adding £35,000 annually, part payable in coin, another in land revenues, and a third in cloth. A fine of £50,000 was imposed upon whichever should violate the treaty, which was duly celebrated and signed in Estremoz, on the 11th February, 1282.

Thus terminated the first discords between the two disputant sons of Alfonso III., only to burst out later on more violently, and be sealed with Portuguese blood. But at that moment harmony appeared completely established; the Infante took his position at the court, and a few months later, as we have seen, he went to Braganza to await the youthful Queen, and accompany her to Trancoso.

Yet at the marriage feasts one of the most important individuals of the royal family was absent—the Queen-mother D. Beatriz—because an affair very different from the wedding of her son was lacerating her heart and inducing many anxieties. Her father, Alfonso X. of Castille, was labouring under a painful and difficult position. He, a potentate who for long years had won the goodwill, and even the admiration of the European princes, beheld himself forsaken and distrusted by all. This king of vast and numerous states was now reduced almost to the one province of Andalucia, or rather to scarcely more than the city of Seville. He, the parent of a numerous family, beheld all his sons ranged in armed rebellion, to expel him from the throne and wrest from him the kingdom.

It was a just punishment for the preference and inhumanity with which to one—the very one who most warred against him—he sacrificed the right and life of other princes, his relatives. D. Fernando de la Cerda, the eldest, had died, leaving two sons still in the cradle, the elder being the heir to the throne. However, Alfonso, desirous of acceding to the pleadings of his son Sancho, who greatly distinguished himself for activity and bravery during the wars against the Infidels, induced the Cortes of Segovia in 1276 to acknowledge him the successor and heir to the throne. The despoiled Infantes, his grandchildren, found protection with the grandfather, who, with them, had taken refuge in Aragon, fearing some violence. The monarch supposed that this flight, which might so greatly foil his designs, was done under the protection of his brother D. Fradique and Simão Ruiz,

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the Lord of Cameros; and therefore bade Sancho take them prisoners and slay them.

The future King hastened to execute the order, and, without instituting any trial, he had his uncle drowned in Treviño, and Simão Ruiz burnt to death in Logroño.

To these cruel acts, which left a long and sanguinary memory, he added later on such a series of misguided acts that this monarch, surnamed the Wise, completely alienated the goodwill of the people, the nobles, and his own children, in such a manner that when, in the Cortes of Seville of 1280 he attempted to indemnify his grandchildren, bestowing to the elder the kingdom of Jaen, Sancho opposed him rudely, and inciting against him nearly all the nation, and was able, in the following year, to induce D. Manuel, the son of the aged Alfonso, confirmed by the Cortes which he convened in Valladolid, to deprive his father of the royal authority, be deposed from the throne, and the government delivered to himself, the Infante, with the title of King.

Meanwhile Sancho confederated with the Moorish King of Granada, and proposed to his uncle, D. Pedro de Aragon, to abstain from the contention, because, as we said before, the Aragonese King desired, at all hazards, to have allies in Spain, and he was always partial to his nephew; hence he easily acceded to unite himself to D. Diniz, because, as the chronicles say, it appeared to the Portuguese Prince far more advantageous a policy to join the uncle, who was youthful and likely to live for years, than to the grandfather, who, at his old age, could not long exist.

But the affectionate filial devotion of the Queen, D. Beatriz, did not assent to this contingency. Seeing that she could not move the son to assist his father, she determined to aid him with her own means and vassals, and share personally his misfortunes.

To this policy, somewhat double, D. Diniz did not attempt any opposition. War was uncertain; and it did not suit him to entirely indispose himself with any of the contenders.

The Queen collected together all the money she was able, and even sold part of her jewels; then summoned the nobles of her party and dependants, and those who were at enmity with the King; raised troops in the towns belonging to her, and in order to dispose them in her favour she confirmed former rights and privileges, and also bestowed new ones.

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In this way she collected together some hundreds of good lances and soldiers. At the head of these was distinguished D. Vasco Martins Pimentel, a brave *fidalgo*, or chief officer of the whole kingdom, who supplied at his expense 250 horsemen, and who perished in these inglorious strifes of Castille; and also Martins Vasques da Cunha, the adventurous Alcaide of the Castle of Celorico de Basto, who likewise distinguished himself.

But whether the difficulties which surrounded the aged monarch of Castille were great, or else in order to disguise the effect which the expedition might occasion, so much at variance with the usual official proceedings of the King—but it appears D. Beatriz sent these forces to Seville in proportion as they became organised.

The aged monarch assembled in the public square the Royal Council, the Court, and people of Seville, and ascending a platform erected for the occasion, read the decree which deprived Sancho of the succession to the throne and crown, explaining his motive for this resolution, and moreover invoked over the head of his son the curse of God as being an impious rebel, a parricide, and disloyal.

Alfonso solicited aid from Pope Martin IV., who at once sent a brief ordering the prelates, barons, and councils of the kingdon to submit to the aged king, and enjoining the monarchs of England and France to assist him also. But the commands, the pleadings, and the pontifical anathemas did not produce any effect. Sancho decreed pain of death against all bearers of pontifical letters, and appealed to God, to the future pope, and to the first council which should be celebrated.

D. Alfonso was reduced to the last extremity, his followers were becoming few, and his means were exhausted. In vain did he beseech the aid of all the Christian princes; not one stretched out a protecting hand. He then had recourse to a singular and strange means. He sent his crown to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco in order to raise money upon it for necessary things. The Mussalman behaved generously; he sent him sixty thousand *doubras* of gold, and offered to proceed personally to aid him to recover his kingdom. He accepted the offer, and an army of Moors crossed the Strait. And the two princes, father and son, each joined the infidel monarch to prosecute the campaign against the other.

We must, however, in truth state that in this parricidal and impious war, Sancho did not manifest his usual activity, and he always avoided to meet his father in open contest against him. This system,

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the Lord of Cameros; and therefore bade Sancho take them prisoners and slay them.

The future King hastened to execute the order, and, without instituting any trial, he had his uncle drowned in Treviño, and Simão Ruiz burnt to death in Logroño.

To these cruel acts, which left a long and sanguinary memory, he added later on such a series of misguided acts that this monarch, surnamed the Wise, completely alienated the goodwill of the people, the nobles, and his own children, in such a manner that when, in the Cortes of Seville of 1280 he attempted to indemnify his grandchildren, bestowing to the elder the kingdom of Jaen, Sancho opposed him rudely, and inciting against him nearly all the nation, and was able, in the following year, to induce D. Manuel, the son of the aged Alfonso, confirmed by the Cortes which he convened in Valladolid, to deprive his father of the royal authority, be deposed from the throne, and the government delivered to himself, the Infante, with the title of King.

Meanwhile Sancho confederated with the Moorish King of Granada, and proposed to his uncle, D. Pedro de Aragon, to abstain from the contention, because, as we said before, the Aragonese King desired, at all hazards, to have allies in Spain, and he was always partial to his nephew; hence he easily acceded to unite himself to D. Diniz, because, as the chronicles say, it appeared to the Portuguese Prince far more advantageous a policy to join the uncle, who was youthful and likely to live for years, than to the grandfather, who, at his old age, could not long exist.

But the affectionate filial devotion of the Queen, D. Beatriz, did not assent to this contingency. Seeing that she could not move the son to assist his father, she determined to aid him with her own means and vassals, and share personally his misfortunes.

To this policy, somewhat double, D. Diniz did not attempt any opposition. War was uncertain; and it did not suit him to entirely indispose himself with any of the contenders.

The Queen collected together all the money she was able, and even sold part of her jewels; then summoned the nobles of her party and dependants, and those who were at enmity with the King; raised troops in the towns belonging to her, and in order to dispose them in her favour she confirmed former rights and privileges, and also bestowed new ones.

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In this way she collected together some hundreds of good lances and soldiers. At the head of these was distinguished D. Vasco Martins Pimentel, a brave *fidalgo*, or chief officer of the whole kingdom, who supplied at his expense 250 horsemen, and who perished in these inglorious strifes of Castille; and also Martins Vasques da Cunha, the adventurous Alcaide of the Castle of Celorico de Basto, who likewise distinguished himself.

But whether the difficulties which surrounded the aged monarch of Castille were great, or else in order to disguise the effect which the expedition might occasion, so much at variance with the usual official proceedings of the King—but it appears D. Beatriz sent these forces to Seville in proportion as they became organised.

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enunciated more openly than policy demanded, was fast occasioning his loss by inducing among his partisans despondency and hopelessness.

It was probably about this time (1283) that D. Beatriz entered into Seville with a numerous escort, and bringing with her, it appears, her daughter, the Infanta D. Branca, who, besides being patroness of various lands in Portugal, possessed the Convent of Lorvão, and became later on owner of the sumptuous monastery of Huelgas de Burgos in Spain.

If the direct and material aid offered by D. Beatriz to her father, which has been so lauded by Portuguese writers, and so meanly referred to by the Spanish ones, was not in truth very great in relation to the forces of the four belligerent monarchs, nevertheless the appearance in Seville of his daughter, the Queen of Portugal, was to the persecuted and unfortunate Alfonso a source of great comfort in his old age, and became a salutary example to many of the revolutionists of Castille and Leon.

The effects of this noteworthy fact were keenly felt, assisted by the unexpected indifference of Sancho in the war, by the recollection of his cruelties and errors of government, by the representations made by all prudent and just spirits, and by the generous gratitude of Alfonso for the aid afforded by his daughter.

D. Pedro, D. Jayme, and D. José forsook the rebel standard of their brother, and submitted themselves humbly to obedience to the King. This proceeding of the Infantes was followed by many ricos-homens, and no less by the cities and towns.

Notwithstanding that the Mussalman allies of Alfonso had retired to Africa disgusted with the campaign, the cause of the aged monarch took such a great impetus, that Sancho, despite the opposition of his followers, to whom the reconciliation of the princes was not favourable, agreed that his wife, D. Maria de Molina, and the Queen D. Beatriz should prepare the terms for the arrangement of the affair. Both contenders then quitted the scene of war. But an event, natural, yet well-nigh unexpected, arose to give a diverse direction to the political affairs of Spain.

Before this, however, Alfonso rewarded the services of his daughter. The tender affection of a father's heart impelled him to acknowledge the aid so promptly afforded, and which the extremity of the circumstances naturally exaggerated the importance; he was also probably instigated by the idea that the reward with which he recompensed this favour might induce, as it certainly did, his sons and subjects to afford

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him aid likewise. Hence D. Alfonso manifested himself generous and even prodigal in rewarding the Queen of Portugal.

On the 4th March, 1283, he made over to her the towns of Serpa, Moura, Noudar, and Mourão, with their castles, *termos*, rents, and rights for her use during her lifetime, these donations to revert after her death to whomsoever should inherit the kingdom of Seville.

These towns, otherwise Portuguese, in those days belonged to the Castillian monarchy, and it was not until years later that, with the exception of Noudar, they returned to the kingdom of Portugal, as we shall see further on. But as these places which he had bestowed on his daughter belonged to the Knight Hospitallers, Alfonso compensated them by giving them other lands and rents.

On that same day he also gave to his daughter under similar conditions the kingdom of Niebla, with its towns of Gibralcon, Huelva, Saltes, Alamonte, Alfaiar de Pena, and Alfaiar de Lete.

Such ample generosity, which favoured, as we said, the cause of Alfonso, linked anew his name to the history of Portugal, which had already been enhanced by the donation of the Algarve.

But broken down by bitter grief and an agitated existence, the aged king, notwithstanding the favourable turn which his affairs had taken, did not attain to see his son and the States reduced to obedience. Little more than a year after signing these decrees of donations to Beatriz, he died in the arms of his daughter, naming her, with others, his executrix, and declaring that he forgave the rebellion of Sancho and all his partisans.

It was in April of 1284 that this monarch, as hapless in his government as he was renowned as a legislator and lover of science and letters throughout the Peninsula, expired. As such, he exercised a large influence in the kingdom of Portugal as well as in all Spain.

During his reign he established in his vast states unity of right with the royal *fuero* of Spain, an interesting legislative collection of immediate application; he finished and published the celebrated *codice* of the *Sete Partidas*, which D. Diniz ordered to be translated into Portuguese, and stands, in jurisprudence, the grandest monument of the Middle Ages. He was a philosopher, and to him is attributed the book entitled the *Tesoro*, much esteemed at that epoch. An historian likewise, for he wrote the *Cronica General de España*, considered by Spaniards as one of their literary glories. A mathematician, he ordered the *Astronomical Tables* to be drawn up, entitled *Alfonsinas*,

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and which he himself collaborated. Lastly, he was a poet, being one of the most erudite and elegant poetasters of the age, and wrote the *Cantigas* and *Querellas*. His death was greatly felt in the Court of Lisbon, and the King celebrated pompous exequies.

By his death was terminated the first act of the wars of succession which desolated Castille during the reign of D. Diniz—wars in which, more or less, as we shall see, Portugal was always involved. The death of Alfonso X. naturally filled the spirit of the Portuguese monarch with cares and forebodings.

A few months before his death, the aged monarch had declared his grandchildren heirs to the crown of Castille and Leon, the Infantes de la Cerda, while he left the kingdoms of Seville and Badajoz to his son D. Juan, and that of Murcia to D. Jaime; by this form excluding D. Sancho from the throne, although, as a fact, it was he who really governed. And, in effect, he was very soon after solemnly acknowledged and sworn king in Toledo; and not only his followers, but the most important of the loyal partisans of his father hastened to salute him as their legitimate sovereign. Nevertheless, the germ of disorder and of civil war existed in the testament of Alfonso the Wise, in the rights which each pretender attributed to himself, and, above all, in the character of the princes and barons of the time. Besides this, Sancho IV. was daring, turbulent, ambitious, and little versed in restraining the excesses of his favourites, and still less his own. Hence such a neighbour was badly calculated to afford Portugal any security for the tranquillity of the country.

Diniz, therefore, continued to follow his shrewd, deep policy. He sent ambassadors to Seville to take letters of condolence to the Queen-mother, and sent others to Toledo to congratulate his uncle, the new king, and to ratify his former friendship and alliance. But Sancho did not duly acknowledge this act of courtesy and past favours. Founding his right of seigniority of the Algarve upon that held by his father, notwithstanding the donation effected to the grandson D. Diniz, Sancho not only took the title in the same way, but even ordered the name to be placed of D. Bartholomew, the Bishop of Silves, who was not in Castille, among the prelates who confirmed his royal decrees, with the only end of signifying that the diocese of the kingdom of Algarve was dependent on him.

During the early ages of the modern Christian monarchies of Spain, in authentic documents, as well as in treaties of peace and other

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governing acts of greatest importance, royal letters of donation, authorisation of rights and others, not only as at the present day was the signature of the reigning prince affixed as well as the respective ministers, but likewise the signatures of Infantes, the prelates of every category, members of councils, *ricos-homens*, and even the knights who were at the court. And oftentimes the names of the principal magnates of the kingdom were inscribed even when these were not present.

These signatures of the more important lords of the country, ecclesiastical and civil, invested Government acts with greater solemnity; it was the pledge that those who signed had thought over and approved the act, and naturally increased the probability of the nation's acquiescence.

Those who signed received an honour by placing their signature beside that of the monarch, and with this understanding did the illustrious foreigners present at the Court inscribe their name to the act; but this act signified for the absent natives that the territory of their jurisdiction belonged to the monarch who issued the decree, and that those mentioned were subject to him.

For this reason did Sancho order the name of the Bishop of Algarve to be inscribed as confirming the decree. Diniz, however, became perturbed by this act of the new king, which was not only ungrateful, but unjust, and he hastened to draw from the ancient records such documents as proved the obedience and acknowledgments offered by the prelates and chapter of Silves to Alfonso III., declaring null all titles which the late monarch of Castille had authorised: from all the decrees which affirmed the seigniority and possession of the Portuguese crown in the kingdom of Algarve.

This contention was, however, followed by no serious results. But Sancho, notwithstanding the majority of the *ricos-homens* and the cities who had acclaimed him king, wearied out by the civil wars through which they had just issued, found himself compelled to proceed to visit all his kingdom, in order to subject his barons and the people who hesitated in accepting him against the expressed determination of the testament of Alfonso X., and to whom his rude, disloyal system of government was repellent. One of the first acts of the new king was to annul the privileges and letters given to many towns which had aided him, when still an Infante, to conquer the crown. Little by little he was able to re-establish apparently order by punishing the malcontents with death, exile, and sequestration of goods.

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Knowing that the best way to pacify and summon to his side the turbulent nobility from their states was to take them to war against the Moors, he put this idea in practice during the year 1285.

But, notwithstanding his natural rudeness, Lopo de Haro, the Lord of Biscay, took possession of his spirit. From the king he obtained the title of count, with all its ancient functions and privileges; the appointment of chief majordomo, assured by the possession of all the fortresses of Castille, and the key to the royal treasury. Besides this, he was the father-in-law of the Infante D. João, and his brother Diogo held the hereditary government of the frontier. Therefore Lopo de Haro, when in possession, and with his own partisans holding the highest positions in the civil and military government of the kingdom, very quickly dominated all the court, and by his haughtiness affronted the whole nobility of the kingdom, even to the degree of endeavouring to annul the marriage of the King with the Queen, in spite that she was his sister-in-law, in order to wed him to his niece, who was more obedient to his behests.

For this reason D. Maria de Molina took dislike to the favourite, while a great number of fidalgos, who viewed him with envy, now commenced to rise up against him and against Sancho, assisted by the towns which had been despoiled of their rights.

These contentions reached to the very frontiers of Portugal, and without ostensibly involving D. Diniz, many Portuguese brandished their swords in the strifes of Castille.

Badajoz and Albuquerque, two neighbouring towns of Alemtejo, rose up in bands and fiercely made war. The lord of the last town was D. João Affonso d'Albuquerque, grandson of D. Theresa Sanches, the daughter of the Portuguese king Sancho I., and an individual so greatly beloved by D. Diniz that later on he made him Count of Barcellos, chief majordomo, and gave his natural son Alfonso Sanches in marriage to the daughter and heiress of that nobleman.

The Lord of Albuquerque rose up against the King of Castille, and beneath his standard many Portuguese fought. It could not be possible that, in view of the affectionate relations existing between the chieftain and his king, these Portuguese should be fighting against the will of the King of Portugal. But at length João Affonso, driven by the forces of the Castillian monarch, was compelled to fly to Galicia, where he was treacherously taken prisoner by the orders of the King, and

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would have been beheaded had not the Queen D. Maria de Molina interceded for him.

D. Alvaro Nunes Lara, an illustrious individual, was compelled, owing to these contentions, to emigrate to Portugal in 1286, whose father had followed, two years previously, the party of Alfonso X. when, besieged by Sancho in the city of Alborafim, he was vanquished and deprived of his dominions.

D. Alvaro was a fearless warrior and most venturesome, and placing himself at the head of a numerous party of Castillians and Portuguese, effected frequent incursions throughout the territories of Riba de Coa, carrying into the states of the conqueror of his father desolation and ruin.

At that time the governorship of the districts of Guarda was held by the Infante D. Alfonso, brother to D. Diniz. He won the affection of Lara, and in this way the ranks were increased by the people of his dominions, whose district governors facilitated their departure. To that spot hastened the troops of the King of Castille, and fierce, angry encounters took place, which cost the blood and lives of many brave Portuguese knights of the house of the Infante.

At length this contention so involved Alfonso, that he resorted to the extreme of compelling the inhabitants of the city and district of Guarda to take up arms in order to enter into a campaign against Castille.

Such proportions did the affair assume, that Diniz was constrained to take it in hand. He proceeded to Guarda in the summer of 1287, accompanied by a numerous retinue of prelates, courtiers, and men-at-arms, and endeavoured gently to calm his brother and Alvaro de Lara. He despoiled Alfonso of the government of that district, but in compensation gave him the lieutenancy of Lamego, Vizeu, and Tras-os-Montes.

Lara, however, very soon continued his perturbations. He effected various entries into the kingdoms of Galicia and Leon, and joining the Portuguese Infante, who had retired to his towns in the Alemtejo, prosecuted continual raids into the lands of Castille. But Sancho the Brave could no longer endure such excesses. To the messages which he addressed on this subject to D. Diniz, he asked leave to come personally to Portugal to punish his enemies, and without awaiting an answer, he approached our frontiers. Diniz saw that the moment had arrived for repressing at once the demands of his brother and Alvaro

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de Lara, unless he wished to enter into an open war against Castille, which up to a certain point he had authorised, since he had placed no further obstacles than words and gentleness, and even had assisted by affording aid to João Alfonso d'Albuquerque. We saw, at the commencement of this book, the reason for the proceeding of the Portuguese prince, and that it was his scheme to weaken so dangerous a neighbour by intestine strifes. But at the present juncture, in view of the attitude taken by Sancho, this system of policy was becoming rather dangerous; besides which, Alfonso continued to declare himself the legitimate heir to the crown, and at the same time urged Diniz to legitimize his sons, in order to inherit his important dominions, to which he found a serious and just reluctance, and finally the house of the Infante became the centre of the adventurous malcontents of Portugal and Castille, whose numbers daily increased, and assumed serious proportions.

D. Diniz summoned then all the military forces of the country, and in September he quitted Guarda, and slowly proceeded to the Alemtejo, collecting together on his way the people he had summoned. On the sixth of November, accompanied by a great multitude, he besieged Arronches, where D. Alfonso was at the time, and placed troops of observation opposite the strongholds of Marvão and Portalegre, which were held by the turbulent Infante.

Very speedily did the King of Castille join the people of Leon and Galicia, and the Mestre de Alcantara, D. Fernão Peres, a Portuguese, and the Knights of the Order, the favourite Lopo de Haro, and probably the Queen D. Maria de Molina, who usually accompanied her husband in all his campaigns.

Arronches, however, was a stronghold which, military speaking, was well situated, defended by castle, ramparts, and entrenchments, and garrisoned on that occasion by the picked men of the Infante, and by a numerous party of the bravest knights of the Peninsula. Arronches resisted the first assaults of the besiegers, who for several weeks fought around the walls, performing many brilliant feats of arms and numerous skirmishes, but without any decided victory. Nevertheless, it was clear that the stronghold could not hold out very long against the powers collected by the two monarchs of Castille and Portugal.

As this strife became a family one, the ladies of the various families at length took part in it. The mother of Diniz and Alfonso, who was in Burgos, came with the Infanta D. Branca to Badajoz—the revenues

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of which her father, D. Alfonso X., had bequeathed to her in his will —and from thence they were aided by the pleadings of D. Maria de Molina and the Queen D. Isabel of Portugal. But an event took place which determined the treaty. The Infante, on being apprised of the arrival to Badajoz of his mother and sister, and being able (probably with the aid of the princes who were in the camp) to elude the royal scouts, quitted Arronches, and placed himself under the protection of D. Beatriz. A suspension of arms followed, and a council was held to arrange a treaty of peace. All the princes gathered together in Badajoz and agreed to the treaty, which was signed on the thirteenth of December, to the joy of the people, who saw in this act an end to the war, inglorious, profitless, and ruinous, between brothers.

Alfonso delivered Arronches over to the King, receiving in exchange Armamar, in the territory of Lamego. Later on he yielded up all the strongholds he possessed on the frontier in exchange for others situated in the interior of the kingdom, where he could not easily disturb the tranquillity of Castille, nor be dangerous to Portugal.

For the time being Marvão and Portalegre were delivered up in good faith to the knights of the Infante of acknowledged national loyalty, who pledged their homage to D. Diniz in presence of Alfonso. But during the time that the monarchs of Castille and Portugal were together, other treaties, although secret ones, were discussed, of greater importance than the public ones of more demonstrative consequences.

Diniz was shrewd, persuasive, and eloquent, and all these gifts he employed to determine on a difficult point—the hitherto undecided spirit of the sovereign of Castille. It was sought, at the request of D. Maria de Molina, to oppose the intentions of Lopo de Haro respecting the annulment of the King's marriage, and lessen the influence of his favourite over the spirit of Sancho.

The son of Alfonso III. triumphed, and not only induced on the mind of his uncle a greater estimation of the virtues of the Queen, which in truth existed, and proved the validity of the marriage, which was not difficult to do since Sancho loved his consort, but what is more, he completely destroyed the influence Lopo exercised, and proved to the King of Castille how dangerous it was for him to be under the yoke of a vassal who united to overmuch power the audacity of endeavouring to repudiate the Queen, and regulate the succession of the crown according to his views. He also placed before him the

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nobility of birth, the loftiness of spirit, and the numerous partisans of D. Alvaro Nunes de Lara, which counterbalanced the gifts of the former, and that once admitted to his friendship, he pledged himself as a loyal servitor.

The monarch of Castille followed the insinuations of D. Diniz, and at once admitted Lara to his intimate friendship, by this act arousing jealousy and odium in the heart of Lopo. "With this act," says the erudite Chronicler of Alcobaça, "the King D. Diniz did no more than exchange with the King D. Sancho one rebel for another, yet leaving him his debtor, and the Queen of Castille and the new minister both in his favour."

Alvaro de Lara survived but a short time, and did not live to acquire the preponderance of favour of his adversary Lopo, since he, even as an enemy, exercised such influence that he inspired in the monarch serious and well-justified fears. On resolving to get rid of him, Sancho had to use craftiness, by manifesting towards him, for some months, marks of esteem, until he found an opportune occasion for carrying out his intention.

On the following year, 1288, grave contentions arose between the King and the party of Haro respecting the convenience of a French or Aragonese alliance with Castille, which took the form of almost open hostility, and ended in the selection of the latter against the opinion of the Queen and the Archbishop of Toledo who counselled her, and towards which Sancho inclined.

It was agreed upon to convene the Cortes in Alfaro, so that all should meet to decide the suit. When the assembly were gathered together to debate the affair, Sancho quitted it on the plea of urgent business, declaring that he would speedily return to learn their decision. When the King perceived that his own guards at the door were more numerous than those which accompanied Haro, he immediately returned to the Session Chamber, and addressing Lopo and the Infante D. João, informed them that he retained them his prisoners until they should deliver up to him the castles and governments they possessed. On hearing this, the haughty nobleman called his own guards, and advanced towards the King, brandishing a dagger over him. Two of the knights of Sancho advanced and struck at his arm, cutting it off, and then slew him. Meanwhile the King struck repeatedly his brother Diogo Lopes, leaving him to all appearances dead. The same fate would have befallen the Infante D. João, who,

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sword in hand, was defending the Haros, had not the Queen D. Maria de Molina intervened and saved his life.

This barbarous scene was followed by a civil war which spread through the whole of Spain.

The family of Haro, instigated by the Countess D. Joanna de Molina, the widow of the assassinated man, the Viscount de Bearne, the whole of Biscay, and part of Old Castille, in union with the monarch of Aragon, proclaimed Alfonso de la Cerda king, and rose up in war against D. Sancho. And although he brought to bear against them all his activity and valour, and continued to besiege and capture the enemy's castles, nevertheless the insurrection increased, and the very King of Aragon openly declared himself against Castille, and joined his army to the revolutionists.

Then did Sancho summon all the forces of the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, and the towns who had continued faithful, and besought aid from D. Diniz of Portugal for this perilous warfare, the result in part of the advice which the successor of Alfonso III. gave him in Arronches.

The Portuguese monarch did not withhold his aid, and in the spring of 1289 he sent the best men he was able to collect together from the communes and the garrison of the fortresses, with the most distinguished chieftains and bravest *fidalgos*. With these forces and the army of Castille, Sancho was able to repress the King of Aragon. But in other respects the captains were defeated and slain. In consequence of some petty local question which arose between the two bands that divided the Bejaranos and the Portuguese, Badajoz, the capital of Estremadura, also lifted up the standard of rebellion in favour of Alfonso de la Cerda.

Sancho sent against the city the Masters of all the military orders. These promised the revolutionists pardon in the name of the King if they submitted, and on this understanding they surrendered. The monarch, however, did not fulfil the promise made through his delegates, but actually had over four thousand citizens of the revolutionary band of Bejaranos put to death.

He practised similar cruelties in Toledo, Talavera, Avila, and many other places. It was in this wise, by sowing ruin, terror, and death, that the son of Alfonso the Wise pacified his vast monarchy.

It was this crowned monster that D. Diniz, in hostility with Alfonso III., King of Aragon, aided with the blood of thousands of Portuguese, which was spilt in numerous dark, inglorious encounters



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during a period of two years of incessant strife. This intervention did not afford Portugal any advantage, although she paid for it so dearly. We cannot even advance as an advantage gained that of the treaty of marriage which was entered into on the Portuguese frontiers by the two monarchs in 1294, between the Infante D. Ferdinand, successor to the crown of Castille, scarcely six years of age, with the Infanta D. Constancia, the daughter of D. Diniz, who was only a few months old. The realisation of this union, which was effected long after that date, did not even then bring with it any real advantage to the country, but, on the contrary, produced very diverse events, and caused a fresh spilling of blood. Another marriage, contracted in that same year previous to the death of Alfonso III. of Aragon, as a fact, terminated the war. This union was between the eldest daughter of Sancho IV. with the new Aragonese King D. Jaime II., the brother of the deceased King. The pretender, Alfonso de la Cerda, and others of his confederates, on losing their powerful support, were obliged to be satisfied with very little, and through an intermediary in the person of D. Diniz, obtained for the Infante D. João release from his imprisonment since the affair of Alfaro, and to be reinstated in the good graces of his brother.

But this prince, however, was dowered, like Sancho, with a restless, ferocious, and disloyal character.

For the space of two years Castille sustained a successful and glorious war against the Mussalmans, and captured Tarifa, in the siege of which the King and the Infante, who fought together, greatly distinguished themselves. At length discords arose between them, and D. João rebelled, was persecuted, and had to take refuge in Portugal. From thence, joining with João Alfonso d'Albuquerque and other exiles, they effected much damage to Castille. Sancho sent to the Infante as emissary John Nunes de Lara, brother to the deceased D. Alvaro, but D. João arrested him, and only released him at the request of D. Diniz.

At length, on the formal requisition of the Castillian monarch, the Infante was compelled to quit Portugal and pass over to Tangiers. But as later on Diniz joined this prince in the only military expedition which he personally undertook outside the kingdom, we shall mention an act of D. João which caused a profound sensation throughout Christendom.

When in Africa the Infante offered his services to Yussuf, the King of Morocco, to re-conquer Tarifa, which on the previous year he had

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helped to take. The Moor assigned him an army, and the Castillian Infante speedily laid siege to the stronghold. This place was defended by a brave knight called Alfonso Peres de Gusman, who later on was surnamed the *Good*, on account of the event we are about to narrate, and with his skill and intelligence was able to repulse for a great length of time the desperate efforts of the infidel captains. D. João, finding it impossible to fulfil by loyal means the promise made to the Mussalman Emir, resorted to base means.

He had with him a child, the son of the Governor of Tarifa, and under pretext of delivering him up to the parent, in order better to captivate the favour of the King of Castille, he was taken from the palace of D. Diniz, where children of the highest nobles were educated. D. João conducted the child to the rampart walls, and declared to Alfonso de Gusman that he would slay the child unless he delivered up the stronghold. The brave knight did not allow his paternal feelings to influence his loyalty and his duty and sense of honour as a soldier, entrusted as he was with the governorship of the castle. He drew the dagger from his belt and flung it into the camp, saying that they might assassinate his child, but surrender he would not.

To this heroic reply the Infante was base enough to retort by ordering the dagger to be picked up and with it pierced the child's heart through, and then raised the siege of Tarifa. This event took place in 1294.

But the princes of Castille who possessed such brutal characters were not long-lived.

On the following April, when only thirty-five years old, D. Sancho died, leaving as heir to the throne, the Infante Ferdinand IV., still an infant, he who later on became the husband of the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia.

Before proceeding with the political and military history of the country, it will be expedient to study, under its various aspects, the great evolution through which Portuguese society was passing.

One of the principal which offers itself to our view is the strife between the clergy and the empire, the Church and the civil power —an old question, as old as the monarchy, but which, in the reign of D. Diniz, rose up with redoubled force.

We have seen in the former reign that Alfonso III. on his deathbed had promised with Diniz complete obedience to the decrees of Gregory X., and that when the new king ascended the throne he

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endeavoured to find a means to arrive at an understanding with the clergy.

With this intention both contending parties sent emissaries to Rome to arrange the suit. But on the 22nd of August, 1280, Pope Nicholas III. died, leaving the affair undecided.

The prelates then met together in Guarda with some of the ricos-homens and principal persons named by the king—the prelates were Fr. Tello the Archbishop of Braga, Vincent the Bishop of Oporto, Aymeric of Coimbra, Fr. João of Guarda, Duran of Evora, and Ferdinand of Tuy. The affair was discussed with much heat for some three weeks.

It was then arranged that the King should fulfil all the articles contained in the bull of Gregory X., and compelling his subjects to keep them faithfully, and this concordat to be sent to the Pope, soliciting his confirmation. The reigning Pontiff was Martin IV., who had ascended the papal throne on the 22nd of February, 1281. But previous to doing this, it was necessary to have the personal and direct consent of the monarch, to obtain which the prelates departed from Guarda and proceeded to the south of the kingdom to meet the King.

D. Diniz was then in the Algarve, but on being apprised of this resolution and of the journey of the prelates, who were the highest dignitaries of the Church, he, with the object of captivating their good-will, hastened to come to Evora to save them the no small inconvenience of the journey, and received them most affectionately.

Such was the acknowledgment of the prelates for this courteous behaviour, that when later on they proceeded to Rome they spoke to the Pope of his conduct as an example of kingly courtesy.

The articles of the Concordat were then discussed anew and sent to the Roman Curia. Both contending parties sent to Rome their procurators and wrote to Pope Martin IV. In this letter they stated the great evils which had been caused to the country by the interdict of Gregory X. against Alfonso III., by which the towns and people had been deprived of the sacraments and consolations of the Church, the country cast into a miserable state and deep perturbation in religious and civil circles. Further, that they made known to him their good desires for peace and concord, relating to him all the efforts made to effect this, and in laying at his feet the concordat they had drawn up, besought his apostolic sanction in testimony of their constant fealty.

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D. Diniz, however, in courteous language, led Martin IV. to understand that, on his part, he did not accept the Pontiff as the supreme judge in this suit, and scarcely admitted him as a mediator in the contention.

This proceeding of D. Diniz and of the Portuguese clergy did not please Rome, which was accustomed to decide all causes of this kind at its good pleasure. Hence the terms of the concordat did not meet with the favour of the Curia, and Pope Martin IV. declared that he would confirm it only under certain important alterations, which he proposed to the King for acceptance at the Cortes. The Bishop of Leon, the Dean and Archdeacon of Ledesma, and others were delegated by the Pope as his commissioners in this affair.

These conditions were not accepted by D. Diniz, and the dispute was prolonged for years, with no definite results, throughout the pontificate of Honorius IV., who was elected in April, 1285, and was only terminated during the pontificate of Nicholas IV., when the concordat was signed on the 7th March, 1289.

The King yielded and bent to the necessities of the times; therefore he was anxious to procure peace, and with that object in view he promised to do all that the prelates wished, but at the same time solemnly denied the guilt of what he had been accused of by the prelates—that he had taken the rents of the churches of Braga, Coimbra, Vizeu, and Lamego, and nominated an alcaide in Braga, when this nomination belonged to the archbishop; of taking a great number of parishes, with their revenues; of instituting inquiries concerning the goods of the clergy; of placing extraordinary imposts on the churches of his patronage; of compelling the clergy to pay tributes; of threatening with death the archbishop and bishops, and so forth.

But of what use to continue the enumeration of the complaints of the clergy? They are the same as were always repeated in the contentions with the Crown. Whether these complaints were true or not, we cannot decide; the King denied them all, but promised to watch, in order that the Portuguese church should have no further foundation for future complaints. It was seen that D. Diniz only desired to deliver himself from a war with the clergy, and for that reason was ready to make every concession, tacitly reserving the right of modifying them.

Then was the interdict which weighed over the country raised on

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the last day of June, 1290, the term of which had been decreed by former bulls.

When this suit had been concluded between the civil power and the clergy in this same year of 1290, Pope Nicholas IV. judged proper to yield to a former petition of the Portuguese clergy, and which was also greatly desired by the King D. Diniz. The interference of the Pontiff in this affair is an act characteristic of the epoch which is impossible in our day to comprehend as existing between the national church and the Crown, but which then both solicited. We refer to the bull confirming the *general studies*, or of the university.

Before proceeding to relate the manner of establishing it, let us see what was the state of instruction of the country.

During the first periods of the monarchy, the small education which was followed was almost exclusively possessed by the ecclesiastical orders, and even among these were found presbyters with church appointments who scarcely knew how to read. In other social classes, even in the most elevated, the smallest intellectual culture was rare to find. The enlightened minds which existed were nearly all either foreigners or Portuguese, who had been educated in Italy, or more frequently in France.

Nevertheless, although few and badly organised, there existed in Portugal some establishments of instruction, and in them, as well as throughout all cultured Europe during the Middle Ages, the study of Latin, theology, canon law, and scholastic philosophy predominated. This system of philosophy continued in Portugal until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, and was only abolished when the Jesuits were expelled and the reformation of studies took place in the University, effected by the great statesman, the Marquis of Pombal, therefore it behoves us to understand its history and aim.

Scholastic philosophy, held in our day as obsolete, if not despised, was nevertheless, in regard to modern philosophy, what the Middle Ages were to modern times—its birth during the long and obscure period of its foundation. A superior fundamental idea governed the Middle Ages—theocracy, the predominance of the ecclesiastical power over all other social powers.

This principle influenced Portugal more greatly than in most European countries. Alfonso Henry, in order to secure the independence of the territories he inherited from his parents, and those which he conquered from the Moors, as well as to guard against the

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covetousness of the sovereigns of Castille and Leon, rendered his own kingdom feudatory or tributary to the Holy See; hence, owing to this fact, the Roman Pontiffs arrogated to themselves in regard to Portugal certain rights which they either never exercised over other countries, or continued to hold for a longer period than elsewhere.

During the Middle Ages, theocracy took up as its instruments all human knowledge, all the civil powers and institutions.

It arose when the Middle Ages took an especial feature, and was the expression of its scientific theory. Scarcely had Charlemagne the Great, the personification of this cycle, assured to Europe the invasions of the North and South, of the barbarians of the North and the Arabs of the South which he had conquered in the material order, than he endeavoured to found society, and with that object had recourse to the Church as the only existent moral authority; and with the object of consolidating the empire in the spirits of the masses, he elevated to omnipotence the supremacy of the Roman pontificate, and induced the Pope to crown him Emperor of the West. For this same object it was Charlemagne who first opened public schools, and summoned to them the most learned men of Europe. Hence these schools being in the intellectual order the greatest novelty of the age, the science taught in these schools was called scholastic philosophy.

These schools became established in France, Spain, Portugal, and throughout all countries in places where peace, order, and tranquillity reigned, and which was only found in cathedrals and great monasteries: this circumstance giving to the philosophy of these institutions a character almost exclusively ecclesiastic and catholic. Scholastic philosophy was no more, so to say, than the form of theology which was its foundation. Theology, once its anti-scientific bases were accepted, of faith and tradition, with its possession of the Old and New Testament, the long and glorious martyrology of its first proselytes, and the books of the Holy Fathers, especially of St. Augustine, constituted for those times a system of doctrine which was complete and grand. Philosophy, however, had for its almost sole stock the *Organum* of Aristoteles. Hence for that reason its foundation was grand, but its form poor and incomplete.

Yet in course of time, and in proportion as the Church began to lose its predominance over civil society and to relax its hold on the human spirit, so did philosophy, by filling its place, commence to gain an elevated position in primary science, until it at length attained to

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lay its fundamental principles of free examen and freedom of thought. This lengthened evolution was carried on through Central Europe, from Alcuin, the master and friend of Charlemagne in the eighth century, to Descartes and Bacon, the revolutionary modern philosophers of the seventeenth century; and in Portugal, as we have said, down to the reform of Pombal, a century later.

Likewise among us the appearance of the schools and of *scholastic* science dates some centuries later than that event in France. The establishment of the first school known in Portugal was at the end of the eleventh century. It was founded about the year 1082, in Coimbra, by the bishop D. Paterno, close to the cathedral, and with the consent of the reigning Count D. Sesnando. It was composed of a college, or seminary, contiguous to the church, with its endowment, wherein the collegiates lived in community under, or rather following, the rule of Saint Augustine, and where they learnt grammar, Latin, and theology, thus educating themselves for the reception of holy orders and for holding appointments in the chapter of the Episcopal See. Under this organisation the college subsisted until 1130, when the canons ceased to live together, with the exception of three, who persevered in the institution, and founded in that year the celebrated monastery of Sancta Cruz, and then commenced the order of regular canons of Saint Augustine.

It was in this convent, always greatly favoured by royal power, that there existed from the beginning, as a continuation of the college of D. Paterno, renowned schools for the study of those human sciences which were officially accepted. Soon after was established the good practice of sending the most intelligent individuals to France to study science and letters. We find that so early as September, 1192, Sancho I. was endowing the monastery of Sancta Cruz in 400 morabitinos, for the maintenance in France of the canons who went to be instructed.

Portugal was commencing to become great and to increase in wealth, taking possession of whole provinces, and the State powers therefore could now occupy themselves in peace with the administration of the country and public instruction. Hence to send to other nations where letters were commencing to flourish individuals who could later on return to teach in the kingdom, or occupy the highest appointments of the republic, was the best and only expedient to adopt.

It was about this time that D. Mendo Dias studied theology and

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medicine in Paris, he who later on became renowned in Coimbra as professor of medicine in the monastery of Sancta Cruz.

About this epoch, in harmony with the injunctions of Innocent III., the Archbishops of Braga founded schools in the metropolitan church for the immediate instruction of the clergy. Later on, in other cathedrals, renowned colleges, and monasteries, it appears this example was also followed, and small libraries were established for public studies. The ancient dignity of *mestre-schola* of the chapters is a proof of these institutions.

During the reign of Sancho II. the Pope was asked that the first vacant prebendaryship in the College of Guimarães be given to a priest to teach grammar. However, of acknowledged existence there were only, besides the above-mentioned, the schools of theology of the convents of the Orders of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, which were held in great repute at the latter half of the thirteenth century, and in 1269, during the reign of Alfonso III., in the opulent monastery of the congregation of Santa Maria of Alcobaça, was followed the public studies of grammar, logic, and theology.

Under the peace which was established almost completely in Portugal, and with the culture introduced by the suite of the French prince, the knowledge brought by many of the Crusaders and ecclesiastics who had studied in Paris or had lived in Rome, instruction commenced to take a notable impulse, and to quit the infantile state in which it had subsisted since the institute of D. Paterno before the foundation of the monarchy. Then commenced the development of the taste for the study of the sciences and letters, and then rose up theologians, doctors, jurists, and distinguished poets.

This powerful germ of civilisation which had been sown by Alfonso III. on an almost virgin soil, but fruitful and ardent, burst forth in this reign, opening a brilliant cycle of intellectual work, which forms a true glory for Portugal, and which at the present day is exciting the interest, if not the admiration of cultured Europe.

Two great literary establishments date from this epoch. One of the preceptors and masters of D. Diniz, D. Domingos Annes Jardo, a few years after the elevation to the throne of the king, founded in the city of Lisbon and in the parish of Saint Bartholomew, the college or study house of Saints Paul, Eloy, and Clement for ten chaplains, twenty mercenaries, and six scholars for Latin, theology, canons, and, as some authors affirm, for medicine and Greek.

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Domingos Jardo was at the time Bishop of Evora, pious, honourable, well instructed, and a lover of glory. He was much esteemed by Alfonso III., and by his son, who appointed him Chancellor, and later on conferred on him the episcopal mitre of Lisbon. Wishing to institute a perpetual suffrage for the souls of both monarchs and his own, and leave a testimony of their charitable, elevated ideas, he founded, under the name of Hospital or *Hospicio*, this college in one of the houses belonging to him.

The priests were bound to offer daily the suffrages he indicated, and the scholars to give themselves up to study beneath the shadow and tranquillity of the cloisters. With the object of endowing this institution, he obtained from D. Diniz on the 27th of August, 1284, the necessary permission to purchase the property which was forbidden to the clergy, and later on the illustrious prelate perfected his work by giving them statutes (1291), and privileges to the clergy and scholars educated in this college (1293).

The number of students had greatly increased, and the institution flourished for some centuries, when it was turned into the Convent of the Good Men of Villar. This college was patronised by the rich and most powerful monastic order in the country, the monks of Alcobaça, to whom the founder bequeathed its administration, and which, although it was contested for a long time by the rector, and denied by Clement V., nevertheless was always more or less accepted by the students. The college enjoyed good rentals, but it was an especial institute, almost exclusively destined for the religious life, and did not satisfy the daily need of a large, comprehensive establishment for public and general instruction outside the retirement of the cloister, wherein the State could rarely intervene, and where war was constantly waged against civil society.

With the enkindling of love for the study of science and letters throughout Europe, which took place during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the foundation of universities became of great moment, and one of the principal desires of cultured spirits.

France possessed the one of Paris, definitely founded in 1200; that of Tolosa, in 1229; the one of Montpellier was then in treaty, and created in 1289. Italy had one in Salerno ever since the end of the eleventh century; of Bologna, in 1158; that of Naples, in 1224; another in Padua, in 1228; and that of Rome, in 1245. England already possessed the celebrated universities of Oxford and Cambridge—

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the first was established in 1206, and the second in 1229. And lastly, Spain held the one of Valencia, created in 1209; and that of Salamanca, in 1239.

All these four regions were intimately united with Portugal—France on account of her instruction, Italy by reason of its pontificate and navy, England through her commerce, and Spain due to her policy and the proximity of the diverse kingdoms within her. In the imagination of a youthful king, lover of letters and literary fame, and in the hearts of many active spirits, some of which had been educated in these great foreign institutions, and others in the traditions of their importance, there rose up a vivid desire to found in Portugal a university similar to those they had frequented, or had heard of their renown, and of their great utility to the nations possessing them.

The work of Domingos Jardo was commencing to bear fruit, and this no doubt acted as an incentive to the realisation of this idea, for we find that, in the year 1288, a decisive step was taken for its establishment, which, although not the first, was the most important, because, besides actually formulating the desire, erected the necessary rents for the new foundation.

Impelled by this idea, and to gratify D. Diniz, a meeting of ecclesiastics and laity was held in Monte-Mor-o-Novo, in the month of November, wherein assisted the Abbot of Alcobaça, D. Domingos; D. Lourenço Pires, tenth prior of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra; the Prior of S. Vincent of Lisbon, and over twenty rectors and various priors, to discuss fully the affair; and on the 12th of the same month they addressed a petition to the Pope to confirm the assignment of a part of the revenues of their convents and churches, with the assent of the King as patron, to be yielded up for the maintenance of professors and foundation of a *general study* in the kingdom.

The most wealthy landed properties of the country were in the possession of the clergy; hence, in order to endow the new institution, it was necessary to have recourse to them; and although given with a good heart, this subvention, in order to render it effective and legal, required the authorisation of the Roman Pontiff, this being the ideas of the time and the rules of the canon laws. Besides this, the fact of ennobling the new foundation with the sanction of the Pope was, on one hand, to win the goodwill of the clergy, and on the other prove the means of enriching it with privileges and raising it in public esteem.

The fact stands that the said representation was made to Rome,

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and at the present day constitutes the first document known of the establishment of our university. This document, on account of its historic value, we judge proper to give a summary of, and runs as follows:—

"To our holiest Father and Lord, by the Divine Providence Supreme Pontiff of the Most Holy Church of Rome. We, your devoted children, the Abbot of Alcobaça, the Prior of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, the Priors of St. Vincent of Lisbon, Santa Maria de Guimarães, Santa Maria of Alcaçova de Santarem, and the Rectors of the following Churches of St. Leonard of Atouguia, St. Julian, St. Nicholas, St. Eyria, St. Stephen of Santarem, St. Clement of Loule, Santa Maria de Faro, St. Michael, Santa Maria of Cintra, St. Stephen of Alemquer, and others, devoutly kiss your holy feet. As it behoves the regal State to be ornamented, not only with arms, but likewise with laws, in order that the Republic be properly governed in times of war and peace, because the earth is enlightend by science, and the lives of the saints more fully instructed to obey God and his ministers and masters, faith becomes strengthened, the Church is exalted and defended against heretical teaching by means of enlightened ecclesiastics, we desire, in the name of the abovesaid prelates, priests, and laity of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarve, to say that, after mature deliberation, we judge it of common utility, and convenient in our kingdom and to its inhabitants, to possess a general study of sciences, for the want of which many clergy, as well as the laity, have to proceed, at a great expense and risk of life, to other foreign countries and remote lands to pursue these said studies. For these causes and many others, we pray, with our most excellent King D. Diniz, to allow and order a general Study to be erected in our noblest city of Lisbon, for the greater honour of God and honour of the martyr St. Vincent, whose sepulchre, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, was given in this same city of Lisbon. Our King, having listened to our petition and admitted its importance, has given his consent, after mature deliberation, as patron of the above-mentioned monasteries and churches, that the salaries of teachers and doctors be defrayed from the rents of the said monasteries and churches, a tax being assigned to each, reserving the collected maintenance. We therefore pray and implore your Holiness humbly to grant our petition by confirming this pious work, laudably intended for the service of God, the honour of the country, and the general and

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particular advantage of all. Given in Monte-Mor-o-Novo on November 2nd, in the year 1326."

This date corresponds in the vulgar computation to 12th November, 1288.

It appears that later on the superiors of other monastic ordres, notably of St. Benedict, likewise assented to this petition.

At the time the principal bishops of the kingdom must have been at Rome engaged in the contention respecting the civil power explained above, and therefore was the probable reason why they did not add their signatures to the petition addressed to the Pontiff, nor take any direct part, as far as in our day has been proved, in the foundation of the university; nor at the same time is there any direct proof that they induced the petition to be deferred, as it really was, for a length of time, perchance because the higher clergy retired from this affair, foreseeing that the new institute, with its brilliant light, would throw into the shade the schools attached to their cathedrals.

D. Diniz insisted in Rome, through his commissioners, for the good issue of the petition; but whether he was certain of its confirmation, or whether he did not judge it to be needful for the carrying out of the scheme, but he ordered the work to be commenced before the arrival of the pontifical authorisation.

The parish of Alfama, in the city of Lisbon, was selected for its site, close to the spot where later on, in the reign of D. Ferdinand, was erected the Gate of the Cross (Porta da Cruz), where the foundations were laid for the establishment of new schools.

The best masters were selected, and classes for grammar, logic, laws (Roman canons), and medicine were established, and speedily drew to Lisbon students from the various parts of the kingdom.

When on August 13th, 1290, Pope Nicholas IV. expedited the bull in deference to the representation of the clergy, it was addressed to the *University of Masters and Students of Lisbon*.

We see, therefore, that this bull did not erect the University, since it was already established; but it confirmed and rendered valid all that had been done in the matter, and besought the civil powers that the letting of the houses to the students be done with prudence, in order that they be not imposed upon by the proprietors. He permitted the prelates and priors who had offered their services to assign part of their rentals for the support of the masters, and that these, without exercising their sacred functions, might receive the revenues of their

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charges and prebendaries. He authorised to the professors, students, and their servants the privilege of ecclesiastical dues. He directed that the degrees of licentiate be conferred by the diocesan prelate of Lisbon, and that the masters approved by him could teach in any place.

Patronised and endowed by the clergy, confirmed by the Pontifical bull with the privileged revenues of the Church, and subject to the episcopal authority for its degrees and examinations, the University took a decided ecclesiastical character, which it maintained for ages, and crippling its development and good effects.

Theology was excluded at first from the University schools, not because this discipline was considered unworthy of the *general studies*, but because, on the contrary, this science was considered so lofty and divine that for the time being it was confined to the cathedrals and cloisters, especially to the celebrated schools of the two then modern orders in Portugal of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which were held in high repute. But in spite of the narrowness of its organism, the scanty number of professorial chairs, the restrictions imposed by the rudeness of the age, and the clerical spirit which surrounded it, this new institution was in all respects a grand progress, and one of the most glorious acts of the reign of D. Diniz, for it formed the basis of a national scientific education, it was the germ which in future was to develop largely, and its fruits be garnered.

It appears that D. Diniz had a full apprehension of the lofty importance of his work. This is proved by the watchfulness he ever exercised over all its administrative acts; because, if at first at the institution of the University the royal action can scarcely be deduced, nevertheless in later times the governing providences issued for the University become important and numerous.

But the multiplication of students in Lisbon gave rise speedily to quarrels and disorders between them and the inhabitants, which manifested that a populous commercial city was not the best adapted for an establishment full of youths enjoying privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and where the spirit of class, similarly to other universities, was becoming developed from the beginning. Besides this, Lisbon being a seaport, the busy life and the amusements which were constantly going on were continual hindrances to the quietude necessary for study in schools.

To avoid all these inconveniences it was decided upon to transfer

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the University to Coimbra. It was a more central point for the whole kingdom, dowered with healthy surroundings and good air, well provisioned, rich in vegetation, and a lovely scenery already poetised by glorious historic traditions.

D. Diniz solicited from Pope Clement V. an authorisation for its transfer; but in the same way as the University was founded previous to the pontifical grant, so also was the transfer effected long before the bulls arrived from Rome. Two bulls were sent, both dated from Poitiers, on February 26th, 1308, when the University had been already transferred to Coimbra, as we find a royal letter of January 27th, 1307, confirming the constitutions of the *Studies of Coimbra*, hence we must suppose that the change was effected the previous year.

The first bull authorised the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra to transfer to this last city, should they judge it expedient, the *General Study of Lisbon*, as the King desired it, and confirmed the privileges granted to the schools by Nicholas IV.

The second bull was addressed to the monarch D. Diniz, and permitted him to annex six churches under royal patronage for defraying the expenses of the University.

"It is possible," says Fr. Francisco Brandão, "that with the transfer of the University to Coimbra, the abbots and rectors who in 1288 had promised in Monte-Mor-o-Novo to give a part of their rentals for the maintenance of the University of Lisbon should consider themselves exonerated from their promise, and for this reason, therefore, it became necessary to create other means of revenue."

It is known that the two highly endowed Churches of Pombal and Soure, which D. Diniz possessed after the Templars were extinct, were annexed to the University, and that to the latter there were never wanting the necessary rents for its expenses.

The *constitutions* which were approved by royal letters of 27th January, 1307, were scarcely more than a small regulation in the political, fiscal, and economic order, made by the University itself. But two years later, on the 15th February, 1309, royal munificence completed it. In a document written in Latin, D. Diniz granted to the University a series of privileges and immunities, which rendered it one of the most favoured and important of corporations in the country.

He declared *irrevocably* established in Coimbra the *General Study* with the teaching of canon law, civil or *cesarian*, medicine, dialectics, and grammar. He took under his royal protection the students, their

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families and goods. He ordered, under grave penalties, for the justices of the kingdom to defend them from every vexation. He assigned to them as their only judges, both civil and criminal, the bishop, his vicar, or the schoolmaster. He conferred on the students the right of electing the rectors, councillors, beadle, and other officials, and to draw up their own statutes. He granted to the University a common coffer and seal. He ordered that two citizens be elected annually, of the highest classes, and two students, for them to assess and hire the houses for the students when these should not agree with the proprietors, and not permit, so long as they paid the rents, to be turned away, unless the owners should wish to reside in their houses, sell, or bestow them in marriage to their sons or descendants. He exempted from all expenses in the royal treasury, the privileges and freedom of the University. He forbade strictly all courtiers, soldiers, or buffoons to lodge in the houses of students, to beg or extort from them anything. He exempted from all rates of transit throughout the kingdom all students, their servants, horses, books, and luggage, when these said students were going or returning from their college. He permitted them to take free of duty to Coimbra all articles of food, whatever be the custom or local statute existing to the contrary. Finally, he established that two honourable citizens be chosen to fulfil the charge of *conservadores*, in order to preserve intact all the privileges of the University, to be jealous for the honour and the interests of the schools and students, and to apprise the King of what they thought needful for the institution.

These privileges were confirmed later on, established and amplified by a series of governing providencies which rivalled each other in devotion and watchfulness for the University.

The schools and the apartments of the students were situated in Coimbra from the Gate of Almedina upwards. At first the lessons were read in the various private houses; in this there was no difficulty, since each faculty had barely one professorial chair. But by degrees the schools became united in a building contiguous to the royal palaces, and where, in the sixteenth century, the college of St. Paul was erected.

Subsequently to 1309, there was established in the University the school of music; for in the highly devotional and poetic spirit of that age, the study of music and culture of the divine art was indispensable. Perchance an important document on this subject, the last of this reign, dated 18th of January, 1323, throws some light on the rental of the University. At the request of the Master of the new Military Order

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of Christ, the King yielded up to the Order the two churches of Pombal and Soure, under condition that the revenue be assigned for the appointments of the Study, and a salary be given of £600 to the Master of Laws; to the one of Canons, £500; of Physics or Medicine, £200; to the Professor of Grammar, £200; to that of Logic, £100; of Music, £65; and £40 to each of the *Conservatoires*—these moneys being payable at Christmas and Midsummer.

It is impossible to say whether these payments corresponded in value to the coin of the present day, since money then had a much greater purchasing power than now.

The system of teaching was in those days in our University, as in all preceding ones, based on the narrow principles of scholastic philosophy. This was the principal cause why, notwithstanding its resources and privileges, our University prospered but little. Besides this, it fell into the exaggerated cultus of the imperial Roman laws, which fearfully concurred to the annulment of the councils and the increase of absolute royal power.

The university continued in Coimbra until the following reign. It was the first, and for a great length of time the only establishment of superior secular instruction in Portugal, and, in spite of all its primitive grave defects, was the best endowed, the most lasting and beneficial of the monuments which D. Diniz bequeathed to future generations.

The visitor who in our day enters into the wide court of Coimbra, and beholds on one side the *via latina*, on another the *escada de Minerva*, names which still record the dogmatic science of past ages, and considers the many generations of illustrious men who have trodden that ancient pile, cannot do less than bless the memory of D. Diniz, who, at a period when all studies were enclosed within the precincts of monasteries and cathedrals, gave to science a greater liberty and amplitude, by founding a university and laying the basis of an institution which was in future ages to cast back over Portugal such brilliant rays of glory and honour.

We have seen the conditions of intellectual culture which the State offered the nation; now let us study what the nation possessed, the result of that culture, the sentiment of nationality, its traditions and the mercantile influence and contact; of its military, political, and literary standing in comparison to other countries.

This study we can only appreciate and examine by the written



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monuments of those remote ages. But in our day the research has been such, and the wealth of political lore and the information gained by consulting the archives of the Peninsula and of the Romans so great, that this book, in its circumscribed limits, could barely afford us space to give to the matter a small and summary idea.

Poetry is one of the first manifestations of the human soul. To speak and to sing are natural faculties; they are the manifestations of thought and feeling, of the ideas which are conceived in the spirit, and the impressions which the spirit receives from the external world.

As soon as a people become constituted, it at once initiates its poetry, either native or imitated, and oftentimes both—native, when sprung from its originality and power; imitated, when the country holds relations with some more cultured people than itself, and which it admires, studies, and endeavours to equal in its poetic productions.

Both these styles of literature are possessed by Portugal, and to both we must direct our attention at the period we are describing.

Before the Portuguese nationality became constituted, Galicia belonged to the new monarchy of Leon, and extended from north to south through the greater portion of the territory which later on was denominated Portugal, forming a vast region, in which was spoken only one language—the Galician. When D. Henry received, with the hand of D. Theresa, the government of that part of the province which lay between the rivers Minho and Tagus, and laid the first foundations of the monarchy which his son constituted definitely, the Galician language by degrees became transformed into the Portuguese language, and developed with the increase of the political life of the new independent State; meanwhile that the language of Galicia remained stationary, and did not pass beyond an intermediate dialect between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in the same way as Galicia, which, from its origin and character, is a part of Portugal, yet politically belongs to Spain.

Two classes, both indigenous of the Visigothic race, composed our nationality. The peaceful class, numerous and dedicated to productive labours, occupied the land previous to the conquest, having accepted quietly the tolerant dominion of the Arabs, which during that epoch had identified itself with their civilisation; the warrior class, conquerors and victorious, was composed of the nobles and soldiers—Asturian-Leonese—who from the Guadalete resisted the Saracens, and retired to

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the north of the Peninsula, returning later on, reconquering step by step Spain, and followed the husband of D. Theresa, and helped D. Alfonso to expel the Mussalmans.

The first class are denominated *Mosarabes*, which then constituted the larger portion of the people, and the second formed the *Nobility*.

The Mosarabes, which, previous to the Mussalman invasion, belonged generally to the inferior classes of society, and who were less in contact with the ancient Roman authorities and their old Latin civilisation, preserved for a great length of time superstitious ideas, traditions, juridical and domestic customs, and above all the poetry of the primitive Germanic life, although sufficiently modified by contact with the splendid civilisation of the Arabs.

The Visigothic nobility preserved throughout the Middle Ages its Germanic individuality, which produced feudalism, but lost its nature and nearly all else with its imitation of the Latin race and the influence of Catholicism; losing first, in literature and poetry, its originality; then, in jurisprudence and customs, its vigour and character, descending to the low servilism of courtiers in respect to the monarchic and Byzantine absolutism of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, until it altogether disappeared in this actual period, absorbed by the people, and extinguished by the successive conquests of modern democracy.

To the energetic Visigothic-Portuguese race, though reanimated, in one class by the incessant warfare of many generations of heroes, and in the other by useful work and the intellectual culture and civil liberty authorised by the Arabs, yet there was wanting a sufficiently powerful foundation of native traditions to elevate the spirit and afford it an original and typical character. These became reduced to the primitive traditions of Germania, rendered colourless by time and Arab assimilation, but which formed the bases of the primitive Galician and Portuguese poetry—the warrior deeds of the nobles respecting the recent conquest, and which in a small part were national, and the ideas and Christian legends of the vast poem of the Bible, which were more Oriental than Peninsularian.

The Galician, which had become stationary, possessed nevertheless, in the Peninsula, a literary importance: in this dialect was composed the first popular poems, which in Portuguese territory, transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation, became adapted to the new language; and in this same dialect were the first Provençal

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imitations written, in this wise was the dialect preserved until the nineteenth century in the various courts on this side of the Pyrenees as an artificial language, but much esteemed for lyric and sentimental poetry of the troubadour throughout Spain.

The Portuguese language, however, commenced, as we said, from the time of the arrival of the Count of Burgundy to acquire a distinct feature from the Galician dialect.

In the territory where the Count established himself many warriors and French ecclesiastics who had accompanied him also settled, and these received, in the new State, lands and important Government posts. Transcribers also came to write the Gospels in French letter, in fulfilment of the decrees issued by the Council of Leon in 1090. The Portuguese youths who wished to follow the ecclesiastical profession or showed a greater intelligence, proceeded to France to learn letters and sciences and receive a higher instruction. All these individuals, accustomed to the use of the French language, introduced into the Galician dialect a great number of polished terms and otherwise improved its phraseology.

This influence was increased further by the establishment of French colonies, which were commenced in the time of Alfonso Henry; by the lengthened residence of the French Crusaders who entered the Portuguese ports when proceeding to Palestine, and by the extensive emigration of Portuguese nobles and clergy which, in the reign of King Sancho II., took refuge in France, and from thence returned victorious with Alfonso III.

When Diniz ascended the throne the Portuguese language, enriched so greatly by contact with foreign dialects, became entirely distinct from the Galician, which no longer was spoken in Portugal, and only employed by some erudite writers when, for singularity's sake, they wrote some poems.

During the previous reign Portuguese began to be written, and as is generally the case, its first manifestation was in poetry.

Celtic traditions, especially the Germanic, which were but little altered by contact with the Romans, which scarcely reached the inferior circles of society, became expanded beneath the tolerant rule of the Mussalman conquerors; and, incited by the use of metre, music, singing, and dancing, which the Arabs constantly practised and invigorated by the independence of the new nationality and the progressive organisation of the municipalities, produced small anonymous

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poems, Peninsularian rhapsodies which became, with the songs of the feasts and pilgrimages of social life, the primitive poetry of the Portuguese masses.

These small poems were at first called *aravias*, because their exterior forms were Arabic, the music which accompanied them, and the style of intoning. But at heart they preserved purely the Celtic and Visigothic character founded on the expansive sentimentality of the Peninsula. In them is observed the vestiges of the primitive myths and beliefs of the Indo-Germanic races, and the symbols, the usages, the penal jurisprudence of the Visigoths, which the same Mosarabe class inserted in their *foros*.

The Mosarabe population was more especially concentrated in the Algarve and Beiras than in any other part of Portugal, and it is in these places where, even to this day, is found traditionally these primitive poems in their most complete and purest form.*

These productions, otherwise admirable, composed in the uncultured language of the inferior classes, and which preserved throughout generations their archaisms and rudeness, lost their name of *aravias* and were called *romances* by the nobles and the learned, because the common language was styled generally, up to the fifteenth century, *romance*. It appears that it was only in this century that the people adopted this name for their poems, and it was only likewise in the fifteenth century that these poems acquired their greater development, enriched with the national traditions of the war of independence and our discoveries and conquests.

The *romanceiros*, or collections of these poems, gathered from oral traditions, and recently published, offer us rich fountains of tradition, of popular life, of originality and true poetry which charms and commands our admiration, and are the veritable literary and historic monuments of the first ages of Portuguese society.

Of the productions known at the present day, however, there are rarely found any that preserve the genuineness, the purity, or the form of the original *aravias;* they are mostly recompositions, some learned, others popular, of the primitive poems, made subsequently to the latter half of the fourteenth century, altering the language, the

* It is in the Island of Madeira, and principally in the Azores, that, after the provinces of Algarve and Beira, we find the richest mines of these poems brought by the first Portuguese who occupied these territories. In the Azores these poems still retain the name of *aravias*, which has become obsolete for a long time in the Peninsula.

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metre, and the name of the personages, and where is solely preserved the fundamental idea of the legend.

In the chronological order this period was the first known in our literary history, and one of the richest, fully meriting our attention and study. Let us see what was the state of poetry in its most erudite and intellectual position.

In this order the epoch under consideration was extremely fertile. A short time since—to the shame of all Portuguese—an Italian published the most extensive collection of songs known, a work which has been much admired, but few have seen. The work is entitled *Il Canzoniere Portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, by Ernesto Monaci (1875), and contains some 1,205 productions, embracing over a hundred poets of the Dionisian age.

We have thus the proof that in the second quarter of the century under consideration, there already existed this treasure of poetry, and the poetic enthusiasm which animated Portugal during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the recent publication of Monaci of the Vatican codices in their integrity comes at length to cast light over a period in the history of Portugal considered in our days so brilliant, but which a few years since was enveloped in obscurity.

It was not the King alone, as it was thought, who, either induced by his masters or his grandfather Alfonso the Wise, wrote in "metre and rhyme in imitation of the bards of Provence." It was, so to say, an entire nation, impelled by enthusiasm for a charming foreign fashion, followed by the monarch, and invigorated by national and popular desire, which adopted this particular style of amorous, sentimental poetry, and so became relatively more cultured by acquaintance with the elegance of language, metre, and rhyme with which it was adorned. The King, Infantes, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, knights, ecclesiastics, jesters, the popular classes—in a word, all who approached the Court or frequented the dwellings of *ricos-homens*, the ecclesiastical and secular schools—all became poets; and these compositions, preserved amid the priceless treasures of the Vatican, affords us a grand insight into the most intimate sentiments, language, customs, and ruling passions of that distinguished epoch.

We find that Provençal poetry commenced among the Portuguese after the year 1245, when the Infante Count of Boulogne returned from France at the head of prelates and nobles who had emigrated, accompanied by learned French ecclesiastics. Among this numerous

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retinue, brave and victorious, came native and foreign spirits, who were enthusiastic for the poetry which from the South of France had reached to Paris and had worked its way into Portugal, bringing some influence from Galicia received from Aquitania, and rapidly spread in all Latin races of the West of Europe, and even reached Germany and England.

However, when this style of poetry reached Portugal, it had been in existence more than a century from its birth in the most fertile zone of France, which extends from the north of the Loire to the Lake of Geneva, comprehending Aquitania, Auvergne, Rhodes, Tolosa, Provence, and Vienna, where the Gaulic traditions had been preserved more purely and vividly, and with them the popular songs; but the nobility and clergy held these in contempt, and kept them, as it were, in subjection during the epoch of the Middle Ages.

The Crusades, which commenced at the end of the eleventh century relieved the South of France of these two dominating classes. Fathers and nobles departed for Asia, carried away by frenzied piety for the conquest of Jerusalem.

The popular element, on feeling the weight of this yoke diminished, began to raise its head; municipal organisation to gain a powerful increase; commerce, industries, agriculture, arts, all the manifestations of the people; and as a consequence, poetry acquired with liberty a strange vigour, and the ancient songs of Gaul, up to then uncultured, despised, and persecuted, took a written form, became perfected, and in a short time rose to a brilliant literature, which at length enthralled cultured spirits and the elevated classes.

Throughout the South of France the number of troubadours was infinite; their songs, although the principal subject was love, and at times would become lost in the abstraction of an exaggerated sentimentality, nevertheless implanted in the public spirit the independence of the municipalities, elevating the dignity and conscience of the masses, by making them feel that they could command the love and esteem of the highest, and be themselves loved by means of loyalty, bravery, and talent.

When the powerful municipal organisation, and almost democratic, of the South of France became crushed by the feudalism of the Franks under the fanatical pretext of extirpating the heresy of the Albigenses, Provençal poetry withered away very considerably, and later on fell into a complete ruin when the Crusades ended in 1291, and the clergy

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and nobles remaining in the country regained in part their former predominance.

The troubadours then spread themselves throughout Europe, especially the republican cities of Italy, and became a powerful element, as they had been in their own land, for the elevation of the popular classes and the municipal life.

In Portugal, the literature of Provence began to acquire vigour and reached its brilliant period when it was already in its decadence in Provence.

When Alfonso III. beheld himself firmly seated on the throne, and with heirs, he thought of educating his eldest son in such a manner as would render him worthy of the crown he was bequeathing to him, by giving him, as we have seen, the best masters, among them Aymeric d'Ebrard of Aquitania, a lover, and probably a teacher of the poetry of his land; and it was also about that time the state of health of D. Alfonso was such that it compelled him to lead a sedentary life, fixing his residence in the capital, and for whole years either was confined to his bed, or to the seclusion of his chamber.

In order to divert the active spirit of the King during the lengthened hours of his protracted seclusion the nobles cultivated poetry, the taste for which had been acquired during emigration.

Hence D. Diniz was educated in this atmosphere, and with masters who were decidedly lovers of this kind of literature. When his father assigned him a residence, some of the fidalgos appointed for his household were poets, and with these and others he held frequent epigrammatic combats, then in vogue in all Latin nations.

When he ascended the throne, notwithstanding the cares of government, which were laborious and agitated, Diniz not only continued an assiduous cultivator of poetry, but attained to become the first poet of his time, and to instil a love for it among all the cultured classes of the country. Around the King there soon mustered a brilliant circle of bards and rhymesters which cast its light over the dark shadows of the Middle Ages, and across the pages of the songster of the Vatican. Some of his sons became poets, and more greatly captivated his affection in proportion as they became distinguished among the versifiers of the time.

Provençal poetry, however, was foreign; for its basis it had foreign traditions; as its constant subject, lovemaking forbidden by social inequalities and mysteries. Nothing of this could take root in

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Portugal, because it was not native to the soil, but it subsisted for a longer period than could have been expected, and acquired new vigour and a certain Portuguese originality that distinguished it from the Provençal literature of other Latin nations.

By this enthusiastic and almost general cultivation of versification, the Portuguese language rapidly improved, and acquired a relative perfection. Portuguese began to be employed in Government acts and law writings, which up to then had been written in Latin.

D. Diniz, following the general regard which letters were receiving throughout Europe—since this was the epoch of the first renaissance—had celebrated works translated into the common language, which greatly concurred to establish its grammar and widen useful knowledge. Among these, the translation from the Spanish of the *Chronica geral de Hespanha*, and the *Leis das Partidas*, which he adapted for Portugal from the Arabic, by Gil Pires; the works of Moo Rasis, Chronicler of Cordova, and various religious works from the Latin. Finally, in Portuguese was written the *Livro velho das Linhagens e Nobilario do Conde D. Pedro*, and which, it is said, afforded the primitive sketch of the first novel in prose, called *Amadis da Gaula*, that became later on so renowned throughout the world.

The literary nation had become constituted, the adherents of Alfonso III. were the first to start the work, and D. Diniz to complete the labours of organisation, and became, amid the circle of troubadours, the greatest poet of the epoch, and had the historic felicity of giving his name to this glorious cycle.

Scarcely had two years passed since the second concordat celebrated between the civil powers and the church, than new complaints arose among the prelates, more particularly in respect to D. Vincent, the Bishop of Oporto, and disturbed the spirit of D. Diniz, but ere this complaint reached Rome, the monarch proceeded to Oporto, on August 23rd, 1292, to discuss the matter, and drew up a third accord with the clergy, represented by the Bishops of that city, Guarda, and Vizeu. After this concordat there was a better understanding, and it was only seventeen years later, in 1309, that the complaints of the clergy became renewed.

It was then decided and arranged all laws of mortmain in its juridical, political, economic, and social formula. All else which was done in this affair, in the sense of progress and liberty, with the exception of the extinction of religious orders, was no more than a confirmation

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or regulation of the laws decreed by D. Diniz, and which, during the regency of the Infante D. Pedro, were inserted integrally in the *Ordenações Affonsinas*.

Returning to external policy, we continue the narrative of its history.

D. Diniz was at Lisbon in April, 1295, when he received intelligence that the King of Castille lay in imminent peril of his life. Being well acquainted with the state of affairs and of the temper of the neighbouring monarchy, he knew the death of Sancho would open a long period of perturbations and weakness, due to the minority of his successor, and that it behoved him to profit by it.

Portugal was enjoying internally a season of peace as complete as could be expected in those periods of power and violence. Population was increasing; the nobility numerous enough, and brought up in the warlike traditions of former reigns, aspired ardently for the glorious adventures of war; the councils were full of daring youths, elevated by the recent popular liberty, and desirous of distinguishing themselves. Productive labour in all its branches was increasing, developing, and prospering. The royal treasury was, relatively, more opulent than that of any other monarchy of the Peninsula. Hence, as the country possessed all these conditions of wealth and strength, and not over-scrupulous in the means employed to realise this idea, the son of Alfonso III. perceived that the moment which he had so ardently desired had arrived for enlarging his states.

With the object of observing more closely what might occur in Castille, and be ready to take any resolution, D. Diniz departed from Lisbon, and proceeded to visit Coimbra, Vizeu, Lamego, Trancoso, until on the 27th of June he took up his residence in Guarda, a city of Portugal nearest to the frontier, and the line in those days of the principal communications with the neighbouring kingdom.

On the road the monarch received the news of the death of Sancho, and of the acclamation in Toledo of his son Ferdinand IV. as King, being then nine years and four months of age, but who should be chosen tutor and regent of Castille was still undetermined.

The previsions of D. Diniz were soon realised. Directly after the oath of obedience to the new King was taken, there arose on all sides pretenders to the crown placed on the brow of a weak child, and those who coveted the power flocked around to assert their claim to the regency. Allied one with the other, amid an interminable crowd of

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intriguers and disloyal ones, powerful magnates, entire orders of chivalry, important cities—in a word, all the adjoining nations were surging around to tear up the extensive Castillian monarchy, and make it the scene of their mutual hostilities, and principally of their rapine.

To all these evils, aggravated by famine and the plague, Castille could only offer in opposition two remedies—a mother's love and the patriotism of the people; but these proved sufficient to save her.

The Queen, D. Maria de Molinos, mother of Ferdinand IV., calmly resolute, strong, and heroic, by abolishing the recent vexatious imposts of excise, and by granting some local privileges to the people, was able, with the powerful and living elements of the communes, to sustain on the throne her son, and prevent the kingdom from being completely cut up and subdivided by rebels and foreigners.

The first who rose up against the King was his uncle D. John, he whom the Queen had saved from death in Alfaro, and who had assassinated the son of Alfonso Peres de Gusman, opposite the rampart walls on the previous year. From his residence in Granada, in union with the Saracens, the Infante proclaimed himself King of Leon and Castille, and very quickly invaded Andalusia, aided by an army of Moors.

Diogo de Haro, brother to Lopo who was assassinated in Alfaro, returned from Aragon, where he had fled, took possession of Byscaia, a seigniority of the family, and devastated the neighbouring towns of Castille by continual raids.

The Laras, to whose loyalty Sancho had entrusted his son at his last moments, and later on the master of Calatrava, and other nobles sent by the Queen to combat Diogo, leagued with him, putting forward their haughty pretensions, and compelled the new Government to give him Byscaia, acknowledging its almost complete independence.

Besides these, another Infante of Castille, D. Henry, uncle to Sancho, and who had some months previously returned to the country after being a captive for twenty-six years, having been taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou in the wars of Sicily, declared himself apparently protector of the new King; but he so intrigued with the people, and so alarmed them, attributing to D. Maria the vexatious intentions of despoiling him under the heaviest imposts, that in the Cortes of Valladolid he attained to be named tutor of D. Ferdinand, and defender of the kingdom, dividing the government with the Queen, who retained exclusively the bringing up and the education of her son.

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After sacking the lands adjoining Andalusia, the Moors returned to Granada, forsaking the Infante D. João. With a few followers, this restless, discredited prince presented himself at several cities. Alcantara and Coria surrendered, but Seville closed its gates upon him, and Badajoz repulsed him. He then resolved to seek aid from his nephew D. Diniz, and for this object came to Guarda, where he was received by the Portuguese King with every mark of affection. Being completely deficient of means, the Infante obtained them by the sale of the castle and city of Coria to the son of Alfonso III. for 345,000 Leonese maravedis.

D. João also laid before him his pretended rights to the throne of Castille. By the death of Sancho, the second son of Alfonso X., the crown could not, he advanced, revert to its former pretenders, the Infantes de la Cerda, the sons of the eldest born, because these had been excluded by the Cortes, who had declared the late king successor to the throne. Sancho had left no legitimate issue in view that the Papacy had not given a dispensation for his marriage with D. Maria de Molina, who was related to him by the third degree of consanguinity; hence the crown belonged to him as brother to the deceased king, and therefore his nearest legitimate relative.

Against this supposed illegitimacy of the marriage of Sancho, which was the principal basis of the argument advanced by the Infante, D. Diniz had argued with the King of Castille when he was his ally in the siege of Arronches; besides this, the new monarch was his relative; Sancho confirmed this promise in his will; and lastly he was bound by fealty to the treaties celebrated with his father, to be friendly with the youthful King, whose rights to the crown he was one of the first to acknowledge.

But the successor of the Count of Boulogne had an end in view towards which he worked without any scruple as to the means to be employed, being impelled by ambition and self-interest, feelings which in many spirits destroy all logical or just reasoning.

D. Diniz summoned a council composed of the ministers, the principal prelates, and noblemen of the kingdom, and laid before them the question of legitimacy of the Infante to the crown of Leon and Castille.

Without attending to the manifest incompetency of the tribunal, the council decided the cause. They judged by the said indications that D. John, who had several time invaded his country, and made

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war at the head of the Mussalman armies, had, by right of succession, the inheritance to the neighbouring monarchy.

This singular sentence was proclaimed by D. Diniz to the border counties of Leon, exhorting them to receive the Infante as their King, and promising to aid them to the full extent of his power.

As a sequel to this proceeding, D. Diniz on the 1st August, 1295, declared war to Castille, and issued a general call on the military forces of the kingdom, which then, with few exceptions, constituted all the able-bodied men of the country.

When the army was gathered together, the King D. Diniz sent, as was usual in that epoch of chivalry, a cartel of defiance to the youthful monarch of Castille, its prelates, *ricos-homens*, military orders, and people. The bearers of this message were Joanne Annes Redondo and Mem Rodrigues Rebotim. The attempt could not be more propitious to the aims of the Portuguese monarch.

These messengers were received in fear and terror by the Cortes of Valladolid. Castille was hesitating between the civil war of Byscaia, the various divisions among the nobles, and the insidious intrigues of D. Henry with the procurators of the councils. It was then acknowledged by all that at the moment it was impossible to offer the necessary resistance to the King of Portugal in collusion with the Infante D. John.

The envoys were dismissed without an answer, but later on they sent to Guarda the Infante D. Henry to treat with the King D. Diniz, he who had been just elected by the Cortes to fill the post of tutor and govern the State during the minority of the young King.

The son of Alfonso III. received him with his usual affability and courtesy. The two soon came to terms. D. Diniz, instigated by ambition, nevertheless maintained the prudent, plausible spirit which ruled his character. D. Henry was constrained by necessity and the difficult position in which Castille lay under; besides which, not being actuated by patriotism or lofty sentiments, he was ready to give away what was not his own.

On the 6th of September, D. Henry was already signing the obligations which, as far as Castille was concerned, he had undertaken in the arranged treaty.

The towns of Moura and Serpa, with their bounds and castles, would be delivered up to D. Diniz, and Aroche and Aracena in eighteen months' time. Besides this, the Government of Castille pledged itself,

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within a determinate term, to assign with Portuguese delegates the demarcations of the two kingdoms on all those points where D. Diniz judged he had been curtailed, and had claimed redress from D. Sancho, but never obtained it.

On his part the King of Portugal pledged himself to be a friend and ally of the youthful Ferdinand IV. The concessions which the Portuguese obtained were not few; but we can affirm that these concessions were only just. The four towns mentioned possessed ancient claims, having been conquered from the Moors by the Portuguese—the two first by Sancho the Bald, and the latter by the Count of Boulogne. The King, Alfonso X. of Castille, took possession of them, on account of his power, and probably of the civic and clerical divisions which had so weakened Portugal. Therefore the King of Portugal was only, and even with better reason, following the example given him by his grandfather, and profiting skilfully of the attempt to recover from the cousin what he had under similiar circumstances extorted from his father. The external policy of the time was almost circumscribed among princes to a continued series of marriages, robberies, and disloyalty. D. Henry very soon entered into a treaty with the Infante D. João, promising to replace him in his Leonese seignorities and submitting to the youthful king.

On the following month D. Diniz, accompanied by his Queen, the Court, and a large concourse of people, proceeded to Ciudad Rodrigo, where D. Maria de Molina, Ferdinand IV., D. Henry, and the Ministers of Castille awaited them, and where the treaty celebrated in Guarda was ratified on the 4th and 20th of October. Ferdinand yielded up the possession of the four towns, acknowledging that they had been allied to the Portuguese crown from the reign of his grandfather, and issued orders for the surrender of Moura and Serpa, which was effected within the stated term.

From Ciudad Rodrigo, D. Diniz went to Alemtejo to take possession of the two towns, and on December 9th gave to it, as well as to Noudar, a castellated place within the boundaries of Moura, the same charters as to the city of Evora.

It was about this time that in opposition to the Government of Castille, D. John Alfonso, Lord of Albuquerque, declared himself vassal to D. Diniz, entered his service, and soon became the chief mediator between the two nations, the Portuguese monarch elevating him to the first appointments of the kingdom.

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As soon as the King arrived at Lisbon, he appointed delegates to proceed with those of Castille to mark the boundaries of the frontiers, as had been arranged, one line being on the side of Beira from the Tagus to the mouth of the Coa, another from the latter up to Caminha, and comprehending the line of the two provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Entre Douro and Minho.

On the day fixed, January 20th, 1296, the Portuguese commissioners met together, some in Pinhel, others in Monforte de Riba Coa, and awaited the Castillian delegates. These latter, however, did not make an appearance. The Portuguese drew up competent protests, and went to Lisbon to render an account of their mission. Affronted by this discourtesy, and without waiting to investigate the cause of the absence of the delegates, D. Diniz resolved to take advantage of the occasion to compel by force of arms the complete execution of the agreement.

The period had arrived of the stormiest and most perilous times for the vacillating throne of the son of Sancho the Brave.

His perverse uncle, D. John, rebelled anew, and by low means and intrigues, and, moreover, skilfully profiting by the diverse circumstances which were agitating the neighbouring sovereigns, the Infante was enabled to form a most powerful party to support his aims.

James II. of Aragon, who was to espouse the tender sister of Ferdinand IV., now under plea that he could not obtain the pontifical dispensation for the marriage, owing to the close degree of consanguinity, but really because he desired to contract another marriage impelled by political interests, returned the Infanta to her mother, the Queen D. Maria, and became the principal element of alliance against Castille, to which the Kings of France, Navarre, and Granada speedily allied themselves. Surrounding their own ambitions with the colouring of justice and legitimacy, these princes leagued themselves to the two Castillian pretenders, Alfonso de la Cerda and D. John, and in the town of Ariza they all combined to divide among themselves the vast monarchy of Alfonso X. Castille, Toledo, and Andalusia were assigned to Alfonso de la Cerda; Leon, Galicia, and Asturias to D. John. In compensation for the expenses of the war, D. Alfonso ceded Murcia to the Aragonese monarch, and to his brother, the Infante D. Pedro, who commanded the invading army, was given the towns of Alarcon, Moya, and Cañete.

Apprised of this rising, and taking the infraction of Castille as a pretext for breaking the treaties made during the previous year,

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D. Diniz hastened to ally himself to the rebels, pledging himself to take part in the war in return for numerous strongholds promised him on the frontier.

The Aragonese army, increased by the rebel troops of the Infantes, left Ariza on 9th April, invaded Castille, and occupied the city of Leon, where D. John was proclaimed King of Leon, Galicia, and Seville. This army then advanced, took Sahagun, and then pledged oaths of allegiance to D. Alfonso de la Cerda, who was acclaimed King of Castille, Cordova, Jaen, and Toledo. Then proceeded on to the town of Mayorga, some five leagues farther on, and besieged it on meeting with resolute resistance. Meanwhile, Aragonese troops were taking possession of Alicante and Murcia. The French and Navarrese of Najera and the Saracens invaded Andalusia. Castille found herself driven to the direst extremity.

D. Diniz continued his preparations for invading likewise the neighbouring kingdom. But owing to the treaties effected the previous year, the idea of entering into war had been put away, the contingents of the *ricos-homens* and of the councils had returned to their respective localities, and the troops which remained in Guarda were insufficient to carry out the king's intention. It became necessary to raise a new conscription and arrange affairs for entering an enemy's country. But whether it was due to the magnitude of the undertaking and its preparations, or because the King hesitated to take this step, it was as a fact only after the middle of September that D. Diniz, at the head of the Portuguese army, crossed the frontier and entered Ciudad Rodrigo.

On reaching Saldanha he received intelligence of the death of D. Pedro of Aragon, on the 30th of August, and the withdrawal of the army which besieged Mayorga. This was a great disaster for the united forces.

Castille was fortunate in saving herself from the fearful storm which threatened her. D. Maria de Molina, on beholding the country invaded on all sides, invoked the patriotism and loyalty of the councils, whose representatives had met in the Cortes of Segovia; and, without losing courage, she proceeded to arrange all the forces which had remained faithful, and inspired such energy and fire into them that she was enabled to offer the invaders a terrible though passive resistance. She avoided pitched battles, and strengthened the garrisons of all fortified places in such a manner that generally throughout the monarchy the gates were closed upon the legions of the enemy.

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The Infante D. Henry—following a system opposed in the defence of Andalusia against the Emir of Granada—was defeated in an encounter, and would have lost all that kingdom had he not been saved by the intrepidity and intelligence of Alfonso Peres de Gusman.

Mayorga, where the Queen had sent some of her most loyal knights, heroically responded to the brave spirit of this valiant woman. For the space of four months Mayorga resisted all the efforts of the enemy, who, unable to conquer the stronghold, unceasingly devastated the adjoining lands. A terrible epidemic visited the besieging army and reducing it to a small number and the greatest misery, and the Infante D. Pedro, who commanded the forces, fell a victim. The Aragonese quickly raised the siege and retired, not like a fighting corps, but as a funeral *cortège*, taking with them hundreds of biers bearing their illustrious dead covered with palls which the Queen D. Maria, condoling with their losses, had sent them, and in a long melancholy procession quitted the spot.

Notwithstanding these deplorable events, D. Diniz continued to advance to Castille in the direction of Salamanca.

The position of the adverse Government was still a very difficult one; it found itself destitute of means to continue the war; the councils exacted new privileges; the tutor D. Henry and the principal nobles continued their intrigues and importunate demands for money and lands.

In Salamanca, D. Alfonso de la Cerda, at the head of the Castillians who followed his standard, and D. Pedro Cornel, the only *fidalgo* who continued with him, joined the Portuguese hosts.

A council was held, and it was resolved to march straight to Valladolid, where the Court resided, besiege the city and capture the Queen and the youthful King D. Ferdinand, and end the war by a decisive, daring blow.

The march proceeded, and the army crossed the Douro close to Tordosillas without meeting any opposition, reaching the town of Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid.

In the Castillian Court all counselled the Queen to retire from the city in order not to expose herself and the King to all the eventualities of war and horrors of a siege. D. Maria de Molina, however, firmly resolved to remain, and the ancient chroniclers of Castille tell us that she even rejected a proposal of adjustment sent to her by D. Diniz.

We believe that the repulse, if any did take place, was only apparent.



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and that secretly the two rulers promised one another to effect a treaty which would put an end to the war. The existence of these preliminary treaties is confirmed by the two Portuguese chroniclers; and always did the widow of Sancho manifest herself willing and ready to enter into an alliance with D. Diniz, to whose family she ever fondly wished to join her own, ever bearing in mind that the Portuguese monarch defended her in Arronches against the intrigues of Lopo de Haro.

In Simancas, D. Diniz learned the fact that the inconstant and restless Infante D. John had acknowledged his nephew D. Ferdinand legitimate King of Castille, and that some of the ricos-homens belonging to the alliance had refused to besiege the Queen and her son. In view of the fresh turn of affairs, and seeing that the winter was at hand, when it would be difficult to cross the Douro and his small forces be cut up in an enemy's land, deprived as he was of his allies and provisions, he resolved to retire to Portugal by Medina del Campo. D. Alfonso de la Cerda also retired to Aragon.

The Portuguese army, as it proceeded on its return home, devastated all it could, as was the custom of those times, and on this occasion with redoubled force, since it wished to take revenge for the raids which the Castillians were making in many points of the boundary-line of Portugal, which, unhappily, were marked by many cruelties practised on the prisoners by robberies and profanations of all kinds.

And although D. Diniz beheld his soldiers loaded with spoils and found the road free of enemies, yet he was ill satisfied with the result of his expedition. He had entered forty leagues into Castille, but had had no result with the tacit retirement of the Queen's government to fight any battle which could afford him glory, nor had he taken any important place by which to enlarge his own dominions. Besides this, he had been betrayed by some of his allies—a thorn which wounds the heart's core.

In this bitter state of mind, and probably meditating how to enter Portugal with more renown and profit than he had as yet acquired, did D. Diniz approach the land of his birth. He had already reached to the province of Estremadura, in the kingdom of Leon, and had only a few leagues still to traverse in the enemy's country ere he reached the Portuguese frontier. It was then that his political and acquisitive genius resolved upon a means of rendering memorable this military undertaking, which up to that point had been colourless

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under all its aspects, and enlarge the nation over whose destinies he presided.

In front of the hosts of D. Diniz there extended along the frontier of Portugal a tract of land of some fifteen leagues in length and three or four in width. On the north it was separated from Portugal by the rapid currents of the Douro; to the south and west flowed the river Côa. This tract belonged to Leon, and was a dependence of the Crown of Castille; but in former times, however, during the monarchy of Alfonso Henry, alternately fluttered the banner of the Portuguese or the flag of Leon, or was substituted by the crescent of the Mussalman from the towers of their most important towns.

This tract was a district covered with villages and residences; seven towns well fortified and populous stood forward—Sabugal placed on the north, Alfaiates, Villar Maior (founded by the last King of Leon), Castelbom, Almeida, Castello Rodrigo, and Castello Melhor.

The ruggedness of the place was remarkable. Although mountainous, and in some parts, especially to the north, very sterile, neglected, and uncultivated; nevertheless, on the whole, it was rich in vegetation and well watered. Small pine woods, chestnut plantations, luxuriant oaks, olive, almond and plum trees encircled magnificent vineyards, and numberless acres of corn and maize—hence the inhabitants, wealthy with the products of the soil, did not require to import any of the necessaries of life from neighbouring places.

Besides their respective councils, there existed in this district various important seigniories. The knights of the Order of Alcantara, to which had been incorporated that of Pereiro at the beginning of the century, possessed in that place valuable properties. Almendra belonged, by an ancient donation of Alfonso the Wise, to the Count D. Martim Gil, chief ensign of the King D. Diniz. The Monastery of Santa Maria d'Aguiar, of the Cistercian Order, the only one in the district, and which was situated to the east of Castello Rodrigo, possessed part of the villages bounding this town, founded by Alfonso Henry. The greatest possessor, however, of Riba de Côa was D. Sancho de Ledesma, first cousin of the Kings of Portugal and Castille, who held the best towns and villages of the district, and who was still, it appears, under the tutelage of his mother, D. Margarida de Narbona.

Both Portuguese chroniclers affirm that the Lord of Ledesma at the commencement of the campaign presented himself to D. Diniz and declared himself his vassal, receiving in return large sums; after-

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wards he entered the service of Ferdinand IV., and with the money received made war on the Portuguese, who, in order to avenge the treachery, and compensate himself for the sums given, D. Diniz, on returning from Castille, took possession of the lands of Riba de Côa, the greater portion of which belonged to D. Sancho.

The ancient chroniclers of Spain attribute the fault to D. Margarida, who entered into treaties and arrangements with the King of Portugal, and neglected to defend the inheritance of her son even in his infancy.

Both these hypotheses, besides being plausible, were perfectly in accord with the character of the epoch. Although Fr. Francisco Brandão contests this assertion, we have ample proofs that between the house of Ledesma and D. Diniz there existed understandings which afforded the pretext for the conquest, or else facilitated it, the youthful D. Sancho being innocent of them, since later on Castille indemnified him amply for what he had lost in Riba de Côa.

But the true reason for the conquest is clearly deduced from subsequent facts and the previous history of both kingdoms.

The son of Alfonso III., on returning to Portugal, beheld the line of territory which in part already appertained to the crown of his elders, and over which he had more or less a right, as his adversaries subsequently acknowledged; and afforded a means of compensation or a secure pledge for the future concessions of other strongholds which he claimed, but which the Government of Castille refused to accede for a long time: the land was covered with defences, and in the rebellions and divisions in which the country was cut up during the reign of Ferdinand IV., D. Diniz effected treaties with some of the owners of the district, which rendered it easy for him to take possession of it; and this possession was a moral and material indemnification to the country for the expense of lives and money which a war entailed with a foreign nation without a justifiable reason or necessity, and which could only be excused in the eyes of the people by some advantages being obtained.

These and other motives could not do otherwise than influence the spirit of D. Diniz, who was ambitious and restless, and he therefore did not hesitate a moment. He invaded the whole district up to the Coa, from the shores of Turões and the river Agueda, which became the limits of the Portuguese frontier.

The fortifications of the strongholds were unimportant, and their garrisons too small to resist the Portuguese army. Some of these

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forts surrendered by treaty, others were taken in swift battles. The Government of the youthful Ferdinand for many reasons was weak, and it abandoned this small part of its vast monarchy on beholding the impossibility of defending it.

D. Diniz remained in Castille until the end of October, and this important conquest must have been effected either in that month or the first days of November, 1296.

D. Diniz, who was for his epoch a true statesman and consummate politician, after effecting the material possession of Riba de Coa, endeavoured to secure it by captivating the spirits of the people, and in every way winning the affections of his new subjects.

He increased existing fortifications, and raised others; he placed Portuguese garrisons in all the strongholds, and appointed governors chosen among his bravest and most loyal knights. He demonstrated by fair reasonings that the conquest properly belonged to Portugal, in order to convince his new subjects of its legitimacy. He granted the councils privileges and rents, and on November 8th confirmed the rights of Castello Rodrigo, Castello-Bom, and Almeida; on the 10th, those of Sabugal; and on the 27th, when in Coimbra, those of Villar-Maior. About this time, also, the Infante D. John of Castille ratified the sale of the city and castle of Coria, which had been effected, as we said, on the previous year.

While the royal army was thus occupied in Castille, the frontier troops of both kingdoms were making reciprocal entries along the border-line, levelling adjoining towns, and carrying desolation and death. During these incessant raids sanguinary battles were fought, with varied success, on both sides. Both Portuguese chroniclers affirm that the master and cavalry of Aviz were defeated by the large concourse of the soldiers of Andalusia close to the Guadiana, but the erudite Francisco Brandão doubts this fact.

Andalusia was not, on that occasion, in a fit state to gather together and array before Portugal sufficient forces to effect this. It was then invaded by the Moors, and placed in such a straitened position that Alfonso Perez de Gusman, its governor, after enduring great reverses, sought aid from the King of Aragon, who was his enemy, it is true, but a Christian and a Spaniard, to save and defend that portion of the Peninsula from the victorious Mussalman arms, which were aided by the disloyal efforts of the Infante D. Henry. On similar grounds does Brandão refute the narrative given by the two chroniclers

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respecting the great naval engagement won by the Portuguese admiral against the fleet of Seville, which, they said, had proceeded to the Tagus to challenge the Portuguese and take prizes. This event is not mentioned by the Spanish historian Lafuente, and therefore we are fain by these omissions to hold such information doubtful.

It is, however, certain that the members of the Councils or Communes of Elvas, wearied out by the presence of the Castillian garrison of Campo Maior, proceeded with their standard to assail the stronghold, which they captured, and then went on to do the same to the Castle of Alvalade, which was not far distant.

In recompense for the patriotic and heroic deeds effected by the people, D. Diniz assigned these two conquered strongholds as the landmarks of the Council of Elvas.

These strongholds, the towns of Moura Serpa and Mourão, the Castle of Noudar, and the fertile, populous district of Riba de Coa were the ample spoils which D. Diniz gathered from these two attempts against Castille.

But now followed the difficult matter of not only furthering but maintaining, with some show of result, the political craft, sustained for eighteen months, and the constant invasions, at all times perilous, into an enemy's country. Such was the state of the affairs of Portugal when the year 1296 closed.

The new year 1297, which proved one of the happiest of the reign of D. Diniz, opened, however, dark and foreboding as regards the internal and external affairs of Portugal.

It was improbable that the vast monarchies of Leon and Castille, although weakened by wars and divisions, should permit the alienation of so many towns and castles to take place without at least an attempt to regain them, or punish the affront. It was no less probable that D. Diniz, who was an ambitious politician, should not endeavour, after the successful result of his policy, to continue his warlike schemes, with the object of increasing, or consolidating by the sword, the conquests he had obtained. And as a fact, the Government was occupied during the month of January in repairing the strongholds, and making the necessary preparations for continuing the campaign.

But a former grave affair once more rose up to trouble D. Diniz. His brother D. Alfonso appeared resolved upon causing fresh agitation.

The Count of Boulogne had endowed his second son, as we said, with towns, villages, and lands, with the faculty of being able to

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bequeath them to his legitimate descendants, but in the event of no such legitimate issue the whole to revert to the Crown.

The Infante had four sons by his relative, D. Violante of Castille, whom he had betrothed at a tender age. The marriage had not been solemnised, because the Roman Curia, in order not to acknowledge the marriage of Sancho, did not give any dispensation to near relations in collateral parentage. By this means the sons of the Infante were considered illegitimate, and incompetent to inherit the property of their father. With the object of evading the legal consequence of the primitive donation, the Infante Alfonso urged the King to declare them legitimate and heirs to the paternal inheritance.

This claim, prejudicial to the Crown and to the kingdom, was supported by the house of the Infante, and was a source of grave fears at the especial conjuncture in which the Peninsula found itself.

D. Alfonso, in possession of important strongholds situated on the frontiers, might easily league himself to Ferdinand IV. and introduce in them Castillian troops, and make war to Portugal in the interior of the kingdom.

D. Diniz had for a long time opposed the claim, but the Infante, knowing the position he could place the King, had reports circulated about his intentions and the manner he should act, and then renewed his request. The King hesitated. The Infante, who did not wish to have recourse to extreme measures, besought the Queen, D. Isabel, to move D. Diniz. Far from acceding to his request, the daughter of Peter the Great of Aragon opposed it radically, and issued solemnly a public protest against the pretensions of the Infante.

This document is of great historic importance, and throws a great light over the subject and the Government of the time, while it affords a singular trait, worthy of study, of the character of the princess whom the Church later on found fit to canonise.

Yet in spite of the protest of his consort and public interest, the resolutions of the King were diverse. Superior to all the considerations advanced by the Queen was the salvation of the people and of his crown. To complicate the war against Castille, which had been so successfully commenced, by a civil strife in the interior of the country would not only render future conquests hopeless, but would place the stability of the throne in peril. D. Diniz therefore decided to favour his brother by granting his petition, with the intention, undoubtedly treacherous and mean, of later on retracting his promise.

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In order, however, to appease the Queen and her private and most intimate counsellors, he assured them that in doing this it was on account of his fear lest the Infante should league himself with Castille in the approaching war, by which serious evils might result to the kingdom, but that at a future time he would not carry out his decree, since it was done under coercion of his will, and this alone would render it void. This he advanced some years after, when his nieces claimed the fulfilment of the concession.

The Infante, however, believed and trusted in the letter of concession, and not only agreed to it, but was grateful to the King for having overcome the opposition of the Queen and of the greater number of ministers in his favour. The phrases of the decree could not, in truth, be more precise and solemn.

This source of perturbation being allayed, and the Government delivered of the trouble which it might bring upon it, D. Diniz exclusively occupied himself in actively furthering preparations for continuing the war. Spring was approaching, and it became necessary to have all things ready in order to commence the campaign.

His secret aim was, however, totally diverse, and the political circumstances of Castille, which continued embarrassing, favoured his intentions.

D. John Alfonso, who, on the previous year, had taken part in the campaign and in the service of Portugal, finding himself on this occasion in Albuquerque on the limits of Castille, was entrusted with this delicate mission. It was projected to avoid the continuance of war between the two nations by a treaty of peace, which would render valid the facts consummated, and strengthen them by the marriage of the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia with the youthful monarch of Castille, and his sister, D. Beatriz, with the heir to the Portuguese crown.

D. John Alfonso was intelligent and shrewd; he was related to D. Maria de Molina, and was esteemed by D. John Fernandes de Lima, son of the Dean, and afterwards Archbishop of Santiago, a great favourite at the Court of Castille. Besides this, he found assistance in D. John Fernandes de Souto Maior, Bishop of Tuy, first Chancellor of the Queen, and of Portuguese parentage by his mother's side, and was greatly assisted by the position in which the Government of the neighbouring kingdom found itself, and was therefore able to carry out the affair to a rapid and favourable conclusion.

Before the end of spring D. John Fernandes, as the mediator of

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Castille, with the assent of the Queen D. Maria and the Cortes of Camora, signed, at the last conference in Albuquerque, the conditions of marriage and the treaty of peace. The news of this treaty was received with joy by both countries, and notably by the hero of Andalusia, D. Alfonso Perez de Gusman.

In acknowledgment of the happy issue of these negotiations, John Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Master of the Household, and later on elevated to the dignity of Count de Barcellos.

The treaty, however, between the two monarchies was only concluded in the month of September. It was agreed upon that both sovereigns should meet with their numerous courts in the town of Alcanises, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Leon, a short distance to the north of the Portuguese town of Miranda, in the province of Tras-os-Montes, and there to celebrate the betrothal of the Infantes, and sign the agreement of marriage, as also the necessary diplomas for securing peace and alliance between the two kingdoms.

D. Diniz arranged all things with the greatest splendour for this conference. He proceeded from Coimbra to Trancoso, where he left the Infante D. Alfonso heir to the throne, and proceeded to Miranda, and then to Alcanises, accompanied by the Queen D. Isabel, her daughter Constancia, his brother D. Alfonso, and a numerous suite of prelates, *ricos-homens*, courtiers, and men-at-arms.

When the Portuguese arrived, the Queen D. Maria de Molina, the youthful King Ferdinand IV., his tutor the Infante D. Henry, the Infanta D. Beatriz, and the numerous Court of Castille already awaited them.

The two royal *cortèges*, on traversing their respective countries, had been saluted by the people in the sincerest and most enthusiastic manner. The nation ardently yearned for peace, as the conclusion to the many devastations and labours they had undergone during the previous year. Their desire was amply fulfilled in the treaty of Alcanises. This affair was the most notable event of Portuguese diplomacy in Spain during the long reign of D. Diniz.

Then was definitely arranged the two desired marriages of the Infantes; and notwithstanding the tender age of the contracting parties, the bride of Ferdinand proceeded to Castille, and to Portugal the espoused of the future Alfonso IV.

Of the four contracting parties, the eldest was the King of Castille, whose age was eleven years and nine months. His betrothed,

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D. Constancia, had not yet completed her eighth year; her brother, D. Alfonso of Portugal, was barely seven, and his promised bride, D. Beatriz, was in her fourth year.

The policy of those times was such, that as the union of princes was the principal bases of all treaties between the nations, the children of kings were wedded even in their cradles. Diplomacy capriciously arranged and disposed of the hearts and the future of royal infants.

To the tender spouse of his son D. Diniz gave as her marriage dowry Evora, Villa Viçosa, Villa Real, Gouveia, and Villa Nova. The royal decree was issued on the 6th of October, 1297, when D. Diniz was in the town of Sabugal. Taking for its foundation the double union of the reigning families, the treaty of Alcanises was ample and without restrictions. The Castillian Government not only acknowledged all the conquests lately effected by Portugal, but likewise ceded to her Olivença, Ouguella, and S. Felizes dos Gallegos in exchange for its doubtful rights over Arronches, Aracena, Valença, Ferreira, Esparregal, and Ayamonte, whose conquest was more doubtful still.

The Infantes and principal members of Castille ratified, as was the custom, the treaty of peace, and offered homage and pledged themselves to D. Diniz to assist him against their own king, should he not fulfil his promised word.

In order that it should be seen by Castille that this treaty was not only of great utility for Portugal, and under the pretext of favouring D. Ferdinand against the rebellion of his uncle the Infante D. John, the King D. Diniz sent from Alcanises, with the youthful King, 300 Portuguese knights led by John Alfonso Albuquerque. To these joined Alfonso Peres de Gusman and John Fernandes with some troops. They invaded the lands which had risen up for the Infante, and persecuted him to the very gates of Leon, where he enclosed himself. In this way did the Portuguese for some time continue in the service of the crown of Castille.

Meanwhile D. Diniz returned to Portugal, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy throughout the principal cities he passed. The persevering monarch then resumed vigorously the administration of the kingdom.

He incorporated to the crown the Castle of Almada and its town, which was so valuable for the defence of the Tagus, compensating the Knights of Santiago, who held them, by giving them other places of less importance. This act was the last of the year 1297, and he commenced

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the new year by confirming, on the 4th of January, the charter of Elvas and Olivença, and on the 5th those of Evora and Ouguella.

But in these peaceful labours D. Diniz was disturbed anew. Scarcely had the spring commenced, and the Court settled in Santarem, than two Castillian ambassadors came from the Queen D. Maria de Molina, the assembled Cortes in Valladolid, and the youthful betrothed couple, son-in-law and daughter of D. Diniz, to ask a fresh and more efficacious aid against the tribulations which at the time visited the monarchy of Castille.

The former league of the Infantes de la Cerda and D. John, John Nunes de Lara, and the King of Aragon was newly established, and, aided by a large number of malcontents, rekindled with greater fury the firebrand of civil war, carrying desolation to all parts of Spain which were loyal to Ferdinand IV.

The prudence and success of D. Diniz as a politician and commander were acknowledged throughout the Peninsula, and the partisans of D. Maria de Molina and the youthful King on beholding the Portuguese monarch allied to Castille, and bound to it by the marriage of his daughter, had recourse to him as their only supporter. These envoys were charged with most powerful recommendations to urge him not only to send Portuguese troops, but, above all, to personally assist them.

This message which the Leonese Cortes of Valladolid addressed to him is significative, and proves the importance which these national assemblies of *fidalgos*, clergy, and people possessed in Spain during the thirteenth century, since they not only had votes in the imposts and the forces which each Council should send, but which decided the legitimacy of the pretenders to the crown, drew up laws, took a part in all matters of government, and even assumed to treat directly with foreign monarchs. This last and extraordinary faculty is proved by the document addressed to D. Diniz from Valladolid in their name, bearing the date 12th March, 1298.

D. Diniz acceded to this request, and promised to be in Castille in June. And in order to reward his services, and likewise win the good-will of the fidalgos of the adjoining kingdom, where he intended to militate, he elevated to the rank of Count, with the important town of Barcellos as his county, D. John Alfonso. After this act he quickly organised an army, which arrived at Guarda on the 25th of June.

D. Diniz advanced to Ciudad Rodrigo, where he was received by the

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Queen, D. Ferdinand IV., and D. Constancia. Here he awaited the arrival of the forces which had remained in Portugal.

As the Queen D. Isabel had accompanied her consort to the frontiers, and remained in Sabugal to further the expedition, D. Maria de Molina approached the line as far as Fonte Ginaldo, where the Queens met. The conference lasted three days, and the chroniclers enlarge on this event, telling us that a great concourse of people flocked from Portugal and Castille to admire such august princesses as D. Isabel, who was renowned for her patience, modesty, and sanctity; the Castillian Queen, celebrated for her prudence, heroic spirit, and talent for governing; and D. Constancia, in whose countenance could already be perceived indications that she would be a worthy imitator of the virtues of her mother and the elevated qualities of her worthy mother-in-law.

After a week's delay in Ciudad Rodrigo, D. Diniz, who, from the moment he entered Castille, put away all haste, set out on the road, urged by D. Maria de Molina, and proceeded slowly to Salamanca. In this city he made a further delay of a week awaiting the Infante D. Henry, tutor to the King. This delay was due to other schemes which occupied D. Diniz—that of negotiating with his former allies rather than combating them with arms.

The rebel Infante D. John facilitated the carrying out of this intention. Acknowledging that it would be impossible for the allies to conquer Ferdinand if assisted by D. Diniz, he sent to the latter as his parliamentary a knight who possessed his intimate confidence.

The Infante was in possession of the kingdom of Galicia and of the city of Leon: in order to retain these dominions he was ready to marry his son and heir to one of the daughters of D. Alfonso, brother of the Portuguese sovereign, whereby a niece of his would divide the throne of the new State. He also proposed to surrender to D. Diniz all his rights over the provinces he held, acknowledging him as his king, so long as he allowed him to enjoy them during his lifetime.

These transactions were discussed in the councils of the Portuguese monarch. Many were in favour on account of the supposed advantages to be derived by diminishing in this way the power of Ferdinand, and weakening Castille, which they held as almost the only passive enemy to Portugal.

These arguments rendered the spirit of the son of Alfonso III. undecided, and induced him to delay negotiations, and as a consequence

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military operations, to the deep dissatisfaction of the Castillians. At length, compelled to decide, Diniz, it appears, followed the only right and worthy course—he proceeded to aid his daughter and son-in-law, and declared he would continue to succour them; yet in his heart he firmly resolved not to league himself with the Infante.

He advanced to the city of Touro. On being urged by D. Maria de Molina to proceed to the enemy's lands, he declined under various pretexts, but offered to besiege the Castle of Matta, where he had heard from D. John that the royal family of Castille had gone to. The Queen accepted the proposal in order to remove from D. Diniz any further reasons for excuse. D. Diniz besieged it, yet continued the negotiations unmindful of the assaults. At length he declared for the Queen, inculcating the convenience of maintaining in Galicia D. John, and joining with him to overthrow the enemies of Ferdinand IV.

In this extremity Maria de Molina resorted to the people, the most faithful ally she found during her long government. She urged that as it was a question of change of rulers, the cause properly belonged to the councils, and it was for them to decide through their commissioners who were present in the camp. These met together in one of the tents, and D. Diniz laid before them the transactions desired, and which he urged and explained by long reasonings.

The good men of Galicia and Leon did not allow themselves to be conquered by the eloquence of the Poet-King; but following the Queen, and, perchance, not relishing the idea of having for their ruler and lord the most perverse of the Kings of the Peninsula, they persevered in their allegiance to Ferdinand IV., and firmly repulsed the name of John, and the separation of the kingdoms which was proposed to them.

Annoyed by this turn of affairs, D. Diniz took leave of the Queen, telling her that he could not make war against those he wished to favour, raised the siege, and returned to Portugal, where he arrived in September, having wasted over two months in this deplorable military and political expedition.

But a greater annoyance awaited him in the kingdom. His brother, the Infante D. Alfonso, ever envious and restless, being either vexed with D. Diniz for not promoting as efficiently as he wished the independence of Galicia, whose crown he desired to win for one of his daughters—or for some other reason unknown to us—he several times had differences with the King, and seeing that he was unprotected by

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external alliances, practised such excesses within his dominions in the Alemtejo that the monarch was compelled to have recourse to arms, and to besiege him in Portalegre.

At the end of the winter of 1299 he departed for Santarem, in order to prepare all things for the campaign, and so greatly did this event influence his mind that before passing on to Alemtejo he made his will on the 8th and 17th of April, and arranged all things in case of an eventuality.

This document is noteworthy on account of some of its dispositions. He ordered for the salvation of his soul, besides great legacies to numerous churches, the sum of a thousand pounds to be given to a knight to join the Crusade which was then preached, and serve God in the Holy Land during the space of two years, and a thousand pounds to another to visit the Stations of Rome and remain there for two quarantines.

But piety did not obscure his faculties as ruler and statesman. He further ordered that D. Isabel, his wife, should be tutor not only of the heir to the throne, D. Alfonso, but even of D. Constancia, who, although Queen of Castille, as betrothed to Ferdinand IV., but owing to the marriage not having been consummated, and the want of harmony between the two countries, might be sent back to Portugal. He likewise appointed his wife regent during the minority of the Infante; he assigned to her as counsellors the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishops of Lisbon and Coimbra, the Abbot of Alcobaça, the confessor and the *meirinho-mor* of his house, and enjoined that the councils between the Tagus and Guadiana, Moura, and Serpa should choose a citizen from the city of Evora; those of Estremadura, one from Lisbon and one from Santarem; those of Entre Douro and the Mondego, one from Coimbra and the other from Guarda; and those of Entre Douro and Minho, one from Guimarães; and these, elected by the people, to form a portion of the councils of the regency, and treat upon all the affairs of State, receiving worthy appointments in the house of the Infante, in order that with proper means they should be able to reside in the Court.

The idea of introducing into the highest government of the kingdom a strong popular element, well informed of all the needs and interests of the municipalities, was probably engendered in the spirit of the King on beholding the great support which the delegates of the people of Leon and Castille had afforded D. Maria de Molina. Diniz

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deserves much praise for having left in writing this idea, which was realised later on during one of the most glorious epochs of Portugal, at a period when the people, allied to the Master of Aviz, placed themselves against the disloyal nobility, and saved the country from the clutches of the foreigner.

On concluding the preparations for the campaign, D. Diniz went on to Alemtejo in the month of May, where civil war was raging, and on the 15th laid siege to Portalegre. Within its walls was D. Alfonso with his best troops, probably reinforced by brave knights from Castille and Leon.

The sanguinary episodes of that campaign are unknown, as are the details of its fratricidal drama; beyond that, notwithstanding its close siege, the town of Portalegre effectually resisted the attack.

The siege of Portalegre lasted five whole months. The Government of Castille, reprobating the procedure of D. Diniz, diverted his forces, disturbing his kingdom by repeated raids along the frontier. Besides this, after an obstinate resistance, he effected a treaty with the Infante, and delivered up Portalegre to his brother. But the contract or treaty of peace between the two was only concluded and signed in Lisbon on the 3rd of July, 1300.

The Infante ceded the towns of Marvão and Portalegre, and in compensation received those of Ourem and Cintra, whose revenues were double, but which, distant from the frontier of Castille, were less to be feared than those in the power of the prince.

This time the good understanding between the brothers was maintained. Alfonso never more took up arms against Diniz. Years after, in 1304, accompanying the King to Aragon, he left the country and passed on to the service of Ferdinand IV. He returned to Portugal, and died in Lisbon in 1312.

The siege of Portalegre being concluded, and harmony re-established with the Infante, D. Diniz set about to arrange with the Government of Castille. This did not offer any difficulties, since it was equally desired by D. Maria de Molina. Hostilities ceased between the two kingdoms. The Infante D. John, acknowledging that the King of Castille could now make war to him and revenge himself, at once submitted to Ferdinand IV. and joined his Court.

Castille being now at peace with this side of the Peninsula, D. Maria de' Molina and D. Diniz endeavoured to quiet D. James II., who supporting with his arms the pretensions of D. Alfonso de la Cerda,

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continued the war against the son of Sancho the *Brave*. With this aim they sent ambassadors to Aragon to treat for peace. Many objections, however, rose up on all sides from the effects of the intrigues and animosities existing between the two countries, and the negotiations fell to the ground.

About this time a most important event took place, which more firmly bound the relations between the royal families of Portugal and Castille, and afforded a great moral victory to D. Maria de Molina and to the rights, hitherto doubtful, of Ferdinand IV. to the throne of his grandfather.

The Roman Pontificate, represented by Pope Boniface VIII., legitimatised the children of Sancho, and gave the necessary dispensation for the celebration of the marriage of Ferdinand with the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia, and that of Alfonso, son of D. Diniz, with D. Beatriz of Castille.

Soon after receiving from Rome the desired decree, D. Diniz sent to the Court of Castille John Alfonso de Albuquerque, Count of Barcellos, to urge the conclusion of the marriage with his daughter and Ferdinand, since she had attained the age of twelve, and he fifteen. Instigated by the Infante D. John and John Nunes de Lara, who had taken possession of the weak spirit of the youthful King, he assumed the government of the kingdom, and allowed these favourites to affront his heroic mother, who had defended his throne for so many years. But these favourites were not as yet unfavourable to D. Diniz, and the Portuguese envoy made use of them to overcome the reluctance which still existed among the many strongholds ceded to Portugal in the treaty of Alcanises, where the marriage had been arranged. Many desired these to be restored to the country as the dowry of the new Queen, among them D. Maria de Molina. But the Infante D. John and John Nunes de Lara, either to please D. Diniz, or because the position and circumstances of Castille demanded the Portuguese alliance, induced the young King to celebrate the marriage, which actually took place in the winter of 1302.

It was then arranged that in the spring of the following year the two monarchs should meet in Badajoz. The Infante D. Henry and the Haros and other nobles, jealous of the influence exercised by the two favourites, had joined the pretender D. Alfonso de la Cerda, and, aided by the Kings of France and Aragon, threatened once more the throne of Ferdinand IV.

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The King was deficient of means, and in the conference of Badajoz this was the question considered. D. Diniz gave him a million Leonese maravedis; besides this, the King of Portugal promised to aid the King of Castille against his adversaries.

This event took place in the spring of 1303. At the time, the Aragonese King and his ally, Alfonso de la Cerda, had ambassadors in the Portuguese Court, and D. Diniz actively laboured with them to effect the treaties of peace, and arrange a truce, which was to commence on the Feast of St. John the Baptist of that year, and terminate on the same festival of the following year, or 24th of June.

When the news of this treaty reached the Aragonese King, he had just concluded a treaty of a more close alliance with D. Alfonso and the nobles of Castille, who were dissatisfied with the government of Ferdinand IV. Disloyalty was the existing policy of the Peninsula. What was agreed upon to-day was broken the following day, and bound again on the subsequent one. This was the case now. James II., on seeing that Diniz was allied to Ferdinand, and that it became a more difficult matter to combat the Castillian, judged it prudent to accept the truces entered into by their envoys, and to extend this truce to Castille allied to Portugal.

Another event took place which powerfully aided the desires for peace which were becoming general. This was the death of the Infante D. Henry, the former tutor of Ferdinand IV., and one of the greatest instigators of the discords and animosities which were tearing up the Peninsula.

On seeing themselves deprived of this restless chief, and knowing the new schemes of the Aragonese King, many of the rebels submitted to the young King, and it was soon definitely arranged that the questions which for so long had cost so much bloodshed should be decided by arbitration.

In the contention between Aragon and Castille, Ferdinand IV. appointed as his arbiter the Infante D. John. James II. elected the Bishop of Zaragoza, and both agreed that D. Diniz give the casting vote.

In the former suit of the pretender Alfonso de la Cerda against the son of Sancho the Brave, the first appointed the Aragonese monarch, and the second elected the King D. Diniz.

The sentences were to be given in the kingdom of Aragon, and the son of Alfonso III., invested with the high mission of peacemaker



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arbiter, and judge among such powerful monarchs, prepared for the expedition, taking with him his wife, sister to D. James, and a numerous and brilliant retinue.

But at the very hour, however, when D. Diniz was reaching the height of his glory as a politician and diplomatist, the principal agent whom he had during the latter years always employed so successfully in his negotiations with Castille failed him.

D. John Alfonso Albuquerque, Count of Barcellos, was taken seriously ill in Lisbon, and died. He appointed the King executor, and left his daughter, Theresa Martins, who was being educated in the palace, heiress. This took place in May, 1304.

The grief of D. Diniz was very great at losing John Alfonso, whose position, wealth, and intimate relationship and friendship were very valuable, while his experience and enlightened foresight much appreciated in Portugal and Castille, and it was not easy to replace him. In memory of the Count, the King gave his daughter, Theresa Martins, in marriage to his natural son Alfonso Sanches, whom he greatly loved, and to whom he gave the appointment held by her late father.

On 24th July, D. Diniz and the Queen, D. Isabel, arrived at Guarda on their way to Aragon, accompanied by one thousand noblemen of the highest rank, prelates, ministers, and a great number of servants and soldiers. It happened that Diogo Garcia, chancellor of Ferdinand IV., came from Toledo to the city of Guarda to present D. Diniz with the keys of all the towns and castles along the road to be traversed, and to offer him throughout the journey royal hospitality.

Diniz, invested with the high charge of magisterial judge, refused all offers, and in his march withdrew from all large towns, supporting his large escort with the abundant provisions brought and with what the towns sold to him on the road, for which he paid generously.

The royal family of Castille awaited the Portuguese consorts in Medina del Campo, and accompanied them as far as Soria, where they departed for Aragon.

In Campillo first, and later on in Torrijos, places on the frontier line, did the arbitrators meet; and after the necessary conferences were held, sentence was pronounced on August 8th, 1304.

D. James II. of Aragon won the cause. Alicante and many other strongholds were adjudicated to him to the north of Jucar. The Infantes de la Cerda were obliged to deliver up the lands they held, acknowledge

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Ferdinand IV. their king, and pledge to him their oath of fidelity. In return for this renunciation of their rights to the throne of Castille, a rental was assigned to the elder of 400,000 maravedis derived from various towns, and to the second, D. Ferdinand, the endowment as Infante of Castille. The elder, who from that moment was called the *disinherited*, retired at once to France, where he died obscurely. The younger accompanied D. Diniz to Portugal, and for a length of time constituted himself his vassal.

On the following day, the three sovereigns of Castille, Aragon, and Portugal, and the Infante D. John signed in Agreda a treaty of peace and alliance offensive and defensive, which ended the war between the three nations, and afforded Portugal the advantage of once more beholding confirmed, although indirectly, the acquisitions obtained, against which, as we said, there still existed reluctance in the Court of Ferdinand IV. This treaty was witnessed by the Bishops of Lisbon, Valencia, and Oporto; Francisco Gomes, chancellor of the King of Castille; John Simon, councillor of the King of Portugal; Diogo Garcia, chancellor of the royal seal of the King of Castille, and Gonçalo Garcia, councillor of the King of Aragon.

When these treaties had been celebrated, the three monarchs, accompained by their queens and numerous escort, proceeded to Tarragona, where the Aragonese King lavished upon all a most sumptuous hospitality, feasts being held for several days, with tournaments and balls.

Throughout this journey D. Diniz behaved most generously, as the chroniclers tell us, making large presents to the foreign nobles. It is said that being on his return journey, and at dinner, a knight of Castille who was present told him jokingly that he had remembered all excepting himself, the King smilingly ordered his service of fine silver, which he was using, to be given to him.

D. Diniz returned to the kingdon in the month of September.

The strifes between the various Christian States of the Peninsula were terminated by this arbitration; the civil ones of Castille were reduced, or altogether died away; but just as the continual turbulence of the nobles was about to be renewed, Ferdinand IV. declared war to the Moors, and all joined together for the holy campaign.

D. Diniz, by concurring in the pacification of Spain, attained great authority among the monarchs of his time, and cast a notable lustre over the small kingdom over whose destinies he presided.

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As soon as D. Diniz returned to Portugal, he gave his whole attention to the administration of the kingdom. An important affair, which from the commencement of his reign had taken up his attention, now presented itself under an aspect sufficiently disturbing. This was the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the nobility, which had assumed such proportions that they commenced to affect not only the equilibrium of the established social hierarchies, but even the financial system of councils and of the State.

The rank of knighthood, besides the supremacy which was inherent to it, exempted those who held such rank from paying the taxes imposed for defraying the expenses of the municipalities, and from the royal tributes for the general expenses of the kingdom. They arrogated to themselves the right of conferring this tax and using it in such a manner that they sensibly defrauded the royal treasury, and further imposed on the residents of the councils to which the newly elected belonged the dues they were released from; besides which, individuals were raised to the knighthood who were unworthy of such honour.

In order to obviate the evil, D. Diniz, on the 4th of May, 1305, issued a law from Santarem which declared null and without effect all grades of knighthood unless authorised by the King.

The fact which induced this law is not a small one in the history of the nobility during the extended and fruitful reign of D. Diniz.

The duty of an historian demands that a few pages should be dedicated to the study of this class, which occupied such a prominent place in the military, political, and social life of the country. This we shall do in a concise form.

The military and territorial nobility of Portugal, which formed the second arm of the State, was a national manifestation, a direct descendant of the feudalism which dominated almost throughout Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. In the epoch we are describing, the natural and progressive evolution of humanity had commenced on all sides to extinguish this social form. Combated by royalty and by the people, because it was a rival to the first and the oppressor of the latter, feudalism found itself hunted down on all sides. It beheld its castles burnt down, its privileges and exemptions questioned, its dominions defined and circumscribed, their colonists or serfs enriched and liberated, or rising up as enemies, the very individuals who for ages had belonged to them as absolutely as their lands, horses, or arms which constituted their fortune.

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Feudalism, at the commencement, had a logical reason for existence: it was the only means of quitting barbarism and entering into organised society, in a certain relative order, which constituted in a great measure the best times of the middle ages wherein was initiated modern civilization. The Church, the ancient Roman municipalities, royalty itself—all, more or less, entered into the feudal form; all in an historic moment was reduced to this social fraction, to this political molecular system, united by the weak feudatory link and badly defended, without laws to strengthen it, being only supported by personal interest and caste.

The dominating part of society was similar to a large army that assumes to occupy completely a vast country threatened by enemies and divides itself into detachments, occupies all the points of defence, fortifies them, and as a consequence gathers around each its indispensable industries, each group forming in course of time a distinct society more or less important, which by degrees loses the discipline and obedience which formerly bound the whole army to their general. Then it limits itself to the life of the locality, to the degree that each particle, each feudal property, the great monastery, the municipality, becomes almost independent in itself, each enjoying the same rights and the same duties as a small independent nation holds in relation with other nations.

This formula had great advantages over the gathered societies of antiquity and the wandering life of the great mass of barbarian rulers. It spread population on all sides; it gave to provinces, councils; to the feudal and monastic boroughs a political preponderance up to then concentrated in the most populous cities, in the capitals of kingdoms and empires, or in great military encampments. From this resulted the spread of life, of labour, and, as a consequence, of civilization on all sides, and at the same time provided a general system of fortifications, of organised resistance, which placed an invincible barrier to the invasions of the north and south of Europe, rendering conquests difficult to effect and even impossible.

Such was feudalism in its general external relations: in the internal ones it shed its light also, but not sufficient to obliterate the dark shades which occasioned its ruin. From the manner of its birth may be deduced its interior existence.

When the Roman Empire was definitively conquered by the barbarians of the North, the last invaders endeavoured to secure and enjoy their prey by dividing it among themselves. From the highest to

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the lowest chiefs, all strove to acquire lands where they could establish themselves with their families and subaltern comrades in arms.

These dominions were at times a whole province, or cities, or a town, or simply a greater or lesser portion of land upon which they erected a fortified house or castle, close to which the colonists or serfs bound to the soil established themselves in poor huts.

The landowners at once acquired over these all legislative, administrative, civil, and penal jurisdiction—all the rights of a sovereign, disposing of *honours*, the goods, and even the lives of the colonists. From this system resulted generally a despotism so excessive that the race of serfs—that is to say, those who did not follow the military profession, the church, or were agriculturists, merchants, artisans; in a word, the people took such a dislike to feudalism that it became the political formula most abhorred and execrated of all known in history.

Although the policy, relatively enlightened, of the government of Alfonso III. aided the councils and increased daily the royal bounties, he at the same time repressed organisations, and within a few short years the former dissensions broke out again; and in various parts of the country began to appear armed bands commanded by noblemen, who fought among themselves, attacking each other's residences, disturbing the tranquillity of the nation, and causing great loss of life and property.

These discords were, however, the normal state of society, not only in the Peninsula, but throughout Europe, and continued until the definite establishment of monarchic absolutism and of a permanent army—important facts, and relatively modern. And during this long reign, besides the actual intestine wars which D. Diniz was obliged to sustain against his brother and son, and which had this same cause for its foundation, the discords between nobles reached to such a height that it provoked scandals and riots, in which the monarch was compelled personally to interfere.

In 1283 it became necessary to attend to the grave disorders which took place between Vasco Pires Farinha and his nephews Vasco, Stephen, and Lawrence Esteves over the seigniority of the town of Goes, which he held, but which his nephews endeavoured to deprive him of.

When Diniz ascended the throne, the concord with the Church, the hopes of the new reign which had commenced, the repeated visits of the monarch to the provinces, and even his own youth and affable

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manners calmed, for the time being, all the perturbations, the misunderstandings, the odiums, and the revenges among noble families, since they celebrated armistice and afforded a spectacle full of confidence and hopes for the future government of the youthful King.

But in order that this state of tranquillity should last, and all these hopes be furthered, and perchance due to the generosity of his youthful years, D. Diniz inaugurated his administration by numerous donations of lands and governments to the nobles.

But as there was no foreign enemy to compel him to union, intestine discord was the necessary consequence of feudalism, but greatly distressing the towns which then besought the protection of the King.

D. Diniz proceeded to Coimbra about midwinter; he summoned the chiefs of the rebel bands, and bade them appoint arbitrators to decide the contention in a friendly spirit.

The sentence was published on 6th January, 1284, in the Chapter House of the Convent of Saint Dominic, in that city. Vasco Pires was sentenced to pay to his contenders 4,500 pounds in old Portuguese coinage, and various possessions he possessed outside the boundary of Goes, and to order 700 masses to be said for the repose of the souls of the hapless ones who had fallen victims to the opposing band. His nephews were obliged to surrender to him all the goods and rights they might have in the town of Goes and its bounds, for him and his heirs, and to have 300 masses sung as suffrages for such as had fallen of the band of Vasco Pires.

From this pious part of the sentence can be deduced that the number of the slain must have been large, and that the friars in whose house the cause had been judged did not forget them at the foot of the altar.

This decision and sentence was confirmed by D. Diniz on the 12th of the same year, and later on ratified by Alfonso IV. But notwithstanding that this fact evidently proves the ease with which such questions could be decided by the pacific judgment of impartial judges, when it was so difficult to resolve them by the tumultuous and sanguinary one of arms, nevertheless dissensions were not diminished but actually increased to such a degree that it provoked corrective and rigorous providences.

In 1301, Lopo Gonsalves d'Abreu, at the head of many partisans and relatives, broke out in contention with Fernão Alfonso de Quintella, who had joined the Novaes, Gonsalo Pires Cabelos, and others, and

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these, constituted in diverse bands, perturbed and desolated the country.

After many efforts the King was able to induce the principal chiefs to come to Lisbon and pledge peace and friendship, and ordered Gonsalo Cabelos to level to the ground a stronghold which he had erected in the village of Parada. It was at that time that many private castles were ordered to be razed to the ground, and the erection of new ones forbidden.

D. Diniz was not the person to allow easily such disobedience and rebellions. He ordered the laws promulgated on the subject to be carried out rigorously; but the evil was of the epoch: it arose from its own institutions, and if at times it appeared to slumber, it would soon arise again, and oftentimes with redoubled fury.

The King was in Coimbra at the commencement of January, 1314, when he received news of a fact which shocked the whole kingdom, and caused fears of new and greater perturbations on the part of the nobility. Ruy do Couto, Alfonso do Couto, and John Fernandes had just concluded a mutual alliance to make war upon whomsoever should aggrieve any of the parties—that is to say, they renewed the former use of treaties between noble families of Europe, which had for ages fomented the interminable series of intestine contentions due to the existing feudalism.

But as feudalism was on the decline, this barbarous custom was generally withering, to the praise of new generations; hence this act of Ruy do Coute, invested with its traditional solemnity, caused some surprise and deep irritation.

D. Diniz, as an experienced statesman, took advantage of the current opinion to cut down at one blow this pernicious usage, and in order to prevent the evils which might result to the country from this and similar alliances, he promulgated, on the 11th January, a law declaring the alliance entered into null, and imposing pain of death upon any who should insist upon it or arrange others anew.

This law, rigorous but necessary, withdrew the evil for a long time during the reign of D. Diniz, until his son, D. Alfonso, rising up in open rebellion against his father, along with the discontented barons of the time, swept the country with a civil war, and renewed all former evils and turbulence of the nobility, which for so many years the good monarch had been able to keep down.

Alfonso IV., on ascending the throne later on, endeavoured,

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however, to follow in this affair the footsteps of his father, and, in truth, attained better results than was to be expected from the mean example he had personally given. The evil, however, continued with varied alternatives until the greater gentleness of customs extinguished it, and the greater power acquired by the kings, which, by nationalising the Roman legislation, adjudicated to regular tribunals the contentions which the nobles formerly decided by force of arms.

This work of D. Diniz was sustained from 1284 to 1311, a period of twenty-seven years of strife with the clergy and the nobles. In this he was more successful than any of his predecessors, who had, in truth, prepared the land and weakened the adversary; but he was more tenacious than they, more intelligent and skilful than his father and grandfathers; while peace dispensed in a great measure with the services of the nobles. The ever-growing power of the popular classes counterbalanced the power of the privileged classes. Assisted by all these circumstances, D. Diniz was able to advance largely the deep social reform for the extinction of feudalism and the great and vexatious privileges of the higher classes.

But the old institution, however, was far from being annihilated. Diniz attacked the feudal sovereignty almost in its first foundations—in fiscal exemptions: the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the lords in regard to the colonists still remained standing, such was the power of the Church and of nobles, and so deeply rooted was it in public customs. It was his son and successor, Alfonso IV., who on this point first attacked feudalism with marked result. But it is in the history of the following reign that this subject must be treated upon.

Diniz, however, fulfilled the mission which fell to him in the social evolution, and he is worthy of the gratitude of posterity.

We have seen, in the first volume of this history, how the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital effected great services to the monarchy of Portugal from its earliest days in fighting against the Moors, and the great bounties which the first monarchs recompensed them with, by granting them large fortunes and great privileges; as well as the Orders which Alfonso Henry instituted anew, and admitted from Castille to meet the requirements of the conquest, such as the Knights of Aviz and Santiago, which from age to age became, in a military sense, more esteemed and favoured.

This military monastic militia, above all monarchs of the various

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countries wherein they were established, held as their supreme head and chief the Pope; their nationality being not the country of their birth, but Rome. They constituted a pontifical army, warlike, numerous, and wealthy, which trod the whole of Christendom in the service of the Curia, defending its interests and its ideas of theocratic predominance.

So long as the Crusades lasted this was but weakly felt, rather it helped to restrain somewhat the various corporations and afford an indispensable unity to their efforts in protracted wars of the East. However, as soon as these ceased, towards the end of the thirteenth century, and the Orders retired to Europe with all their opulence, power, and brilliant traditions, this system began to be irksome to the monarchs, who were then all-powerful, and who concentrated within the principal forces of their respective States.

Of all Orders, that of the Temple, whose members were nobles, and the one which more highly distinguished itself in heroism, magnificence, and social and political preponderance; personified, so to say, the vast military monasticism in all its virtues, glories, and all the mystic and heroic poetry of the religious knighthood of the Crusades—the last brilliant manifestations of feudalism in the long obscure epoch of the Middle Ages.

With the Knights of the Hospital, for long years, the Templars had wrestled constantly with the Asiatic multitudes.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, however, when the Catholic faith was becoming cooled, and the great enthusiasm of the Crusades had passed away, the two Orders were unable to subsist any longer within the rampart walls which were broken down and deserted of Jerusalem, and they retired from the Holy Land in 1187. The Knight Templars established themselves in S. João d'Acre, but they were compelled to quit this in 1291. After two centuries of strife, Islamism was triumphing in the East. Other interests and ideas predominated in Europe: the Mahomedans, although the enemies of Christ, began to be considered as a great people, with whom they could hold commercial and friendly relations.

The Military Orders, notably that of the Temple, in the midst of these tendencies and doubtful beliefs, aspiring rather for material well-being and lands than the glory of heaven taken on its grandest side, spiritual and symbolical, was an anachronism which the new generations did no longer understand; while considered by the

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predominance which their wealth and military glory invested them, they incited the envy and jealousy of kings, nobles, and the clergy. Moreover, the privileges which the monarchs and principally the Popes had endowed them with, afforded them an exceptional position which they defended with the skilful and brave swords of many thousands of warriors, but which rendered them incompetent to assist the regular governments of the nations.

Facts were brought forward that the Templars had not always employed their swords and wealth to the exclusive service of religion. Often in the East they had entered into treaties with infidels, and interfered many times in the internal policy of the State; that they had despoiled Henry II., King of Jerusalem, and the Duke of Croatia of their crowns; had combated the sovereigns of Antioch and Cyprus; had forewarned the coming of Frederick II. to the infidels; had received with pomp a Mussalman prince in their monastery; had declined to concur to the rescue of S. Luiz; had maintained a constant war with the friars of the Hospital, and even shooting arrows against them at the Holy Sepulchre. In Europe they had continued these outrages: had declared themselves for the dynasty of Aragon against the princes of Anjou; in England, had threatened to dethrone Henry III.; in France, many had signed the royal act of Philip against Boniface VIII. with reservation *sub protestationibus*. In a word, their power was a constant fear to the most powerful monarchs and a living scandal to religious orders.

These acts, which were exaggerated by the public voice, had nevertheless extenuating circumstances, while some had been dictated by reason and justice; others, again, were really evil ones, which the enemies of the Order took advantage of to paint the corporation in the blackest colours, and darken the glorious traditions of the Templars, which they presented to the eyes of the people as being pernicious in their intention.

Another accusation wounded more deeply the spirit of the masses against them. They affirmed that in the ceremony of initiation they introduced a secret and extraordinary character, which it were death to any who witnessed the ceremony. In these ceremonies the neophyte was obliged to renounce the faith of Christ, to pronounce blasphemies against the Almighty and Blessed Virgin, and tread under foot the holy crucifix, spitting upon it three times.

The initiating ceremonies were in truth such as were described, but

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this was done, not from any impious intention, but as a symbol which was otherwise an evangelical tradition, clear and eloquent.

The Apostle Peter had denied Christ three times, yet his repentance was such, and his conversion so perfect, that Jesus declared him the fundamental stone of the Church, and elevated him to the Pontificate. The novice simulated that he denied the faith and fell into the lowest abyss of impiety in order that the Order should elevate him to Christian perfection and the exalted glory of dedicating a life of heroism to the service of Jesus.

This ceremony at a time when religious sentiment and love for the poetic symbolism of the Bible was becoming cold, and in the state of society during the fourteenth century, was no longer comprehended by the masses, who poisoned the meaning with a material sense; the partisans of the King and his chiefs being jealous of the regular and secular clergy.

This accusation, which was generally acknowledged to be true by the French and English friars, and which they themselves oftentimes did not know how to explain, was the principal cause of the fall of the Order of the Temple.

There was another accusation, the falseness of which has been acknowledged at the present day, since no historical investigations have been able to prove it, that the Templars did not profess true Catholicism, that in the Mass they omitted the words of consecration, and that in the depths of their monasteries they adored a mysterious idol upon whose form opinions varied. Some affirmed that it was a head with three faces; others that it was an old man's head with long white beard, rough hair, and glittering eyes, and that the knights touched this idol with their battle-axes before fastening them to their waist, that they bent the knee to it, and laid presents before it; while others maintained that the idol was an animal, and even a cat.

Besides these outrageous, impious, criminal deeds and heretical idolatries, it was said the Templars lived secretly in the most abominable licentiousness.

All this was known, they advanced, owing to the evidence of two Knight Templars, one an Italian, and the other a native of Gascony, who had, when arrested for some crimes, revealed this to the judges.

It is true that after living two centuries in the midst of the loose customs and slavery of the East—opulent, strong, but conquered, notwithstanding the constant and ever-desired promises of the victory of

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Popes and of the faith—the Templars, in some countries, had certainly relaxed the vigour of their discipline, and had fallen away from the austerity of life which had been prescribed by the poetic, ardent imagination of Saint Bernard; nevertheless their errors, vices, and crimes were far from meriting the calumnies which were hurled at them, and their errors were amply compensated by the rivers of blood they had shed against the infidels, and by their brilliant military feats in defence of Christianity.

The French people, however, led by the partisans of the King and the enemies of the Order, believed the calumnies in all their enormity and absurdity; and ere the Church and the Pope, who was the legitimate judge of the Templars, had condemned them, the Knights had completely forfeited, in that nation, the good opinion of the people.

The foundation being thus shaken, it was easy to hurl down the edifice. As Clement V. continued to resist, Philip resolved to proceed directly, assuming the whole responsibility of the act.

In order to illude from the Knights his illwill, of which for certain they were forewarned, the King of France invited Jacques Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, to stand sponsor to one of his sons; and on 12th October, 1307, he assigned to him the first place in the funeral cortege of a relative of his. On the following day he proceeded unawares to imprison the illustrious old man and over one hundred and forty Templars who were in Paris, while simultaneously throughout the kingdom were arrested all the friars found in France.

Philip, whom the people surnamed the *Beautiful* and the *False Coiner*, immediately occupied the Temple with a large retinue of soldiers, judges, and attorneys, forming a tribunal with his confessor, who was Inquisitor-General, and other prelates to judge the cause, and took possession of all the treasury.

Meanwhile the population of Paris, through their parishes and confraternities, were convoked to the King's garden in the city, while numerous friars, standing on improvised pulpits, preached fiery sermons against the impious and heretical Templars, praising the action of the King as a champion of the faith. Throughout France a violent royal letter was published against the Order, exposing in most horrible colours the points of accusation.

Greatly surprised was Clement V. when he heard what had taken place, and that the *Most Christian* King had usurped the jurisdiction of the Holy See, by proceeding criminally in an affair of the exclusive

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prerogative of the Pope. The Pontiff became irritated at this, and reprehended severely the monarch, suspending the powers of the Inquisitor and prelates who had aided him.

This energetic action of Pope Clement V. did not last long. He became terrified first by the rough answer of Philip, and then by his presence in Poitiers. He then yielded as soon as the King sent seventy-two Templars to make the necessary inquiries, and appeared to conform with the pontifical resolution of allowing the Apostolic See to judge the heads of the Order. In a word, the Pope raised the suspension he had decreed, and on the 1st of August, 1308, he ordered the legal process to be carried by *written law*, an ambiguous phrase, which referred to the canon legislation, but which might indicate the cesarian jurisprudence, or the inquisitorial regulations, and by scheme delivered up the erring friars to the mercy of the King.

The latter continued to follow with cruel tenacity his darksome plan. A hundred and forty Templars were delivered up to the most horrible tortures, and compelled, under the most excruciating pains of fire and sword, to confess whatever infamies the agents of the King bade them, and in this way pretended to prove the accusations made against the Order.

To increase the scandal, these declarations of the culprits were at once made public. Then they were forwarded to Clement V., who sent to inquire of them whether their depositions were true.

They were confirmed by the advice of the pontifical delegates in hopes of obtaining absolution, which the Pope granted, recommending them, although vainly, to royal clemency.

Philip IV. continued his plan; he induced the Governments of Europe to proceed against the Templars, he raised up in the interior of France the nobles, the clergy, and the people, until the States clamorously besought him to prosecute them before the King and the Pontiff. At length, to captivate the goodwill of the latter, he promised to deliver up to him the goods taken from the Knights.

The Pope then yielded completely, and published the bull of 12th August, 1308, *Regnans in cœlis*, which he addressed to all the monarchs in whose States the Order existed.

In this celebrated document the Pontiff exposed in his way the affair of the Templars. He said that before and after his accession to the Pontificate he had received secret information that in Europe, as well as in regions beyond the seas where the friars had been entrusted with

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the defence of the patrimony of Christ, they had incurred the crimes of apostasy, idolatry, and sodomy. That later on the King of France had forwarded to him through messengers and letters equally lengthened informations, and in presence of the Curia a Templar had confirmed them under oath. Finally, that under more urgent demands of the king, the evidences of dukes, counts, barons, clergy, and people of France, founded on the depositions of masters, perceptors, and friars of the Order, obtained by the prelates and French inquisitors, and the replies of seventy knights whom he had interrogated, had afforded him ample proofs of the truth of the crimes imputed. Moreover, wishing to further verify the truth, he had examined all the prisoners through the Cardinals Berengarius, Stephen, and Llandulph, and the friars ratified what had been stated as regards the heresies, and had confessed that they denied Christ and vituperated the Cross in the act of being received into the Order; that they practised horrible actions, and they had manifested themselves repentant and had besought absolution, which was granted them. That such great crimes could not remain unpunished, and therefore he ordered these inquiries to be continued through the ordinaries of various places and other faithful learned men, against the friars of the Order of the Temple generally, the result of this inquiry to be laid before an œcumenical council, which in this bull he convoked in two years' time to be held in the imperial city of Vienna, wherein the best manner to be employed to remedy the said abuses would be discussed, reform the knighthood of the Temple, legislate the ecclesiastical liberties, and assign the means for recovering the Holy Land—a theme always brought forward in all councils, but the realisation of which no one gave any further thought. To this assembly were invited the monarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates of their respective countries.

D. Diniz had been forewarned when this bull came to hand. On the previous year after the first arrest of the Templars, Philip the Beautiful had written to the Kings of Aragon and Castille explaining to them what had passed, and urging them to imitate him; and it is probable that a similar missive was sent to D. Diniz. It also appears that by order of the Curia, and the insinuations of the French Government, a private council had been convoked in Salamanca (1306 to 1307), to which assisted D. João de Suilhães, to inquire into the proceedings of the Templars of the Peninsula, which was closed without the knights being found guilty. But besides these official facts, there

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was a public report of the great scandal which had induced the process instituted on the previous year with such violence by the King of France. This affair, for many and various reasons, was filling with dread the spirits throughout Christendom, and more particularly in Spain.

D. Diniz, or his Government, and the Portuguese friars, on seeing the great storm which from afar was brewing around the Order, and which threatened to annihilate it, must have fully considered the affair. Pondering calmly upon this affair, it was seen that in Portugal, as well as throughout the Peninsula, the circumstances surrounding the Order of the Temple were very diverse to the conditions in which it found itself in France, Germany, Italy, and England. In these latter countries the war against the infidels had ceased, and the Templars had not only become useless, but even dangerous, owing to their unlimited power, which was almost independent in its privileges from the Crown. But on this side of the Pyrenees circumstances were different. The war with the Arabs continued. Castille had them on the frontiers; Portugal and Aragon had to combat them on the seas where they navigated, and which was infested by the Mussalmans. Besides this, the political existence of the Templars in Portugal did not offend against the royal prerogatives as in other lands.

It was their expressed duty, founded on the grants of the numerous donations they had received from kings as well as from private sources, to serve, at their expense, with arms and horses in the wars against the Moors; and this duty they had always, from the foundation of the monarchy, fulfilled zealously and with extreme bravery. They defended and housed kings, princes, and *ricos-homens* whenever they travelled through their dominions, and they were generous and noble in their hospitality. Without royal authorisation they could not send to the Great Master of the Order in a foreign land any part of the many revenues they received from the kingdom. Of landed properties they barely had the usufruct and administration, nor did they alienate them or refuse to yield them up to the Crown when it was demanded of them. In towns and castles they were little more than mere delegates of the king, who deprived them of their appointments or governments when desirable. The election of Master for the province of Portugal, whether effected by the native friars, or in Palestine by the General of the Order, was only valid after being approved by the monarch; and without his express authorisation he could not quit the kingdom on any

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account, and when leave of absence was given, the sovereign had the right of intervening in the nomination of his substitute. The elected one, in order to enter into his functions, had to pledge homage to the king and to the heir of the crown. In the Order of Portugal, only Portuguese knights could be admitted. Their chapters could only be held in the localities appointed by the king, and in presence of his secular representative.

These and other magisterial rights — special ones between the Portuguese Crown and the Order of the Temple—were constantly maintained in their integrity. The kings frequently made use of them, whether through zeal of their power, and to put down abuses and invasions, or when compelled by public occurrences, because, as we have seen, in general the donors, whether ecclesiastical or nobles, never held in Portugal so much independence from the king as the states which professed true feudalism. The strict enforcement of these royal rights kept the Portuguese Templars within the just limits of their austere rule: withdrawn from political turbulence in which other countries were involved, they were faithful to the monarchs, useful to the kingdom, and esteemed by all.

Hence the bull *Regnans in celis* of Clement V. caused general discontent in Portugal; but as the pontifical preponderance was still very great, especially in affairs of this kind, which were exclusively assigned to the Pope, no one attempted to resist directly the command of the Curia as regards the process of inquiry respecting the Templars; it was resolved, therefore, to proceed prudently, and in the most benevolent manner, with respect to the Friars.

The Bishop of Lisbon and other prelates, who had been charged by the Pope with the inquiry, did so very leisurely in view of the coldness of the King and the nation generally. But day by day, however, the Templars became more and more terrified by the news which came from France. It was known that, not only in Paris, but at the Curia, Philip IV. and the Pope, the Dominicans, and the Knights of the Hospital, with other enemies of the Order of the Temple, were urging D. Diniz and the Portuguese prelates to persecute them. For these motives, and perchance from hints of the King, who desired to befriend them without altogether falling out with the Holy See, the Knights and their Master, D. Fr. Vasco Fernandes, absented themselves from Portugal, or concealed themselves in the kingdom.



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This was a prudent act. When D. Diniz received the bull *Callidis serpentis vigil*, dated 30th December, 1308, which demanded the arrest of the Portuguese Templars, there was not found a single one upon whom to visit the punishment.

The author of Part Fourth of the "Monarchia Lusitana"—a spiritual brother of the Templars, since he, being a monk of Alcobaça, was as it were son of Saint Bernard—tells us that the reason why the Portuguese friars absented themselves was "to resort to the Curia to justify themselves before the Pontiff, and prove their innocence, and be declared not guilty." This assertion is purely hypothetical, and there is nothing to prove it; rather, to the contrary, the history of what occurred to the knights who voluntarily presented themselves to the Pope in Avignon, and later on during the Council of Vienna, manifests to us the imprudence of such an act, since the few friars who went were taken prisoners and prosecuted by the Curia. The Portuguese Templars had no need to seek so far, and with so much risk, their declaration of innocence by competent judges, which was to be proclaimed so shortly throughout Spain.

But previous to this, however, as they had abandoned their castles and preceptories, and their cause in Paris and in the Apostolic See was becoming darker, the king D. Diniz took possession of the properties of the Order, and proposed a civil action in order that these should be declared appertaining to the Crown. In this suit were appointed as actual judges D. Martin, Archbishop of Braga; D. John, Bishop of Lisbon; Father Stephen, Custodian of the Order of Saint Francis; Master John, Doctor of Laws, and Ruy Nunes. By sentence given on 27th November, 1309, were adjudicated to the royal finance against the Order of the Templars the towns of Pombal, Soure, Ega, and Redinha; and on the following year the towns and castles of Idanha à Velha and Salvaterra do Estremo, with the towns of their boundaries, Rosmaninhal, Segura, and Proença.

Meanwhile D. Diniz, under pretext that the Master and friars of the Temple could not be condemned without putting in an appearance, ordered all process of suits to be suspended which had been instituted against them by some of the cathedrals and monasteries, especially the See of Guarda and the Convent of S. Cruz of Coimbra, with the object of taking possession of the goods of the persecuted Order, leaving sequestrated such properties until the Pope should decide definitely the cause of the Templars.

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These royal acts were apparently contradictory, and founded in a double jurisprudence which decided, notwithstanding the non-presence of the culprits, the demands proposed by the Crown, while superseding the suit advanced by the third party, because the contrary party was not in judgment. Beyond this subterfuge which the epoch demanded, in order to withdraw clerical pretensions, the procedure of D. Diniz by taking possession of the properties of the absent friars, and as a fact dissolved, was no more than the logical corollary of the general principle of the Portuguese civil right, that the properties of ecclesiastical corporations as well as the municipal ones, the establishments of beneficence or public instruction belonged to the nation, and ought, on the extinction of such entities, to be incorporated in the National Treasury represented by the State, and as a consequence by the Crown at an epoch when it gathered to itself all political powers and all the faculties of government.

The providences of the son of Alfonso III., adopted at the moment, and prosecuted with its prudent indispensable juridical formalities, in an age when the Church still held a great predominance, was the only means possible of protecting from the covetousness of the Portuguese clerical party and pontifical extortions a great portion of the national properties, which the monarchs had entrusted the Order of the Temple for the defence of the nation by their brave swords, and serve to maintain a militia necessary for the defence and aggrandizement of the country, worthy of public gratitude by their fruitful and glorious labours.

But notwithstanding his rights, and the solemnity with which he invested the affair, Diniz saw that in order to resist with advantage the pretensions which the Curia would certainly advance upon the properties of the Temple, it was indispensable to procure powerful auxiliaries, therefore he at once endeavoured to effect a league with the sovereigns of Castille and Aragon, in whose states the Templars held similar advantages as in Portugal.

The Castillian king, Ferdinand IV., obeyed the Pontifical bulls, arresting the friars, but with gentleness and mercy, as one who wished them no evil. The Aragonese king, James II., combated them by force of arms, because the knights, through fear, had fortified themselves within their own castles; but as soon as he had conquered them, treated them as soldiers whom he loved and esteemed, and whom he desired later on to assist. Both these monarchs had taken possession of the

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properties of the Order and did not wish to yield them up to serve foreign interests.

Ferdinand IV. was the youthful and dearly loved son of D. Maria de Molina, who, in the treaty of Alcanices, had espoused the infant daughter of D. Diniz. Good relations existed between the two families, and as the interests of both princes were identical, they easily came to terms on this affair.

On January 21st, 1310, when the monarch of Castille was engaged in the siege of Algeciras against the Moors, a treaty or letter was signed to the effect that, in the event of the Order of the Temple becoming extinct, and the Pope should endeavour to withdraw their properties, whether movable or landed, from the seigniority and jurisdiction of these two sovereigns, who were mutually aiding one another, they would defend themselves against all their demands, nor would they enter into any pact with the Pope or any one else for such an object without the consent of each other.

The reason clearly expressed in the royal document by this resolution is that already expressed—that whereas these properties had been given to the Orders by former kings, or by citizens of these countries, for the service of God and of their respective thrones, therefore from the moment that this corporation might cease to exist, these said properties would revert to the nation which had granted them.

In this alliance James II. speedily joined, and when the three monarchs sent their representatives to Avignon, where the Pope had withdrawn after leaving Poitiers, and later on to Vienna, they gave them all instructions to combine reciprocally, and to declare to the Pontiff and before the Council that as far as concerned the properties of the Templars in Spain, they could consider these three sovereigns as united in one voice, and as three in one. This treaty, as we shall see, bore good results.

About the time that this letter of Algeciras was signed, the Pope, seeing that he could not celebrate the General Council he had convoked for 1310, ordered special councils to be held in various countries to weigh the inquiries which had been taken of the habits of the Templars and judge them.

In respect to the Knights of Leon, Castille and Portugal held a council in Salamanca. To this assisted the Apostolic Inquisitor, Aymeric; the Archbishops of Toledo, Seville, and Santiago; and the

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Bishops of Lisbon, Guarda, Zamora, Avila, Ciudad Rodrigo, Mondoñedo, Lugo, Tuy, Plasencia, and Astorga.

On April 15th, the Prelate of Toledo, D. Gonçalo, summoned the friars to appear. The process was continued with the greatest regularity and all the formalities of the jurisprudence of the time, and lasted many months.

In Italy, Germany, and England were likewise held national councils for the same purpose, and in all of these, similarly to the one of Salamanca, the proofs advanced at the inquiry were favourable to the Templars, and tended to show clearly their innocence.

But these evidences of victorious proof in favour of the Order in such diverse parts of Europe were unable to arrest the catastrophe which the avaricious and inhuman spirit of the King of France was preparing for them in Paris. Philip, fearing the result of these foreign suits, resolved to strike a daring blow in his kingdom in order that the treasures of the Order should not escape his clutches. Other no less powerful motives urged him to this decision. The Apostolic Commission of France, which had been installed by the Pope in 1308, had commenced, as well as other commissions in various countries, after many months of delay, to obtain evident proofs of the innocence of the Templars, and even of the mean motives of covetousness and odium which had moved Philip to persecute them.

The publicity which had been given by the Commission respecting the tortures and sufferings which the wickedness of the sovereign and his agents had inflicted on the hapless knights in the depths of their prisons, had on all sides raised a manifest reaction against the monarch and in favour of the Order. Hence the king thought that he should lose the enormous riches obtained from the Temple and the preponderance he held in Europe—a preponderance which had become greatly diminished through other causes—should he not decide the suit in a terror-inspiring manner, which would impose effectual silence upon all public clamours and discontent.

As the greatest obstacle to his plan of action was the opposition of the Pope, he combined with him, at the beginning of the year 1310, to leave to his arbitration the verdict of the cause of the late Pontiff, Boniface VIII. Up to that time the King of France had obstinately urged that Boniface be declared excommunicated, a heretic, and illegitimate Pope. In this he was opposed by the entire Curia. Besides the great scandal which would result from this proceeding throughout

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the Catholic world, such a sentence would cause the moral death of the Pontificate, and also the juridical deposition of Clement V. As the greater number of the cardinals which composed the conclave that had elected him had been raised to the cardinalate by Boniface, should judgment be given against him, the majority of cardinals would be likewise illegitimate, and as a consequence his own election null.

The King therefore yielded up this arduous affair, and the Pontiff, on his part, that of the Templars. In April he nominated a brother of the influential favourite of Philip to the archbishopric of Sens. The new prelate, who was authorised by the pontifical bull to raise the suspension of the inquisitor and prelates in ordinary, summoned a provincial council in Paris of French bishops partial to the King. On that day he ordered the imprisoned Templars to appear before the assembly, and on the following day judged and sentenced them.

Such as confessed to the crimes imputed to them were absolved; those who denied the accusation were condemned to imprisonment for life, while fifty-four who in the session had retracted what they had accused themselves of under pressure of the tortures inflicted, were condemned by the council as *relapsos*.

The Templars, in presence of the Apostolic Commission and of the Council, begged to be allowed to appeal to Rome; but this was denied them.

On that same day the *relapsos* were degraded and delivered up to the secular power. On the following day, 12th May, the fifty-four who had retracted were bound to stakes placed at the door of St. Antoine, in Paris, and were burnt alive. Amid the flames rose up the cries of the wretched knights protesting their innocence, and that they died guiltless of the crimes imputed. The people in crowds assisted at this horrible spectacle mute and terror-stricken.

Other councils were held in various parts of France, and proceeded with equal ferocity against the Order. Nine other knights were burnt to death in Senlis. These were indeed days of terror to the monarchy and to the church.

The news of these acts spread rapidly through Europe, causing a profound sensation, and induced a tremendous reaction in favour of the Templars.

In Italy, on 17th June, the prelates who had been summoned together in Ravenna absolved and justified the Knights of the Temple.

In Germany they were admitted to the summary and symbolical

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process of the Frankish judges of Westphalia. They presented themselves armed in presence of the Archbishops of Mayence and Treves, affirmed their innocence, and retired. On the 1st of July they were declared innocent and absolved in council.

In England, which after France was the country that had treated them with greater rigour, only the preceptors of the Order, who persisted in denying everything, were condemned, and remained prisoners within the walls of their own monasteries.

Sentence was likewise pronounced in the council of Salamanca. On 21st October it was decreed unanimously that "no cause was found against the Templars worthy of accusation or judgment, but of praiseworthy conversation and example, hence that all had signed under oath to that effect." Yet this decision was subject to the approbation of the Holy See, and for that reason some of the Castillian heads of the Order were retained under custody; but the opinion of the Spanish council had been already declared.

All these absolute sentences produced through Christendom a manifest and general feeling of reprobation against the proceedings of the King and French clergy. However, the Pope, who was now intimately leagued with the brutal policy of Philip, reprehended the mildness of the monarchs of England, Castille, Portugal, and Aragon, and even was guilty of the malevolent cynicism of censuring them for not employing torture in the inquiry of the Templars.

James II., however, being in no favour with France, because the energetic House of Aragon had for a long time combated the two Sicilies, continued his system of prudence and tolerance in regard to the Templars. Hardly had he taken the celebrated monastery of Monson, where the knights resisted with the greatest bravery, and had vanquished them altogether, than he assembled a provincial council in the church of Corpus Christi, in Tarragona. This council was composed of the Archbishop and a great number of prelates. After due inquiry and examination of witnesses, and all legal formalities being gone through, the tribunal pronounced definite sentence on 4th November, 1312. They declared "that one and all of the friars were absolved of the crimes, errors, and impostures which they were accused of, and ordered that none should dare to defame them, in virtue that in the investigations of the council they had been found free of all suspicion."

But these acts of clemency, justice, and fair policy were but

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scattered acts, although luminous, of the long darksome tragedy of the extinction of the Templars. There was still wanting, besides the sinister epilogue, the act, so far comical, of the so greatly vaunted œcumenical council.

This council met in Vienna on 16th October, 1312. At the first session none of the principal sovereigns appeared, but only their ambassadors, and over three hundred bishops ranged themselves around the Pope.

As the subjects to be discussed were many, the case of the Templars only came on in November. Nine brave knights valiantly entered the assembly, and offered to defend the Order, declaring that nearly two thousand friars were ready in Leon and neighbouring mountains to second them. Clement V., alarmed at the news, ordered these nine knights to be arrested, and during that winter he did not resume the council.

The affair of the Templars was taken up again in the spring. The majority of the prelates present, among them some of the bishops of France, affirmed that they could not judge the case without hearing the defence. The defence, were it attempted, would prove interminable. There were hundreds of witnesses to examine, and it would be necessary to read numerous documents and diverse judgments of the various national councils.

Meanwhile Philip IV. took possession of Leon, a city hitherto confederated to the empire, in a manner independent, and an asylum of the Templars, heretics, and impious people of all nations. After this, the King of France went to Vienna, accompanied by his sons, a numerous retinue of noblemen, and a great number of warriors.

Encouraged by this decisive aid, Clement V. assembled some of the cardinals and bishops in an especial consistory whose votes he was certain of, and on his own authority, after hearing their opinion, he decreed the extinction of the Order of the Temple. The Pope did not confirm nor even express in the assent or consistorial act, nor in the explanatory bull, the accusations made against the Knights, but simply said the Order had become suspected.

This resolution was published on 3rd April, 1312, in full council, with the King of France seated by the side of the Pope, and was listened to in silence by all the prelates, none of which dared to dissent. No protest would certainly have been of any avail, and moreover useless, because this act had in itself power and reason. The power was the

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words of Philip IV., and the reason was in the political need which imperatively existed of extinguishing an Order the process of which had caused such an enormous scandal throughout Christendom, and which had become useless and dangerous. To the few countries where the friars might yet be of use, there remained the free right of gathering them together under a new rule, as actually took place later on.

As the possessions and endowments of the Templars were given with the object of effecting the restoration of Palestine, these were now passed over to their rivals and enemies, the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, later on called of Malta; but this resolution was not generally fulfilled, as the kings applied the sequestrated properties to divers uses.

In France, Philip the Beautiful took some of the properties of the Hospitallers under plea of indemnification for the expenses incurred by the process and imprisonment of the Knights of the Temple.

In the Iberic Peninsula, the foresight which the three monarchs had had of uniting together to defend the property of the Order prevented many contentions with the Curia, and in view of this treaty the Pope excluded the whole of Spain from this endowment to the Hospitallers, but reserved to himself the right of intervening with the sovereigns in the future application of these properties.

For this object Clement V. appointed as administrator of all the possessions of the Templars in Portugal, D. Estevão, Bishop of Oporto. This ecclesiastic owed his elevation to D. Diniz—from a poor mendicant friar the King raised him to the post of Almoner, later on gave him the mitre of the See of Oporto, and entrusting to him large sums, charged him to proceed to the Curia and to the Council of Vienna to treat on the affairs respecting the Order of the Temple in harmony with humanitarian and tolerant regal and patriotic ideas of the Portuguese Government.

But D. Estevão, however, had scarcely approached the Apostolic See than he forgot the gratitude he owed to the kingdom and his king. He proceeded against the instructions he had received from him in respect to the Templars, and took advantage of the sums entrusted to him to obtain from the Pope the Episcopal Chair of Lisbon; the Pontiff, moreover, nominating to the See of Braga (which was vacant at that time) the prelate whom the King D. Diniz had appointed for the See of Lisbon.

The intrigues, corruption, and treachery of his former Almoner

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greatly angered the proud monarch, and D. Diniz rejected firmly the administrator of the possessions of the Templars elected by the Pope, for he did not recognise in the Pontiff the right of nominating one, and, moreover, the one appointed was repulsive to him. Clement V. on seeing the firmness of the King did not insist, and the wealth remained in the possession and subject to the administration of the Crown, the negotiations at the Curia in respect to this affair being protracted without any detriment to the kingdom.

In Portugal, Aragon, and all States wherein the Templars had been judged innocent, after the extinction of the Order, it was resolved that the friars should live under obedience to the ordinary prelates of the diocese wherein they resided, and receiving from their former revenues sufficient for their support.

The Portuguese Knights took advantage of this act, and by degrees commenced to appear from abroad, or from the various places in the kingdom where they had been concealed. They found in the monarch, and received from the people, a warm welcome, and esteem for what they had been to the country, hence they peaceably began to establish themselves in the kingdom.

But in the spring of 1314 terrible news arrived from France, which filled their hearts with deep sorrow, and grieved the spirits of all the nation. The Archbishop of Sens, so sadly renowned, had, by order of the Pope, represented by the Bishop of Albany and two cardinal delegates, summoned on the 18th March these and other prelates, and many doctors in ecclesiastical and canon laws, to meet in the Church of Notre Dame de Paris, and brought the Grand Master of the Order of the Temple, in presence of this assembly, as also the Master of Normandy and two principal Knights, these four culprits whose definite judgment the Pontiff had reserved to himself.

Confounded in mind by the factious and involved casuistry of the theologians, the friars, weakened by the lengthened imprisonment, privations, and ill-usage they had endured, seemed at first to confirm the original depositions which had been extorted from them under torture, and confessed themselves guilty of all the accusations, and the council condemned them to perpetual imprisonment.

But when the judges thought that the affair was concluded, the Grand Master of the Order, Jacques Molay, and the Master of Normandy suddenly rose up, and vehemently and firmly denied all that had been stated, and proclaimed the innocence of the whole Order.

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The Grand Master had already, in 1310, in presence of the Apostolic Commission, abandoned generally the defence of the cause, and limited himself to enunciating three propositions—viz., firstly, that in no church was the holy sacrifice of the Mass celebrated with greater solemnity than in the churches of the Templars; secondly, that no religious order existed that gave more alms than the Temple, where three times every week relief was given to whomsoever applied; thirdly, that no people had shed more blood for the Christian faith than they, nor any which was more feared by the infidels.

In presence of the new tribunal Jacques Molay repeated these assertions, and with his noble companion, while it was permitted him, affirmed to be false all the accusations brought against the Templars.

The assembly, astonished and irresolute, ordered the fulfilment of the judgment as regarded the two culprits who had confessed, and delivered over to the Provost of Paris, who was present, Jacques Molay and the Master of Normandy to guard until the following day, when they should be sentenced.

The energetic denials of the two Knights were conveyed at once to Philip IV. This monarch did not await the decision of the judges, but decided the case himself, scarcely heeding the opinion of his more intimate courtiers. On that same afternoon these two noble Knights were conveyed to an island of Sena, which stood between the margin of the royal gardens and the Convent of the Hermits of Saint Augustin, which rose on the opposite shore, and ordered them to be burnt alive.

These courageous martyrs protested to their latest moments the innocence of the community, and summoned, so tradition tells us, the cowardly Pope who had betrayed them and the perverse king who had put them to death, to appear before the judgment-seat of God before the end of the year. Their firmness and the conviction of their words uttered during this awful sacrifice enwrapped for ever in mystery and doubt the darksome iniquitous process, and served to win for the Order the admiration and sympathy of their epoch and posterity. And in truth their dying words were fulfilled. Ere the year of 1314 closed, both Pope Clement V. and King Philip IV., the two authors of this funereal tragedy, were claimed by death, leaving to history the sinister gleams of the burning Templars to flash around their memories. But in other countries the reaction against the policy of France continued, and the Templars on all sides were treated with greater gentleness.

James II. the *Just* went further still. With the Aragonese Friars

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and the properties they had, he founded in 1317 the Order of San Salvador de Montesa, a borough and castle in the kingdom of Valencia.

D. Diniz followed his example. It was needful to terminate definitely the pretensions of the Curia in respect to the extinct Order. The successor of Clement V., Pope John XXII., on the same year as the foundation took place of the knighthood of Montesa, made an attempt to take possession of a part of their properties. He gave to Cardinal Bertrand, his privy secretary, the town and castle of Thomar, one of the principal preceptories of the Templars. The bull for the concession met with such manifest resistance from the King, the Infante heir, nobles, and in general the kingdom, that neither the Cardinal nor the Pope dared to put it in execution. But notwithstanding this easy victory, Diniz felt that it was necessary to settle the affair. He adopted for the time being the arbitration of his brother-in-law, D. James, and sent on August 14th, 1318, procurators to the Curia to impetrate the necessary authorisation from the Apostolic See. These were John Lawrence of Monsaras, Chevalier of the King, and the Canon of the See of Coimbra, Pedro Pires, individuals of authority, and possessing the perfect confidence of the monarch.

These negotiations were protracted for some months. At length the Pontiff, after listening to the consistory, yielded to the wishes of the sovereign, knowing that they were likewise those of nearly the whole population of Portugal, and that the nation required the brave swords of the ancient knights.

To conciliate all things, a thought was conceived by the King calculated to end happily all these contentions, that was, to convert the Templars into a new Order, and raise the Temple in Portugal under a new form. He submitted this idea to the Pope, who warmly approved of it, and on the 15th March, 1319, John XXII. published a bull creating a new Military Order in Portugal, under the title of *Order of Christ*. This Order held very similar rules as that of the Temple, though the Pope did not acknowledge that it was to substitute it. He appointed Grand Master of the Order a Knight of the Order of Aviz, meanwhile that the former Master of the Temple, Vasco Fernandes, entered the Order as a simple Knight. But the King, when he restituted the properties of the Templars to the new Order, expressly states, "That the Order of Christ was created in reformation of the Order of the Temple, which had been dissolved."

Such was the scrupulous probity of the King, that when giving to

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the Order of Christ the lands which the Temple possessed, he ordered the restitution likewise of the rents which the Treasury had collected since the suppression of the ancient Order. He also gave them, moreover, the Castle of Castro-Marim, where the new Militia fixed their residence.

All the former Templars resident in Portugal entered the Order of Christ as professed Knights; only one individual was foreign to the Temple, this was the Grand Master, Gil Martim, who belonged to the Order of Aviz.

The solemn reception and commencement of the Order began with the investiture of the Master, D. Martim Gil, on 18th November. This took place in the chapel of the royal palace. To this ceremony assisted D. Diniz, a numerous court, the Bishops of Evora, Guarda, Vizeu and Lamego, the Prior of Alcobaça, who at the time ruled the monastery, as the post of Abbot was vacant, and all the Knights of the Order of Aviz lovingly accompanied the Master, who had governed them for three years, being a model of wisdom and prudence, and whom by that act they were yielding up to the Order of Christ. The church was magnificently decorated. After the usual religious ceremony, celebrated with great pomp, the Prelate of Cister removed the habit of the Order of Aviz, and invested him with the white scapular and cap of the new Order, and delivered up to him the sword, seal, and flag, with the Cross of Christ quartered in red and white, which, later on, became so celebrated in the history of the Portuguese discoveries.

When Martim Gil died on 13th November, 1321, the Order was flourishing and powerful, due to the zealous efforts of the Grand Master, directed with prudence and virtue; but the principal reason was the enlightened and generous policy of the King. Instigated by faith, by public interest, and a lofty sentiment of justice, D. Diniz concluded the creation of the institution which for the longest period bore the Portuguese name.

It was the Order of Christ which, having as its *Governor* and *Administrator* the most thoughtful and resolute of the illustrious sons of D. João I., furnished the huge wealth and the most intrepid enlightened men to plough the unknown seas, and realise our maritime poem of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which afforded so great an impetus to the civilisation of the world, and opened to Portugal one of the most glorious pages in the history of the human race. For

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this reason have we assigned so much space to the narrative of the creation of the Military Order of Christ, and the extinction of the Order of the Temple, its predecessor. This was logically demanded by the general history of the kingdom, and from it resulted the great glory which the Order acquired later on, and the natural enthusiasm when recording the grand deeds of the Portuguese nation.

These Military Orders constituted an important part of the nation's strength, on account of the strongholds and war-seats which they held in trust, the large bodies of brave men which they afforded to the army of soldiers and horsemen in times of war, and by their loyalty to the Crown, and the firmness and discipline which so greatly distinguished them.

D. Diniz could not do otherwise than bear in mind, during his long and illustrious reign, their services, and endeavour by every means in his power to promote the development of these Orders, which were of such advantage in the defence of the kingdom during those times of turbulence and warfare.

Besides founding the Order of Christ, and largely benefiting the Orders of Aviz and the Hospital, he effected a notable reform in the Order of Santiago. This Order was of Spanish origin, and the Portuguese Knights were subject to the Grand Master of Castille. As may be supposed, this gave rise to many grave inconveniences. In the wars with Castille the King of Portugal was ever in fear that his Knights, who were Portuguese subjects, might enlist in the ranks of the enemy, or, what would be worse, deliver up to the Castillians the castles he had bequeathed to the Order. An example of this took place in the reign of Alfonso III. This monarch endowed the Order of Santiago with the towns of Ayamonte and Alfajar de Pena, which had been conquered from the Moors in Algarve. These towns were delivered up by the Grand Master to Alfonso the Wise in exchange for two towns in Castille, thus Portugal was deprived of what had been won at the price of Portuguese blood.

D. Diniz strove to remedy the evils by emancipating the Portuguese Knights from obedience to the Castillian Grand Master. This he obtained by a bull from Pope Nicholas IV., in 1288, which permitted them to elect an especial Master, yet who should recognise the supremacy of the Castillian. The latter strongly opposed this separation, and went so far as to draw a bull from Boniface VIII. enjoining the Portuguese Knights, under pain of excommunication, to return

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to their former allegiance. He was obeyed, but as soon as Boniface died the Portuguese elected a Master. During the Pontificate of Clement V. he was exclusively occupied with the affair of the Templars, but when John XXII. ascended the pontifical chair the Castillians obtained a renewal of the former orders against the Portuguese, issued by Boniface VIII., when D. Diniz intervened in the affair by means of his ambassadors, and attained to convince the Pope of the necessity of this separation. A bull expedited by John XXII. in 1320 terminated the long contention by confirming the election of Peter Escache as Master for Portugal, and thus effecting the definite separation of the Portuguese Knights of Santiago.

In this way did D. Diniz labour to his utmost during his reign that the Military Orders might shine with greatest lustre. This was very praiseworthy, since Portugal had reached its possible definite limits, had ended its epoch of holy wars, doubly holy by reason of its dual character, religious and national. D. Diniz could not have foreseen that the adventuresome spirit of his descendants would carry the Portuguese hosts, with uplifted cross and sword in hand, from the African shores of Ceuta to the confines of the most remote East; but his poetic soul offered its homage to the glorious past of those heroes of the battles of Faith, while his spirit of justice recompensed the Knights Templars and the Sons of Santiago for the epic heroism with which in former days they had wrenched the half-moon of the Mussalmans from the turrets of the castles of Al-Gharb, and had established and strengthened the independent existence of Portugal.

On terminating the narrative of these strifes with the Military Order we cannot desist from adding a paragraph from the works of Schœfer, which we do gratefully, since it breathes an enthusiasm which would thrill the ardent pages of a writer eminently patriotic, and which is more graceful since it comes from a foreigner in praise of Portuguese glories, rarely to be found in other lands. The paragraph runs as follows :—

"It was with supreme joy," says this illustrious historian, "that D. Diniz beheld towards the end of his reign an institution rising up which he had saved, and to which he had infused new life. What a sweet recompense would this generous and magnanimous prince have gathered could he have seen the glorious consequences which resulted from his benefits—could he have foreseen that a century later a Grand Master of that same Order, the immortal Infante D. Henry, leaning

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perceively over the waves which beat against Cape Saint Vincent, should conceive the grand thought of effecting, with only the means at command of the Order, the discovery of the islands and the regions whose existence he surmised! Could he have observed how the Knights, finding Portugal too narrow for the vastness of their adventuresome spirit, would cross the unknown seas to plant the foundations of Portuguese power on the other side of the globe, and assured a distinct place in the annals of the people! D. Diniz could not foresee all these acts, no more than he could divine that the pine-trees planted so carefully on the heights of Leiria, in order that the violence of the sea-breezes should not cover with mountains of sand, washed by the sea, the fertile plains of his favourite residence, were to grow and increase, and form the luxuriant and immense forests from whence to build the ships wherein the Knights and brave sailors sailed across the seas to widen the dominions of Portugal, and prepare the basis of a commerce which was to join the two parts of the world. What fruits are still in store for the future yet to be gathered from the beneficent institutions of so enlightened and prudent a prince!"

About the same time as D. Diniz effected the reformation of the Military Orders as narrated above, he effected a no less important one in reforming the national navy, which later on became one of the principal agents in working out the greatness and glory of the future of Portugal. His new providence is linked to an order of especial facts in the general administration of the kingdom, in relation principally to its material progress, one of the most characteristic features of the policy of D. Diniz, and which throughout ages has engraved his name in the affectionate remembrance of the people.

No documents have been found to give an exact idea of the general population of the kingdom at this epoch. There simply appears one which refers to a small portion of the kingdom. This is the list of the cross-bowmen which each of the principal lands of Estremadura and Beira Alta should possess. The kingdom was divided into five vast provinces, known in those days as districts—Alemtejo and Algarve, Estremadura, Beira, Entre Douro and Minho, and Tras-os-Montes, a division which was perfectly logical for that time, and which satisfied the administrative necessities of the State. These provinces had as capital cities, or principal ones, Evora, Lisbon, Coimbra, Guimarães, and Braganza.

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As we said, when D. Diniz assumed the government of the kingdom, he followed the policy of his father in promoting, on every side and in every sense, the internal progress of the nation. Hence, in 1286, when endeavouring to promote the increase of population on the sea-coasts of the kingdom, in order to resist more effectually the pirates of Barbary, who infested these parts, he thought, among other providences, of populating a port excellent for fishing and commerce, called Paredes, which lay two leagues to the north of the town of Pederneira, a short distance from the city of Leiria, much frequented by the King on account of the good hunting which existed there.

On 28th October, D. Diniz issued letters to the effect of settling thirty residents on that spot, with the obligation of always having ready for its fishery six caravels, and, in order to establish homes, gave to each a measure of wheat. The town of Paredes rapidly increased until the reign of D. Manuel. But being exposed to the sands which surrounded it, became at length so embedded in those which the winds swept over the buildings and the port, that it was at length completely abandoned by the inhabitants. In the year 1295, D. Diniz founded and populated Salvaterra dos Magos, whose fertile marshes, upon which was erected the town, were given him by the Aldermen of the Council of Santarem, who held the seigniority, the nobles and principal men of the town being present and authorising the donation.

He likewise gave royal letters to Martim Lourenço of Cerveira, to populate the wilds of Urgueira, on the confines of Ourem, on the 20th May, 1299, and on the following day he granted charters to the population of *Villa Nova* to build on the mouth of the Coa, which was only separated from the frontiers of Leon by the current of the Douro, and was erected imprudently without walls of defence of any kind. On learning that on the confines of Torres Novas, between Cardiga and Besilga, there were good lands but uncultivated, yet admirably placed for defence against the numerous highwaymen which infested the place, and knowing that the best remedy for preventing the evil would be to populate these desolate places and promote agriculture and social life, he ordered, on 5th September, 1303, by royal letters, the foundation of the towns of Aceiceira, Atalaya, and Tojal. With the object of attracting inhabitants, the King granted various privileges and removed some heavy imposts. Later on, these places became renowned—Atalaya as head of the county, populous and fertile, and Acciceira as being the



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scene of the last and decisive military victory of the Liberal cause during the present century.

But more important than these places in Estremadura were those founded by D. Diniz in the territory of Tras-os-Montes, Montalegre, and Villa Real. In the first there had been inhabitants, but death had swept some off and others had abandoned it, flying from the violences of the fiscal collectors. The foundation of Villa Real was first planned by Alfonso III. in 1272, who ordered its erection, and gave it charters granting the royal rights over the lands of Panoyas. But the perturbations were great throughout the kingdom and no inhabitants appeared, hence he died without seeing his idea realised. It fell to his son to reap that peaceful and civilising glory.

The raids effected by the Castillians and Leonese on the Portuguese frontiers, instigated by the rebellion of Alvaro de Lara, joined to the disturbances of the Portuguese Infante D. Alfonso, manifested to D. Diniz that it was imperative to people and erect fortified places in the district of Tras-os-Montes, on the confines of Leon and Galicia, which were so far from the centre of the kingdom. Hence he gave orders in January, 1289, to populate Montalegre, and also on the fertile district of Panoyas that of Villa Real. At first it was limited to one thousand inhabitants, to whom were accorded many especial privileges. After three years the new town had greatly increased, both in residents and buildings. In view of the needs of the time, D. Diniz, in 1292, granted another charter to Villa Real, which was more complete, while confirming the former privileges. In order to manifest more clearly his especial predilection for this work, he dedicated the parish church of the new town to his spiritual patron, the martyr St. Denis.

Villa Real continued for many years in the royal dominions, having been ceded to various queens. Diniz gave it to his wife D. Isabel, Alfonso IV. to D. Brites, Ferdinand to D. Leonor, and it was only after that it passed to the seigniority of counts and marquises. The fruitfulness of its soil and the activity of its dwellers rendered it in time one of the first capitals of the north of the kingdom, and perpetuated throughout ages the beloved name of the founder.

Yet, while establishing these and other towns, he did not forget in his admirable solicitude to increase, embellish, and fortify the ancient cities, towns, and alcaceres of the kingdom.

D. Diniz reconstructed the towns and castles of Serpa, Moura, Mourão, Olivença, Campo-Maior, and Ougurella. He erected, or completely

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repaired, the fortresses of Montforte, Arronches, Portalegre, Marvão, Alegrete, Castello de Vide, Borba, Villa Viçosa, Arrayolos, Evora Monte, Veyros, Alandroal, Monçaras, Noudar, Jurumenha, Redondo, and Assumar. He raised the tower and alcacer of Beja, and greatly fortified all the towns of the conquest of Biba de Coa, and also Avôo, Pinhel, Guimarães, Braga, Miranda do Douro, Moncão, and Castro Leboreiro. He raised castles, and populated in a great measure Vinhaes, Villa Flor, Alfandega, Mirandella, Freixo d'Espada à Cinta, and others; in a word, he rendered more than fifty places of greater or lesser importance in a state of defence spread throughout the different points of the kingdom. Lisbon was not forgotten. D. Diniz erected many houses to accommodate the ever-increasing population of the city, and increased the revenues of the Crown by a system of letting. He constructed some public buildings, principally the Palace of Alcaçova, and opened the Rua Nova dos Ferros, the finest in the capital.

The religious foundations were very numerous. Throughout the kingdom he spread churches, chapels, and convents. This was due, not only to the religious spirit of the age, but also to the idea that a church raised on a deserted place was the natural commencement of new towns. Amongst these foundations are distinguished two well-known ones, the Monastery of Odivellas and that of Santa Clara of Coimbra.

The first was erected in fulfilment of a vow which he made when a youth. He thought of this erection for a length of time, and laid the foundation stone on 27th February, 1295. Two years were employed in its construction, and in 1325, thirty years later, he ordered his body to be buried there.

This church was renowned for its elegant Gothic architecture, its position on a hill, the vastness of the buildings, magnificence of handiwork within and without, its principal façade, sumptuous choir, and wide nave—which the earthquake completely destroyed, but which tradition glorified. But above all, the mausoleum of the good King previous to the wreck we see to-day—Odivellas was a monument truly noteworthy, and one of the largest and most celebrated monasteries of the Peninsula.

Two leagues to the north of Lisbon stands Luz, on a plain between two small hills, Tojaes and Saint Diniz, divided by a clear stream which waters the boundary and garden of Val de Flores. It belongs to the Cistercian Order. Eighty nuns inhabited it during the first year of its

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foundation. D. Diniz greatly loved this convent and largely benefited it, and in spite of his duties and the cares of government, he twice reformed the rules, and rendered it most opulent by numerous and important donations, and even dispensed it from the laws of mortmain, and granted it the privilege of inheriting. He also placed here among the community some of his illegitimate daughters. The enclosure of the nuns was partial. The choir could not be divided from the nave, either with rails, or wooden partitions, or otherwise, which might prevent the religious from frequenting the church wherein was the monument of the King, in order that they should pray and sing their office over his sepulchre.

Odivellas ought to have been preserved with patriotic and fervent zeal. It was a symbol of the fourteenth century, so full of promise, and which had, across the barbarism of the Middle Ages, commenced to shoot vigorously the first gleams of the dawn of national civilisation. A king, however, degraded it by his sensualities, and a natural catastrophe destroyed it. What exists at the present day in Odivellas of the former monument of D. Diniz is little more than the actual site, its traditions, name, and some tombstones.

The ancient convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, of whose vast erection only ruins remain which are now almost extinct, was not erected directly by D. Diniz, but was due to the liberality with which he endowed the Queen D. Isabel.

A wealthy lady, D. Mor Dias, Canoness of the Monastery of S. João das Donas, adjacent to that of Santa Cruz, founded in April, 1286, on the margin of the Mondego, a few steps from the bridge, a church and religious house, which she dedicated to Santa Clara, and endowed with all her wealth. This foundation was, however, opposed by the canons regulars, alleging that Mor Dias, being a professed nun of the Order, could not dispose of any goods in favour of another, and soon after the death of this pious lady they obtained sentence from the Bishop of Lisbon to suppress the new monastery, and ordering that all properties left by the deceased should be delivered up to them. The nuns were dispersed among various convents, and the building fell to ruins soon after, owing to neglect and incomplete state of erection.

It was then that D. Isabel took upon herself to save the foundation of Mor Dias, and to reconstruct the monastery. She intervened in the cause, which for no reason had been deferred, and assigned to the Holy See. She obtained the pontifical grant, and arranged with the Fathers

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of Santa Cruz, who gave up to the new convent part of the inheritance of Mor Dias.

In the year 1317 the pious princess, accompanied by many prelates and noblemen, laid the foundation stone of the great buildings which were to be erected. She raised the church, a vast building in the Gothic style of architecture, with three naves, and in the ogival domes, which still exist, were sculptured the scutcheons of Portugal and Aragon. The monastery itself was enlarged greatly. As soon as the house was ready, the Queen sent for eleven nuns of Saint Clare, from the city of Coimbra, in order to serve as the nucleus in its reformed state of the new community, which quickly increased by the highest noble ladies of the kingdom, and in a few years numbered fifty nuns. In order to be nearer the sanctuary, Isabel of Aragon constructed by its side a royal palace of sufficient dimensions for her family and retinue "like a vine growing by its side," and to complete more perfectly the work, she built contiguous to it a hospital to shelter, educate, and tend orphans and the poor.

This renowned Queen and D. Beatriz, her daughter-in-law, with a number of ladies of the Court, spent many long years in this institution, dividing the days between divine offices in the choir and the practice of charity in the hospital. During her years of widowhood she wore the humble habit of the Nuns Minorite of Saint Clare, although she did not profess in the Order, and chose this place as her sepulchre, instead of the first projected, close to that of her husband in Odivellas.

In the old convent of Santa Clara was buried the hapless gentle Inez de Castro, until the passionate love of Pedro had her body translated with superb royal pomp to the lovely mausoleum of Alcobaça, in the year 1361.

It was in this same monastery that later on, in the year 1480, in presence of the Court of Portugal and the Castillian Ambassadors, amid the tears and wailings of a numerous auditory, D. Joanna, the *excellent lady*, was compelled to profess, in order to leave Ferdinand and Isabella free on the throne of Leon and Castille, but from whence she had been sworn Queen, and to which she was still called by powerful partisans.

But nature had condemned the pious work of the wife of D. Diniz. By degrees the drifts of the sands of the Mondego were submerging it, and when in the sixteenth century D. Fr. Bartholomew of the Martyrs

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preached in that edifice in presence of the adventuresome and hapless D. Sebastian, it was manifest that the preservation of the ancient monastery could not be maintained any longer, notwithstanding the reluctance of the religious to forsake it. At length it was the nuns themselves who solicited D. John IV. to effect a remedy to the evil. This monarch commenced on 3rd July, 1649, the erection of the new convent of Santa Clara, a short distance from the old one, and which he built on the height of the Monte da Esperança, where it is still to be seen.

On 29th October, 1677, was translated in solemn procession of nuns the body of the Queen, D. Isabel. Even at that date the new work was still uncompleted, and for conclusion the materials of the old building were employed.

But the establishment of religious and charitable institutions formed only a small portion of his system of developing population and the prosperity of the kingdom. Civilisation was progressing, and the Government required other means more efficacious and direct to further this aim: these means were the development of material labour in all its principal manifestations, such as agriculture, commerce, and industry, and above all the perfecting, in the liberal sense, the juridical and social conditions of property and the people.

The principal reform, however, of D. Diniz for the increase of population, the progress of agriculture, and in general the civilisation of the kingdom, was in respect to the laws of mortmain of the land, firmly carried out. This reform alone, on account of its deep and salutary effects, would have rendered glorious his reign; but besides this, Diniz continued, with solicitous enlightenment, the fruitful policy of his father, and not only on the agrarian side, but also in repressing the demands and extortions, varied and continued, of the privileged classes, and thus in a sensible manner hastened the grand and admirable evolution of Portuguese society.

Kings and ministers proceeded enlightened and wisely throughout the kingdom, viewing personally the people and administrating justice, inquiring into the public needs and providing the remedy, hence they became practically acquainted with the condition of existence of the various localities, and to each they applied the system adopted, varying and modifying it in harmony with the usages and customs of the various places.

On the vast unpopulated plains of the Alemtejo, Diniz endeavoured

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to establish small towns, distributing among the inhabitants in equal plots the adjoining lands.

To the monasteries, the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, and the great landowners who held lands under cultivation, he allowed them to preserve their properties, but forbade them to hold large tracts which they could not cultivate, while he examined and took the uncultivated portions to turn them into common pasture grounds for all the neighbours, or else he parcelled them out to labouring men who would cultivate them, assigning to each the necessary portion for the maintenance of their cattle.

In the province of Tras-os-Montes, D. Diniz endeavoured, as in Alemtejo, to increase population and develope agriculture. These were the two districts in the kingdom which possessed most uncultivated land. He had likewise to adapt his laws to the requirements of tradition and local usages before he could have his system accepted by the people.

In places where the tilling was not carried in common they were annually put up in lots and divided among the neighbours to be cultivated—a system which was very pernicious to rural economy, since it withdrew from the cultivator the thought of incurring any expense upon a land which gave no immediate results or demanded a sensible laying out of capital.

Communism existed even in other branches of industry, and, in truth, in some it had its advantages. It was common property, not only the construction, conservation, and use of bridges, roads, and lands, but even the flour-mills, the ovens for baking bread, barns for storing cereals or granaries, wine-presses, and the guarding of the flocks.

These customs, some of which appear strange to inhabitants of cities in our days, are still preserved in the towns of Tras-os-Montes, and in numberless villages throughout the kingdom. Threshing-time is among them a season of feasting, popular and friendly meetings, and social intercourse due to this kind of communism.

D. Diniz, the king who was so beloved by his people, preserved this system, as he was well aware of its advantages, while correcting the inconvenience which, in a purely agricultural sense, was manifest.

Following the example bequeathed by his father and Sancho I. and II., he ordered some of the vast lands of his dominions to be cultivated under the best systems, in order to serve as models and schools for teaching agriculture to private farmers; and he was even

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proud of saying that he owned in the Alemtejo herds of cattle and numerous flocks of splendid live stock.

He ordered the marshes of Ulmar, near Leiria, to be drained, this being carried out under the superintendence of Friar Martinho, a monk of Alcobaça, and these lands, when ready for cultivation, were distributed among the colonists. The marshes of Salvaterra de Magos and Muge were treated in the same manner, but the ratepayers, among other conditions, had, on concluding the ploughing in four years' time, to pay the King, besides a fourth or fifth of the produce, sixty-four measures of wheat towards defraying the expenses of drainage and the erection of wooden bridges.

Foreseeing the great damage which would be caused to Leiria by the drifts of sand washed ashore by the ocean, and which continually swept over the fertile plains surrounding the city and were destroying the fertility of the land, D. Diniz conceived the idea of averting the evil by covering the whole tract with pine-trees, and thus prevent the sand-drifts, and later on afford native timber for land and maritime constructions. It was with this double object that he planted the celebrated pine forests of Leiria, one of the greatest sources of wealth he bequeathed his successors and the nation. Tradition assures us that the original pines which were planted came from France, and the timber produced, after proper preparation, equals that brought from the north, and is suitable for any construction, whether for shipbuilding or inland works.

On the shores of the Tagus, eleven leagues above Lisbon and three from Santarem, extends the fields called De Vallada, which possess an extraordinary fertility.

When Alfonso Henry conquered the first of these cities he ordered the Chamber and Council of Lisbon to divide annually among the residents of this territory that tract of land, with the object of relieving those who had no properties, and to encourage the people to come and settle in Lisbon. This was praiseworthy from a humanitarian point of view and with the object of furthering civilisation. Hence the list of poor persons became annually organised, and to each was given a portion of land to cultivate.

With the further object of attracting persons to rural pursuits and also ennoble the science of agriculture, D. Diniz decreed that *fidalgos* would not lose their rank, dignity, or nobility, nor their honours, by becoming agriculturists. And in his constant travels and visitation of

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the kingdom he always treated the peasantry and country people with the greatest affability, in order to encourage them in their labours, and even defended their properties against their more powerful neighbours, and in many ways protected them.

It was on account of these providences and watchful manner of proceeding that D. Diniz acquired the honoured titles of "Agricultural King" and "Father of the People." Moreover, it was due to him that the science of agriculture in Portugal rose to a high degree of excellence during the fourteenth century and became so prosperous. Although it constituted the principal subject of the tributes and imposts of all kinds, this industry attained in many parts of the kingdom the greatest development possible, not alone in what regarded rural labours and fertilising of lands, but in the cultivation of orchards, fruit and vegetable gardens, and in the excellence of vineyards. The abundance and superiority of cereals being so celebrated at that epoch and not only supplied the population of the kingdom, but sufficient remained to effect large exportations.

It was because the youthful nation, robust and fired with enthusiasm, had at its head rulers who were renowned for their sagacious patriotism and the ardour with which they had combated the Arabs and conquered them, and now ploughed the land to find in its bosom wealth and happiness.

Yet his active spirit did not rest here. The discovery and exploration of mines also attracted his attention. It was considered for a great length of time that the accounts of antiquity and of the Middle Ages respecting the mining wealth of the Spanish Peninsula, and notably of Portugal, were exaggerated; but modern discoveries in our land of rich depths of copper, iron, and coal are so numerous and continued that, as regards the above, they justified, or rather exceed the vague affirmations of the ancient writers.

Yet the few documents existing on the subject are generally Government dispositions, from which we can only infer by deduction the state of this industry.

By a provision dated 12th December, 1282, at this early stage of his enlightened reign, D. Diniz was granting to Sancho Pires and his companions leave to seek and explore in Portugal and the Algarve all the mines of iron and quicksilver which had notice of *paying the customary dues*. This phrase indicates that mining was already known

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and carried on in the kingdom, as it was subject to a fixed tax, which it would be only prolix to enumerate.

And in effect, from the reign of Sancho I., on the shores of the Tagus, principally between Almada and Cezimbra, on a spot called Adiça, gold was extracted from the sands. This industry was continued until the reign of D. Manuel, when it became prohibited during the last years of his rule, to avoid the inconvenience accruing from removing the sand, and because the gold, the products of the new discoveries and conquests, was in such quantities that it obscured at first the humble products, although safer, of the national labour. Yet it is an undoubted fact that the mines of Adiça attained to a great development notable at that epoch, being the greatest depository of this metal in the kingdom.

Besides the mines of iron, quicksilver, and gold, there were others known in the time of D. Diniz of silver, lead, copper, zinc, sulphur, jet, and alum. Of this latter D. Diniz ordered in 1301 search to be made by Pero Martins, mandarin to the Queen D. Isabel, and Stephen Domingues, Gonsalo Pires, and others. Ancient national writers also speak of mines of turquoise and other precious stones, but these are only vague rumours the truth of which is unproved; but it is certain that besides gold and silver mines which have become nearly exhausted, and the manganese which is a modern discovery, there were then mines of all the ores known at the present day; and it is equally acknowledged that they merited the attention of the Government of D. Diniz, and were prosperous at that epoch.

During the subsequent reign of Alfonso IV., on the contrary, neglecting in part the administration of the kingdom, and allowing some of the principal elements of its wealth to fall into disuse, he abandoned many mines which ceased to be worked, and gave the concessions of others to private industry which then was in a very weak state; the concessionaires being Alfonso Peres, a merchant of Oporto, and a foreigner, Bernal Fucara, and their successors, with the condition of their exploration and paying to the Crown a fifth part of the products.

Although during the reign of D. Diniz arts, handicraft, and commerce were greatly developed, yet they did not attain to the prosperity of agriculture. The individuals who took to these professions commenced in the municipalities to constitute themselves into guilds or brotherhoods, generally incipient and subject to all the regulations of the

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time. The arts barely existed, and the industries which were most perfect, and the branches of commerce most noteworthy, were principally followed by Jews and Moors, of which there were great numbers in the country. The Hebrews were intelligent, laborious, and wealthy; some of these were also proficient in medicine and in the science of governing. And though the religious spirit of the Christians was fervent and deep, nevertheless they allowed a great liberty of worship and tolerance to the Hebrew race.

The primitive harshness of the Gothic laws had been softened by the Kings of Leon, especially by Alfonso VI., who permitted the Jews to share the social life with the Christians. From this grand fact proceeded the multiplicity and opulence of the sectaries of Moses throughout Spain.

Following this beneficent example, and acknowledging the utility of taking advantage of this persevering and industrious race for the increase and advancement of a new country, the first Portuguese kings treated the Jews most kindly, and not only permitted them to follow their religious worship and private industry, but entrusted them with important charges in the public government, particularly in collecting imposts and financial administration.

These fiscal appointments and the usurious contracts, which were often carried out with inhumanity and hardness, rendered the Jews later on generally hated. This animadversion was induced in a great measure by the clergy, and even at this epoch reached to the height that they complained to the Curia of the favour which the sovereigns accorded to them. However, several Pontiffs protected them, granting freedom of worship, notably the wise Clement VI., by a bull dated 5th July, 1347, wherein he forbids under heavy penalties that any Jews should be forced to receive baptism, or hinder them in the celebration of their religious festivals, enter into cemeteries, or impose exceptional tributes.

The Moors, like the Hebrews, resided in separate districts which, except in Lisbon, were outside the boundary walls: this was partly by reason of the agricultural labours they followed. The Moorish section was governed by an elective Alcaide, who administered justice among his sectaries. They were allowed publicly and privately to hold their festivals in conformity with the Alcoranic law, and to dress in their native costume.

They paid the same dues to the Portuguese kings as they had

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done to the Mussalman monarchs. From these tributes resulted large revenues to the Crown, this being one of the principal reasons for the tolerance of the governments in respect to the proscribed race of Mahomet. Hence both Jews and Moors joined together with the Christians in following productive labours.

Industry and commerce had commenced to acquire vigour in the previous reign. During the long government of D. Diniz they slowly continued to progress. The ignorance of special rudiments for their development was deep; the privileged classes oppressed and scorned generally the labouring classes; the variety of legislation, the dues and imposts of all kinds hampered and rendered existence a difficult matter with the people, while the internal communications with the country were insufficient, and earthquakes, famine, and pestilence frequently diminished the population. Nevertheless, despite all these great obstacles, the growth of the civilising life of the nation was sensibly felt.

Drawing, painting, and sculpture were still in a semi-barbarian state, but architecture, religious and civil, had commenced to take root, as is proved by the numerous buildings of all kinds which rose up in the reign of D. Diniz, and this art increased so rapidly that within a century, among others, was distinguished the lovely erection of the Church of Santa Maria da Victoria of Batalha, the wonder and model for future generations.

On the Minho existed good manufactories of linen and cloth, and throughout the kingdom leather and various skins of animals were splendidly worked. These served to cover the walls of the richest apartments, and furniture for the harness of horses, and even for articles of apparel, being richly and luxuriantly worked and embroidered.

In this reign, owing to its peaceful state and good government, all industries developed greatly. Diniz perfected and generalised throughout the kingdom the holding of fairs and markets, which proved one of the greatest benefits to agriculture and national commerce and industries.

In Coimbra, Braga, Ponte de Lima, and other places to the north, even before the time of D. Diniz, were held weekly and monthly fairs or markets, which drew, for miles around them, buyers and sellers, but it was due to this sovereign that these periodical fairs attained their greatest development.

He granted permission for fairs to be held in Leiria, Villa Flor,

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Cernancelha, and Alvito, Ranhados, Beja, Moura, Gaia, Santarem, and Murça. He likewise granted leave to Moncorvo, Monção, Trancoso, Freixo d'Espada à Cintra, Prado, Vouzella, Lamego, and many other towns. The fair of Lamego, one of the greatest in the kingdom, lasted the whole of the month of July, and drew merchants from all the country. This fair, like some others, was free—that is to say, had privileges and exemptions authorised by the King, but greater than the usual ones.

These fairs were generally presided over by a magistrate, who watched over the proper observance of all contracts and dues, police regulations and peace. Arts and industries, agriculture, commerce, and social well-being gained immense advantages by these gatherings of the people, where all manufactures were exhibited, cattle, and the agricultural products of all the provinces in the interior. These fairs at once created commerce in the interior of the kingdom; it brought together the goods of the consumers; it induced and facilitated the circulation of money, and established good relationship of every order—sociability and goodwill—benefited in every sense the conditions and life of individuals, the municipalities, and of the nation generally; while these popular meetings even developed the taste for music and poetry, rendering the Portuguese character more expansive and cheerful.

But it was not alone the mercantile commerce of the interior which merited the attention of D. Diniz; he likewise promoted external commerce. When this prince succeeded to the crown he found already a certain development of trade. As we have seen, from the earliest times of the monarchy our ports were visited by the navigators of the North. Numerous fleets of warriors, which the enthusiastic fervour of the Crusades was impelling to Palestine, had assisted the Portuguese to expel the Arabs; while many of the foreign soldiers, attracted by the warm welcome of the Portuguese, had remained in the Peninsula and established numerous colonies.

These facts, frequently repeated during an entire century, induced continual and varied relations between the principal Portuguese ports and the maritime strongholds of Biscay, Catalonia, Brittany, England, and Flanders, and brought towards the end of the thirteenth century an active commerce, resulting from the exchange of its national products with the merchandise of these various countries. The Portuguese received their numerous manufactures, and in return exported

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cereals, wine, fruit, and salt. The ships of Italy, principally Venetian and Genoese, also approached the shores of Portugal to open commerce with her, while merchants from all foreign nations established their residence in Portugal, principally in the towns of Faro, Setubal, Oporto, and Lisbon. During the fourteenth century thousands lived here; the Tagus was usually crowded with shipping, and this latter port became one of the most renowned of Europe. But this signal prosperity was only attained by slow degrees.

It was towards the end of the reign of Alfonso III. and the beginning of that of D. Diniz, that the external national commerce began to assume a veritable importance, owing to the encouragement it received, the intercourse with foreign merchants and navigators, the increase of productive forces of the country, and lastly, because the Portuguese, freed from the war with the Mussalmans, were striving by every means at command to give scope to their activity and develope their sources of wealth. The merchants combined together and established a system of commercial regulations and laws—in a word, a Commercial Exchange. This system was approved of by D. Diniz, who granted its confirmation by decree dated 10th May, 1293. This organisation was later on enlarged and perfected in the time of D. Ferdinand, and extended to all the kingdom. However, in Oporto an analogous one was formed when in that port commerce began to acquire a sensible importance.

In January, 1290, Philip the Beautiful of France, that same king who was so zealous for the prerogatives of the Crown, granted to the Portuguese merchants residing in Harfleur, Normandy, many privileges, and all Portuguese merchants and their servants were under the protection of the King of France, and sheltered from any violence so long as they resided in Harfleur.

Harfleur, which at the present day is an obscure, insignificant city on the right margin of the Seine, about two kilometers from the sea shore, was in the Middle Ages an important place on account of its enormous mercantile traffic. The sands were such that they nearly ruined its anchorage, and compelled the French to build at a short distance the small but picturesque city of Havre, and the vast roadstead, whose maritime life it would be unnecessary to describe. Hence Harfleur was the foundation of the first northern port of France, and during the thirteenth century was much frequented by foreigners.

The concession, therefore, of so many signal exemptions authorised

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by such a monarch as Philip is an evident proof of the importance which Portuguese commerce had already attained and the large number of resident merchants.

But it was not alone in France that they found favour. England acknowledged much earlier the convenience of maintaining political and commercial relations with the Portuguese, who were established along the shores of the ocean and on the most western part of Europe.

We see that in 1151, during the reign of Alfonso Henry, Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon went to England to enlist troops for the service of Portugal, and since then was established the principle which has been almost constantly followed by the Portuguese Government of effecting alliances with Great Britain against the violence of its neighbours in the Peninsula. The English assisted Sancho I. to conquer Silves. This same monarch sent ambassadors to England, and King John (*sem terra*), who then was reigning, enjoined his vassals by royal letters to receive them with all honours and lend their aid, and asked in marriage a daughter of Sancho, publicly declaring that it was a source of deep gratification to him to establish peace relations between the two nations, which he inculcated to his delegates and subjects, manifesting that he was ready to celebrate treaties with Portugal. The English, the Flemish, and the French assisted Alfonso II. in September, 1217, to defeat the Moors and take Alcacer. Commerce between the two peoples continued during the subsequent reigns of Sancho II. and Alfonso III. Lastly, in the time of D. Diniz, as we shall show, diplomatic relations increased with the greatest regularity possible at that age, and commercial treaties, whether written or customary, which had formerly existed, were now confirmed in an authentic manner.

International affairs during the Middle Ages, and for a long period afterwards, were treated by letters between the respective monarchs, which were carried by ambassadors or envoys of lesser note, who returned to their country as soon as they received a reply or concluded the object of their especial mission.

Various messages of this nature were exchanged between D. Diniz and the Kings of England, Edward I. and II. These were principally in reference to mutual claims respecting cases of piracy, which were then very frequently perpetrated by the subjects of both nations, and sometimes also by Castillian ships, who, in order to carry their rapine

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more safely against the English shipping, used to hoist the Portuguese flag.

All that exists of the correspondence which passed at that epoch has been published in the excellent diplomatic collection of Rymer. The first document which is there read is a letter of Edward I., dated 15th July, 1293, where it is seen that D. Diniz had written others, endeavouring to justify his subjects from the piracies complained of by the English; the last, it was said, having been effected within the port of Lisbon. Notwithstanding this, the English monarch appeared to desire peace, and beseeches D. Diniz to persuade his subjects to maintain it. In order that these conflicts be adjusted and tranquillity assured, the King of Portugal sent in the following January as ambassadors to England João Soeiro and Pedro Martins, citizens of Lisbon.

In April of that same year Edward I. published a letter, in which is established the form for regulating the disagreements between the merchants of the two nations by means of arbitration, who had also powers to treat for peace; and the King decreed an armistice in order to carry out the desired convention.

New cases of piracy, however, took place, and disturbed these negotiations, and D. Diniz was even accused of receiving a tenth part of the prize taken from a richly laden English ship which had touched the port of Lagos, and was captured by various vessels from Lisbon. In order to indemnify this robbery, the King of England granted letters against the Portuguese ships. However, in February, 1297, this same monarch authorised *salvo conducto* to the merchants of Portugal to enable them freely to traffic in his States up to a certain date, at the request, be it noted, of the provincial governors, who affirmed that from this would result advantages for the nation.

Some years passed in this doubtful state of relations, when an event occurred which offered to the Portuguese monarch a plea for binding these transactions in closer and safer terms. An English vessel was captured by corsairs and conducted to the Tagus. Diniz rejected the requisitions of the King of Castille, who demanded that it be delivered up as belonging to his subjects, and retained it for two years until its legitimate owners should appear. The Portuguese sovereign wrote about this to England, and his letters were received by Edward II., because Edward I., his father, was already dead.

When Diniz was apprised of this event, he sent a special envoy to

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congratulate the new monarch, reminding him of the former good feelings and the treaties which bound the two peoples. Edward thanked him for the letters addressed to his late father, and the services which England had tendered to the King of Portugal, retaining the English vessel, and rejecting the Castillian pretensions.

When he received in audience the Portuguese envoy, he wrote to D. Diniz a letter, dated 3rd October, 1308, which from its importance marks an epoch in the official relations between the two nations. In this letter he rejoices cordially on the treaty of union and friendship which up to that time had existed between the merchants of Portugal and England, to which Diniz had alluded, and desires that this treaty *be indissoluble and perpetual between them.* In reference to past conflicts, he declares that he had received no complaints in that respect from his vassals, and terminates by affirming that he had granted to Portuguese merchants letters of safe conduct, permitting them to take their merchandise to England and trade there, merely subject to the laws, usages, and customs of their kingdom.

The primitive Portuguese political relations with England, which had proved so advantageous for the establishment of its nationality, were succeeded by continued commercial transactions between the two countries, lucrative and expedient for both; and if at times the violences of the pirates disturbed or broke them, they were soon reunited by immediate reciprocal interests.

The treaty to which these above-mentioned decrees refer is, however, unknown, and its existence controverted. Perhaps it was never written, but it is nevertheless certain that it received a real and effective life in the numerous and important relations with both nations, and in its acts was frequently invoked.

However great may have been the internal strength of the country to induce and widen the export trade, it could never be truly great, nor attain its natural development, so long as the seas were infested, as they really were, by pirates and inimical fleets. Besides the mutual rapine, constantly exercised in a greater or lesser degree by the Christian ships, and often in accord with their respective Governments, the Mussalmans of Granada and the whole of Africa, more especially of the vast empire of the Moghreb, maintained powerful fleets, making war to Christians constantly and cruelly.

The coasts of the Peninsula were their principal scene of action, not only because it was near to them, but from the burning fanaticism



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which had originated the former strifes among them. The Moors not only attacked the ships they encountered on the sea, but frequently landed to sack and set fire to villages and towns which were undefended on the coast.

To remedy these serious inconveniences, Diniz began to fortify all maritime towns, and construct and organise a powerful fleet to counterbalance the Saracen squadrons and guard the coast of Portugal in defence of its commerce from general piracy. The history of the navy of Portugal during the first epochs of the monarchy is very vague, obscure, and legendary; nevertheless, there are existing vestiges to prove that, ever since the government of D. Theresa, there had existed a royal fleet, the number of which increased so markedly that, in the reign of Sancho I., the Portuguese war-ships greatly assisted the conquest of the Algarve, particularly in the taking of Silves on 21st July, 1189, when no less than thirty-seven national vessels attended. It appears it was Sancho who transported the fleet of the Mondego to the Tagus, and it was he who granted to Lisbon the privilege of its inhabitants serving voluntarily on the vessels of the State.

This continued in the reign of Alfonso II., when the Portuguese navy took part with the Crusaders of the North in the expedition of Alcacer; but these vague assertions attain a clear narrative and become more manifest during the short government of Sancho II. There are existing documents which directly refer to this period, and they dwell particularly upon the naval organisation in its material and personal sense. One of these documents serves to prove the existence of a regular corps of seamen with their officers and especial privileges, and manifests the solicitude of that hapless monarch to further this important branch of national strength, by ordering the authorities of Lisbon to protect their sailors, under the penalty of a fine of 1,000 morabitinos, against any one who should ill-use them, and further declares that none exercise any authority over them save their own chief, *prætor*, and the King.

This organisation did not assist Sancho, despite his good intentions; nevertheless, it was made useful by Alfonso III., who employed the fleet with signal success in the war of the Algarve, closing the bar of Faro in 1254, and with this fleet aided Alfonso the Wise of Castille in 1266, by joining the expedition to Seville, commanded by D. Diniz, as we said, when he was still an Infante and in his childhood.

When D. Diniz ascended the throne, he already found a certain

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number of war-ships with a regular crew, under the command of a chief officer styled *Admiral*. The naval constructions were generally carried on in the Tagus; the *taracenas*, a kind of arsenal for the navy stores, designated in the documents of the period by the name of *palatium navigiorum regis*, were situated in the ancient parish of the Magdalena, where, even in the time of Sancho II., were constructed men-of-war, and launched into the sea or run aground by an engine called *debadoyras*. The Jews had the charge of giving an anchor and cable for each ship or galley which was fitted up, as is proved by the inquiry which D. Diniz instituted on the subject.

The system of constructing the wealthy and renowned ships of antiquity, from the time of the Phœnicians to the Romans, had almost become lost amid the dark shadows of the first epochs of the Middle Ages; but as soon as the enthusiasm for the Crusades impelled the Christian nations to proceed to the regions of the East, numerous ships were constructed in all European ports, some large enough to transport a thousand persons; while maritime commerce rose in proportion as navigation rapidly became developed. The Mediterranean was the principal scene of this grand evolution of human progress.

The thirteenth century is the last period in the first phase of the modern navy; and their rude, imperfect ships represent a grand progress over the former mediæval vessels. The war-ships were commonly galleys and galliots, propelled by oars, and with triangular or Latin sails. The galleys had two castles, one at the prow and one at the poop; in these took shelter the officers, and during combats they were garrisoned by seamen and soldiers, from whence they attacked the enemy. The oarsmen were unsheltered and exposed to the fire of the enemy. For this reason they were usually convicts, slaves, and captives of war, who were employed to ply the oars. When there were none of these to employ, the sailors were drawn from among the fishermen and craftsmen, one out of every twenty. From the castle on the prow were shot at the enemy arrows, lances, missiles, stones, and burning faggots, in order to set fire to the rigging and sails of the enemy's craft. The prow was the strongest part of the ship, being armed with beak-head of hardest metal. The galley had two masts, which could be lowered each with its Latin sail, called *bastardo*, and was generally furnished with twenty-five to thirty benches, with two or three oars each, and two or three men to each oar.

The galliot carried one mast, and had only about sixteen benches

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for the oarsmen, and no castles at the prow and poop. The galley in a combat always turned the prow to the enemy, in order to attack with force, and also to cover the crew with its construction.

Navigation was usually only conducted by day along the coast within sight of land, or sometimes on calm moonlight nights. The most experienced nautical men studied the course of the stars, the direction of the winds, and the currents of the ocean, when sometimes they ceased to sight land, in order to be guided in case of storms.

The solicitude he manifested to improve maritime affairs must have resulted not only from the actual necessity to the government as well as the policy of putting down piracy, but also from the emulation produced by the voyages to the East effected by Marco Polo, the Genoese, in 1253 and 1295, the interesting narratives of which rapidly spread throughout Europe, and awakened generally the mercantile spirit and the taste for discoveries, and influenced in a profound manner the enlightened and ardent genius of D. Diniz and his poetic, adventurous Court.

But national instruction had only commenced: the nation was rising from a territorial war which had lasted for ages, and almost completely absorbed its vital forces and attention. The voyages to the North, with the dark sea on one side to terrify the spirit, and the land on the other, had not sufficiently developed the intelligence and the natural aptitude of Portuguese seamen. Diniz felt this, and saw that Portugal was deficient in nautical science and of good officers for her ships. He therefore resolved to seek for them in countries which were more advanced in the art of navigation, in this following the example left by his uncle Sancho the Brave of Castille, who in Genoa appointed as Admiral of the Fleet, Micer Benedicto Zacarias.

Italy at that epoch was the country which possessed the best sailors in Europe. By reason of the more democratic conditions of her municipal organisation, the larger number of traditions of ancient civilisation, the more limited conditions of the neighbouring sea, and knowledge possessed of the Mediterranean from the remotest antiquity, had all joined to further the navy far more than the countries bounded by the mysterious Atlantic. Genoa was, of all Italy, the republic which at the commencement of the fourteenth century possessed the best ships and the cleverest sailors, and had become distinguished by maritime commerce and brilliant victories in their numerous naval engagements.

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Hence, when the post of chief admiral became vacant by the death of Nuno Fernandes Cogominho, who was the highest in maritime knowledge, D. Diniz sent to Genoa for a distinguished naval officer to fill his place. Probably it was the ambassadors that the King of Portugal had sent to Avignon at the time, to represent Portugal at the Curia, the knights Vicente Ennes Cesar and João Lourenço, who were entrusted with this difficult mission. Micer Manuel Pezagno was chosen, and proved later on that to a noble birth he united an enlightened nautical knowledge, a true military valour, and the insinuating aptitude for diplomacy of the Italians.

This illustrious Genoese at once proceeded to Portugal, and was warmly received by D. Diniz, entering into his duties after signing the contract dated 1st February, 1317. This document, one of the most celebrated in the history of the Portuguese navy, is too well known to need that we should transcribe the whole in these pages. We shall only give a brief summary of its articles.

The said Pezagno pledges himself and his descendants to be *vassals* of the King and his successors; offers him homage, and takes oath to serve him well and loyally; takes the command of his fleet, and promises to combat, as the King shall bid him, all the enemies of any State, condition, or religion whatsoever they may be, and preserving in all places the interests and honour of the Crown. He would not proceed to the seas in the royal service with less than three galleys. He would keep faithfully all State secrets entrusted to him. He would not proceed to serve in any inland war unless the King personally entered the campaign, and should order him to do so. He bound himself to keep always ready for public service twenty Genoese expert in maritime affairs, and fit to be appointed Alcaides of the galleys and camp. When the King should employ them, they were to receive monthly twelve pounds and a half as Alcaides, and in camp eight, besides bread, biscuit, and water, as was served to all; and when these said Genoese were not required for the service of the nation, Pezagno might employ them in commercial voyages at his own expense. He would also substitute others when these should die. All those composing the fleet to obey him in the same way as they would the King, and defend him in the same manner, and he would exercise over them full jurisdiction on sea and land during the time that the ships should be armed and fitted. He was to receive a fifth part of all prizes captured on the water from he enemies of the Portuguese, excepting arms, ships, and their furni-

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ture, as these things belonged exclusively to the Kings. D. Diniz gave him and his successors certain grants of landed property, especially Pedreira in Lisbon, and a rental of three thousand pounds annually. His appointment of Admiral to descend to his son, if legitimate, at his death, with all its duties, rights, and goods granted to him; but should he have no legitimate issue, the post with its privileges to revert to the Crown.

By this treaty will be seen the importance that D. Diniz attached to the post of Admiral, and the high opinion he had of the Genoese sailor whom he placed at the head of his navy for his knowledge of nautical science. Manuel Pezagno did not disappoint the King's expectations, and he did not only prove himself an able officer, but a consummate diplomatist. He was entrusted by the King with many negotiations of the State, and was one of the envoys who obtained from Pope John XXII. the greatly disputed separation of the Portuguese Knights of Santiago.

As soon as he took the command of the fleets he commenced to develope the maritime forces of Portugal, and so skilfully and persistently chased the pirates of Morocco that he won the full confidence of his king. But in order to complete the reform of the naval forces, which had been commenced under such good auspices and foresight, and apply the squadrons to their principal aim, which was the war against the Moors, more pecuniary means were needed than the King had at command, hampered as the treasury was by the expenses incurred in the civil disturbances which we shall describe further on.

To obtain the desired resources, our Chief Admiral and the Dean of the See of Oporto, D. Gonçalo, were sent to the Roman Curia, and obtained from the Pontiff, John XXII., a bull, dated May 19, 1320, granting the King D. Diniz a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues of cathedrals, churches, and orders of the kingdom, during the term of three years, to defray the expenses of the squadrons in making war to the Saracens, with the exception of the Knights of the Hospital, because these were already engaged in the war, and the churches of Pombal and Soure, on account of their rentals and revenues being assigned for the maintenance of the colleges of the University.

In 1322, Manuel Pezagno was able to sweep the Strait of Gibraltar of all the Moorish ships, and such was the prowess displayed by the Portuguese squadrons against the Arabs that D. Diniz rewarded the Admiral by a further rental of three thousand pounds. The former

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rental had been redeemed, with the advantageous donation of the seigniority of the town of Odemira and its castle.

Pezagno, whose name in course of time was altered into Peçanha, filled the post of Admiral for some years longer, and extended even to the reign of Alfonso IV., whom he greatly assisted in the wars against the Moors. The appointment passed on at his death to his descendants in the male line, and these succeeded to the post with small intervals, until the time of D. Juan I., and ever afforded great services to the nation, both on sea and in diplomacy.

It is an undoubted fact that, under the powerful influence of the enlightened prince who had summoned them from Italy, the Peçanhas afforded the Portuguese navy such instruction and development that they greatly contributed to render it, after two centuries, one of the first in the world and the most useful and glorious.

Forty years of this excellent government, in many ways brilliant and perhaps the best which Portugal has had up to the present, and which bore such fruits in the civilisation of the kingdom, had elapsed when deep intestine disturbances arose to darken the horizon and dim the lustre of the last days of D. Diniz, and fill his own heart with bitterness.

It is said that there is no fault, however slight, which does not bring its own punishment as a consequence. An imprudent act of D. Diniz, and a capital defect in his character, were the origin of the bitter shades which darkened the setting of a life so full of enlightened deeds. Carried away by a certain love of ostentation, D. Diniz granted a separate residence to the Infante, heir of the crown, while yet a child, and at six years of age gave him a palace to reside in separated from the royal family. By this means he ceased to watch over the education of his son, and delivered him over to foreign influences, which might prove pernicious to him. The character of the Prince was unfortunately one that required constant curbing, and the people, by surnaming him "the Brave," not only wished to commemorate his bravery on the battle-field, but also his impetuous, rude disposition. Hence it was truly imprudent to keep the Infante deprived of paternal influence, and in a short time the palace of the heir to the crown became the asylum of all the malcontents, who ever flattered the evil passions of the Prince, made him distrustful, and embittered him against his father.

The great defect of his character, otherwise noble, was the little respect he manifested for the laws of matrimon . Of an ardent, robust

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physique, an unquiet spirit, and poetic soul, he allowed himself to be dominated by passions, and despite the good advice of his enlightened counsellors, who endeavoured to withdraw him from its coils by an early marriage at the age of twenty with a princess who united grand moral gifts to an exquisite beauty, Diniz nevertheless filled his palace with illegitimate children, whom D. Isabel received with saintly resignation, but which were the cause of much jealousy to his legitimate ones. When Isabel of Aragon gave birth to her first child the Infanta D. Constancia, she had been married some years, and the sex of the first born left the legitimate succession of the crown doubtful, until the 8th February, 1291, when the Infante D. Alfonso was born.

D. Diniz at this date had already three illegitimate sons, and the affection he especially manifested for Alfonso Sanches, one of these, was the first cause of the Prince-heir's irritation. He either suspected or he was induced to believe that the King intended to legitimise Alfonso Sanches, and bequeath the crown to him. The fact of an embassy having been sent to Rome was interpreted by his partisans in the sense of his suspicions. They told him that the object of this embassage was to render Alfonso Sanches legitimate, when in reality the envoys had departed with a very different object. The turbulent Infante commenced to excite the spirits and to rouse revolutions in the kingdom.

Wishing to employ at first conciliatory means to put down the rebellion of his son, D. Diniz laid the case before the Pope, and begged him to intervene. John XXII. acceded to his request, and promulgated a bull in which he excommunicated the disturbers of the peace.

This intervention had the desired effect for a time, and the disturbances which had commenced in 1314 were not renewed until 1319. Unfortunately the evil counsels he received, and the proofs of affection which D. Diniz continued to manifest to Sanches, inflamed anew the spirit of the Prince-heir, who, moreover, allowed himself to be swayed by the influence of D. Maria, the Queen of Castille, a consummate intriguer, and who greatly desired to kindle dissension in the neighbouring kingdom.

In May, 1319, Diniz was apprised that his son had arranged to have an interview with D. Maria de Molina, who governed Castille in the name of her grandson Alfonso XI., on the frontiers, to confer upon his political conduct. The aged monarch, who well knew the evil influence which the mother of D. Beatriz exercised over the spirit of his son, at first sent D. Isabel to beseech Alfonso not to quit the kingdom, and

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later on expressedly forbade it; but instigated by his own ambition and his evil advisers, the Infante took no heed of the King's orders, and proceeded to the meeting-place accompanied by his wife. The conference took place in Fuente Grimaldo, a village on the borders of Ciudad Rodrigo. From this meeting resulted that the Queen D. Maria sent to the King D. Diniz a bearer with a letter demanding that he should yield up the government to the Infante. The son of Alfonso III. must have marvelled at the discourtesy and audacity of the missive, moreover he well knew that such a proposal was tantamount to open war, should he not accede to her request. However, he resolved to maintain a prudent reserve, leaving the outcome to the future. He dismissed the bearer, rejecting firmly the proposal, while employing courteous phrases in respect to the Queen of Castille. The reply so greatly irritated the Infante that he resolved upon instigating a civil war, probably with promises of aid from the Castillian Queen.

A terrible disaster which took place in the neighbouring country prevented this aggravation to the evil.

On the following June, on St. John's Day, two uncles of the youthful King—the Infante D. Pedro, a partisan of Alfonso, and the perverse D. John, who, at the head of a powerful army, were combating the Moors with varied success—were defeated and slain in the Vega of Granada, this victory of the Moors causing terror throughout the monarchy of Leon and Castille.

D. Diniz sent his condolence to the bereaved Queen, and offered to aid her against the Moors. In order to render this promise effective, the admiral, Manuel Pezagno, proceeded to sea, and performed marvellous deeds with the Portuguese ships.

D. Alfonso, without attending to the elevated policy of the King, blinded by his own ambition, after the interview at Fuente Grimaldo, began to scour the country at the head of numerous bands of partisans, but avoiding for the space of two years to meet his father, while he committed, and allowed his people to commit, the greatest excesses.

Summoning the fidalgos of his party, and, what was worse, admitting into his army bands of malefactors who were flying from justice, the Prince D. Alfonso commenced to devastate the lands of Entre Douro and Minho, which caused great grief to the King, who was forced to severely repress this revolt.

It must have been indeed a bitter task during the declining years of the aged monarch to unsheath his sword, not against the enemies

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of the faith and of the country, but against his own subjects and against his own son! This thorn, which never as yet had been entwined in the flowers of the diadem of his ancestors, was reserved for him.

Portugal had beheld its ground soaked in blood with the unfraternal strifes of Alfonso II. against his sisters, and that of Alfonso III. with Sancho II., but never had she witnessed the repulsive spectacle of a son taking up arms against his own father. The war which gave to D. Alfonso Henry the government of the country was not directed against his own mother, D. Theresa, but against the Count de Trava, who really was the sovereign. The sharp pain of beholding the lances of the knights of his son, and perhaps his own lance, pointed to his breast was reserved for D. Diniz—he, the enlightened monarch and lover of justice, who had raised to such heights the moral and intellectual tone of his kingdom. It seemed as though some remains of the barbarism of the Middle Ages had risen up in revolt against he who had riven asunder the dark mantle of its shadows and had shed over them the first gleam of light.

In order to excuse his criminal conduct, D. Alfonso and his partisans spread reports that the King was demanding the legitimation of Alfonso Sanches from the Roman Curia, in order to leave the crown to him to the prejudice of the rightful heir, and that to effect this and afford a justifiable pretext for the petition, he had drawn instruments from all towns declaring the inability of the Infante to govern.

D. Diniz, who desired at any cost to quell this affair by gentle and prudent means, sent letters to the principal cities and towns of the kingdom, asking them to declare whether, directly or indirectly, he had acted in this wise. All these places replied, declaring publicly that never had he done so. Furnished with these documents, the King sent the envoys to Avignon, referred above, Manuel Pezagno and the Dean of Oporto, Gonçalo Pereira, beseeching from Pope John XXII. the attestation that never had D. Diniz solicited from the Apostolic See the disinheritance of his legitimate son.

The affair passed its usual course at the Curia, and on September 10, 1320, the Pontiff signed the bull, *Nuper ad aures nostras*, wherein he declared that never during his pontificate or of his ancestors, Popes Boniface XI. and Clement V., during the last twenty-six years, had the King or any one else, whether by writing or verbally, made any demand for dispensation of illegitimacy in regard to Alfonso Sanches in order that he should obtain the succession of the crown and kingdom; and,

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moreover, the Holy Father greatly marvelled that any such calumnies should have been published.

This bull was addressed to the archbishops, bishops, convents, counts, barons, and captains, all of whom he enjoined should labour to effect a concord between the King and his son, and among these even his natural brother, since all were, the Pontiff said, children of the same father.

As soon as the ambassadors received this most important document for the King, and obtained the solution of other grave affairs they were entrusted with, they departed for Portugal, where they arrived at the end of October. On the 31st of the same month the Bishop of Evora, D. Giraldo, in presence of the prelates and all the authorities of the city, many nobles, and a great multitude of people assembled in Lisbon, published solemnly the bull, which destroyed completely all the supposed grounds for rebellion. The Infante and his partisans were greatly irritated at this. Not content with the raids which his partisans, divided into bands, had practised already, D. Alfonso, incited by his own ambition and by the nobles who surrounded him, organised a numerous army, and quitting Coimbra, fell upon Leiria. The gates of the city were flung open to him by some of his adherents, at the head of which stood Domingos Domingues, mayor of the city, and former cup-bearer of the King, and under his appointment kept the keys for the Queen D. Isabel, who held possession of the place.

The Infante took possession of the town, and permitted his men to commit great robberies among such of the inhabitants as continued faithful to the King, and moreover grievously insulted them.

D. Diniz was staying in Santarem when he received the news of this event. He at once collected together all the forces he could muster, and proceeded to regain Leiria. As soon as the Infante was apprised of the King's march to Leiria with all his troops, he turned by another road straight to Santarem, and succeeded to take easy possession of the now undefended castle and palace of Alcaçova.

It was a manifest armed rebellion, a decided civil war against the legitimate King.

D. Diniz was surprised beyond measure at the boldness of his son, and for the moment forgot that he was a parent, remembering only that he was a King, and a monarch of that epoch of barbarous ferocity. He was just approaching Alcobaça, when he received the news of the taking of Santarem, and he likewise was informed that in the monastery

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some of the inhabitants of Leiria who had delivered up the town to the Infante had taken refuge. These wretches were hiding in the mortuary chapel of the former kings, and were clinging to the royal sepulchres.

Blinded with rage, D. Diniz ceased to respect the immunities of the monastery, nor heeded that they had taken shelter within a consecrated place, and amid the remains of his grandsires. He ordered the rebels to be forcibly removed, and delivered them up to the chief officer of justice, Lourenço Annes Redondo, to be judged, and those found guilty to have their hands and feet cut off and then burnt at the stake. The prisoners were taken to Leiria, where the sentence was carried out upon nine of them, the mayor Domingos Domingues being one of the victims.

This act, which was intended as a warning, did not bear the result which the King intended or expected. The rebellion of the Infante continued throughout the kingdom.

D. Diniz then proceeded back to Santarem in order to dislodge the Infante; but Alfonso hastily quitted the town, and went to Torres Novas, where he remained a few days, and thence to Thomar. The friars of the newly established Order of Christ closed the gates of the castle upon him, for there were no rampart walls to the town, and quickly collected together within the castle all provisions and provender, hence the Infante was forced to return to Coimbra.

The treachery of the dwellers of Leiria, although it had been repressed and punished, continued to wound the pride of the monarch. Leiria belonged to his Queen, and her love for her son was well known. Many asseverated in the presence of the sovereign that the town would not have surrendered so easily to the Infante had it not had the consent of the owner, and they persisted in saying that the Queen had kept her son informed of all the movements and plans of the King, hence Alfonso was able freely to act, and they even went so far as to affirm that as it was impossible for the Infante to defray the expenses of his forces with his own revenues, D. Isabel most certainly had furnished him with large sums drawn from its wealthy rental.

D. Diniz listened to these evil reports, and distrusting his wife, the saintly D. Isabel, ordered her to retire to Alemquer, and deprived her of her rentals. The Queen obeyed with that saintly resignation which was the characteristic feature of her angelic disposition; and, moreover, D. Diniz forbade her to communicate with her son or furnish him with means for warfare. This decree, which ecclesiastical tradition

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censures, was nevertheless an act of true policy which the gravity of circumstances demanded.

D. Isabel, virtuous and prudent, appears to have comprehended the state of affairs. As soon as she retired to Alemquer, she summoned around her all the devout ladies of the town, and gave themselves up to their accustomed assiduous exercises of piety, firmly rejecting, it is said, the offer which the Alcaides and dwellers of her numerous towns and castles made her of compelling the King, by force of arms, to restore her property.

Meanwhile the Infante pursued his rebellious course. Under pretext of a pilgrimage to the relics of Saint Vincent, which are venerated in the Cathedral of Lisbon, he gathered together his men and marched rapidly to that city. In a military sense, this was a well-planned act and of great daring, because, once master of it, the Infante would hold the best part of the kingdom, with its squadrons and the wealth and forces of the greatest city. Fortunately, his troops were insufficient for the undertaking. Diniz, who was in Santarem, at once came upon Alfonso with superior forces, and sent word to him that he, as a son, should come and join him, and dismiss all the malefactors that were with him. The Infante turned a deaf ear to reason; but, seeing that he could not enter the city nor await the King in open battle-field, went on to Cintra and took his position in the ruggedness of the serra.

When the monarch reached Lumiar, he delayed his journey a few hours in order to give his son time to reconsider his conduct, but he soon after learnt of his martial journey to Cintra. Indignant and offended at this proceeding, the King marched to Cintra in war guise, with unfurled banners. On approaching, he sighted the Infante holding a good position and in the attitude of resisting the royal flag. It was the sign of open and manifest rebellion.

But D. Diniz was a parent, and would not resolve to attack the hosts of his son. After some length of time the Infante quitted the serra, and taking a concealed path, came to Lumiar. D. Diniz, covering Lisbon, proceeded to Bemfica for observation. The Infante, for a greater offence, approached the royal army and took up his quarters opposite, at the distance of a short league.

The King lost all patience, and sent word to his son that he should personally proceed to arrest all the criminals who surrounded him, and punish them in his presence. But Alfonso, either from some vestige of

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respect, or, what is more likely, fearing the superior forces of his father, hastily retired in the direction of Coimbra.

The King had the consideration not to follow him and fight. He limited himself to publishing a decree declaring him disloyal and a traitor, as well as all those who surrounded him, and commanded the towns not to receive him nor afford him any aid under pain of being likewise considered criminals and traitors.

This was a political and military error. The Infante had barely on his side the knights and soldiers of his army which was far smaller than that of the King, and would most certainly have been defeated if the monarch had summoned to arms the population of Lisbon, which had always remained faithful. By allowing Alfonso to depart free with his troops after affronting the royal flag, he afforded a pretext for the propagation of sedition throughout the kingdom, enabling it to take easy possession of a part and of committing the greatest excesses.

As the Infante endeavoured to increase the number of his partisans, raising up people and disquieting spirits, Diniz resolved to send persons of note to the different districts to quell the working of Alfonso, quiet the people, and preserve them in obedience. He sent to the province of Alemtejo the Bishop of Evora, D. Giraldo, who commenced to exercise with active intelligence and powerful influence his mission of pacification.

Of all prelates of the kingdom and royal ministers, D. Giraldo was the most disliked by the house of Alfonso. It was he who had solemnly published the bulls sent by the Curia against the rebels and the manifestoes of the King, besides which, he was one of the most loyal and valued servants of D. Diniz.

Scarcely had the news arrived to the seditious court of the heir to the throne that the Bishop was visiting Alemtejo than from Coimbra departed Alfonso Novaes and Nuno Martins Barreto, gentlemen of the court of Alfonso, accompanied by a large number of foot-soldiers and horsemen, and under the greatest secrecy of their intentions proceeded to that district, seeking the prelate. On learning that he was in Estremoz, they suddenly entered the town by surprise on March 5, 1321. They tumultuously invaded the house where he resided, and, without respecting his age, lofty merits, and high civil and ecclesiastical dignity, they insulted him, and then barbarously murdered him. After committing other crimes in the towns and places through which they passed, these noblemen and sacrilegious assassins retired

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to the house of D. Alfonso, where they were feasted, and their deed applauded.

The treacherous homicide of the Bishop D. Giraldo caused great scandal in the kingdom, and profound grief at the court and in the diocese. The inhabitants of Estremoz accompanied the body of the prelate to Evora, where the clergy, nobility, and the people, stricken with sorrow and deeply sympathetic, came out to receive it, and laid the remains of their late venerated prelate on the right side of the principal chapel of the cathedral.

The assassination of his minister and faithful counsellor caused a deep sensation in the heart of D. Diniz, while repeated sorrows during these later years were crushing his sensitive soul. To the disobedience of the legitimate heir was added the death of his dearly loved daughter, D. Maria, a professed nun in Odivellas, the tradition of whose virtues was preserved for many ages in the monastery. Such frequent and profound strokes commenced to break up the health of the aged monarch and to increase his maladies.

Probably it was due to the valetudinarian state of the King generally that the party of the Infante increased. At first it was only composed of audacious malcontents, a portion of the nobility who were most turbulent, and some fugitives from justice. Later on were added the young nobility, restless and ambitious, and at last all the people easily joined the party. Alfonso was the future king, while Diniz represented the past, and a present which was soon to end. Selfishness, interest, and covetousness were quitting the old man, who was fast declining, and could give but little, while they enlisted in the ranks of the youth who was about to step on the throne and was full of promise. Hence all attempts at conciliation were useless. At the request of D. Diniz, and to oppose the policy of Castille, the King of Aragon about this time sent to Portugal D. Sancho, a half-brother of his, and of D. Isabel, charged with the mission of inducing peace and harmony between the Infante and the King. D. Alfonso, however, resisted the counsels and pleadings of the uncle, who had to return without effecting any results.

The Infante resided in Coimbra, but not inside the city, which remained loyal to the King, as all cities throughout the kingdom, but in the palaces in the suburbs, close to Saint Lourenço. His brother, the Count D. Pedro—the only of the natural sons of D. Diniz who followed the party of the Infante, and for that reason was exiled from Portugal, but who had come from Castille to join his brother—advised him to

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continue taking possession of the lands of the kingdom and establish his government, commencing by Coimbra, as being close at hand.

Gathering together his forces, he, on December 31, 1321, speedily and without meeting any resistance from the dwellers, who possibly by some secret understanding relaxed the vigilance of the doors and rampart walls. On that same day the Infanta D. Beatriz took up her residence in the palace of the city with her infant son, D. Pedro, who was destined to avenge his grandfather for the affronts which his father was now offering. The wife of Alfonso was returning from Alcanizes in Castille, where her husband, on retiring from Lisbon months before, had taken her, alleging that only outside the kingdom did he judge his family to be secure.

On the following day, January 1, 1322, having assured the possession of Coimbra, the Infante departed for Monte Mor o Velho, and as soon as he arrived took possession of the castle, and three days later that of Gaya. Both these fortresses were important ones, which the King had entrusted to the care and command of the fidalgo Gonçalo Pires Ribeiro, who had ceased to garrison them with soldiers. Such a neglect, in those times of war, on the part of the Alcaide appears to be a manifest treachery, and on the part of the Government an inexcusable neglect. From Gaya, D. Alfonso returned to the town of Feira, whose castle was delivered up through the open treachery of its noble owner, Gonçalo Rodrigues de Maçada.

The Count D. Pedro now joined the Infante with a great number of people, and marched to Oporto, which at the time was not encompassed by walls, and as its sole defence possessed a small castle or tower close to the cathedral. It was useless to resist in presence of such numerous rebel troops, and both the city and castle were surrendered, and the Infante took possession of Oporto. Having already taken possession of Coimbra, Monte Mor o Velho, Gaya, and Feira, he considered himself master of the districts of Beira and Entre Douro and Minho. He forced the people to take up arms and organised an army, and with the aid of Martin Annes de Briteiros, a noble of great influence in the north of the kingdom, he proceeded to Guimarães, a place which the nobleman considered easy to take, owing to family influences over the people.

In those days the Alcaide of the town and chief officer of the district was a valiant, loyal knight, called Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, he who had disbanded and defeated the rebel bands of the

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Infante at the commencement of the insurrection. This noble Alcaide closed the gates of the stronghold and positively refused to deliver up the place, and as the Infante pitched his camp, Mem Rodrigues prepared for the defence.

The defence was carried on brilliantly, and at the first attack, says the chronicler of Alcobaça, aided by the people and nobility of the town, he was able to defeat the presumption of the Infante and of his party. The siege lasted three days, the Infante persistently attacking the ramparts. Promises, threats, assaults—all were useless against the courage of the besieged. This act drew great praises from all as a feat of loyalty and bravery, and D. Diniz rewarded Mem Rodrigues and the people of Guimarães by granting them various honours and privileges.

In the midst of this determined resistance D. Alfonso received news that the King, his father, with a large army, had advanced upon Coimbra with the intention of conquering it. The Infante precipitously raised the siege and rushed to protect the city where he had unfurled his flag, and where he had left his wife and child.

D. Diniz reached the walls of the ancient capital of the kingdom at the commencement of March, accompanied by the forces of the districts of the south, Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve, and by the Knights of the Military Orders who had remained faithful to him.

On crossing the Mondego, he found the city gates closed upon him, and its powerful garrison ready to defend it. D. Diniz took up his residence in the palace of Saint Lourenço, and as Coimbra would not surrender to his intimations, he commenced, in order to punish the rebellion, to destroy the picturesque suburb, and cut down its fertile and well-laid-out fields, razing to the ground the houses, cutting down the orchards, rooting up the vineyards, and destroying the sprouting crops. Meanwhile they attacked the city, but with no result: the garrison was a brave, warlike one, large in number and obstinate in rebellion, while against the weapons of that epoch the walls were considered impregnable. Civil war had reached its height. All properties were ruthlessly destroyed, and the sons of the same soil killed one another.

When the Infante with the Count D. Pedro and army, under forced marches, approached Coimbra, they perceived that the King had taken up his residence in the palace of Saint Lourenço, which stood on the road to the city, and therefore they made a detour, and went to



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take up their quarters in the monastery of S. Paulo, which stood about a league farther up.

The Queen D. Isabel was also arriving about the same time. She had been apprised of the war which was raging, and quitting her retreat in Alemquer, had come with the intention of re-establishing peace between father and son. She had pondered upon every possible means at her command to plead ere they engaged in a combat, which the presence of the armies rendered imminent, and make peace.

When the troops from the north arrived, there was a suspension of hostilities between the armies for three days before commencing the actual battle, in order to mutually prepare themselves the better to attack each other. The Queen took advantage of this truce, and assisted by the Count D. Pedro, who desired to be reconciled with his father in order to be reinstated in the honours and properties he possessed, endeavoured to carry out the holy mission he had taken upon himself. And in truth he succeeded that both contending parties should appoint delegates to treat upon some accord.

With the object of more freely combining, it was arranged that the Infante should retire to the city where his wife resided, and the King with his army to quit the suburb, and proceed to encamp in S. Martinho do Bispo, on this side of the Mondego.

The mediators, presided by the Queen and Count de Barcellos, however, delayed the treaty, and during the space of four days could not come to terms. D. Diniz, offended at this, and impatient, raised the camp, and marched to Coimbra, fully resolved to attack the city. There was but one road left to him, either to cross the current, which probably was swollen, or the narrow path of the bridge.

It was Saturday, 20th March. Within the city there were heard from afar, and beyond the river, the sound of the royal trumpets, and they sighted the soldiers and knights of D. Diniz advancing towards the convent of Saint Francis, situated to the extreme left of the bridge, opposite Coimbra. Suddenly all rose up in arms and rushed to the walls, while a large portion of the best warriors proceeded to take their stand at the bridge and defend the passage. The King's knights, with terrible impetus, proceeded to attack them, and a fearful encounter ensued, marked by brilliant feats of arms, but deplorable in its consequences. Gonçalo Pires Ribeiro, a royalist nobleman, had the boldness to break through the ranks of the Infante, reached the gate, and endeavoured to enter. The gate was defended by two brothers, who not only repulsed the

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aggressor, but forced him to retreat, until they cast him into the river. With these and similar feats the combat was prolonged for a long time, and was only terminated when the King, retiring to the monastery, gave the signal to withdraw.

The besieged remained victors, but so badly punished that they did not wish for a second combat; moreover, the Queen, the Infanta her daughter-in-law, the prelates, and some of the principal nobles, who, from the heights of the watch-towers and rampart walls, and from the latticed windows of the convent of Saint Francis, had witnessed the encounter and beheld the disastrous results, had urged Diniz and Alfonso to conclude the peace treaty.

In order more easily to come to an understanding, and avoid the eventuality of a fresh encounter which the proximity of the two armies rendered probable, it was arranged that the King should proceed to Leiria and the Infante to Pombal, and thus be separated by some leagues from the scene of contention. As the conditions of peace had been really discussed, and there only remained the stipulations to be made, both chiefs dismissed their respective troops and remained with only their ministers, officers of the court, and personal guards.

The treaty of peace was concluded at the beginning of May. D. Alfonso pledged obedience to the King, and D. Diniz accorded his pardon, bestowing on his son the seigniorities of Coimbra, Monte-Mor o Velho, Gaya, Feira, and Oporto; the Infante on oath pledging to support and defend them loyally under orders of the monarch, its rents being increased by money and goods. D. Alfonso bound himself to dismiss all malefactors which he had gathered together, and deliver them up into the hands of justice. The King pardoned D. Pedro, and reinstated him in his former honours and property.

This treaty was solemnly sworn to in the Church of St. Martinho, in Pombal, by the Infante and his royal mother, the Queen D. Isabel; and in the Church of St. Simon, in Leiria, by D. Diniz and his natural sons, together with a great number of prelates, Masters of the Military Orders, *ricos-homens*, and knights.

The whole kingdom rejoiced at this so much desired peacemaking, and the heir to the crown, accompanied by D. Isabel, proceeded to Leiria to kiss the King's hand and personally reconcile himself. In this town both courts and the whole of the royal family met with every demonstration of joy.

The aged King was deeply and powerfully moved when he saw at

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his side the two rebel sons from whom he had been separated for years. He then departed in apparently good health for Lisbon, accompanied by the Queen and the Infante; but he had barely reached the city than he was taken dangerously ill, and believing his last hour had come, made a fresh will. But it was destined that his life should be prolonged, and that his last days be further embittered with sorrows ere he should be laid to rest in the tomb.

It is necessary here to say a few words respecting the Count of Barcellos, alluded to in the convention between D. Diniz and D. Alfonso. He was the natural son of the King, by a wealthy lady of the name of Froes, and he was much esteemed by the monarch, who gave him the County of Barcellos, the only one then existing in Portugal. Nevertheless, when the first discords arose between the Infante and the King, and he followed the party of the Infante, it was not, it appears, to aid him in his rebellion against the monarch, but in order, as a natural son, to show deference to his legitimate brother; while his ulterior proceeding induces us to believe that his intentions were veritably loyal ones. His brothers, likewise illegitimate, D. Alfonso Sanches and D. João Alfonso, indignant at this kind of desertion of the common cause, depicted his conduct in the blackest colours, and represented that he was a rebel and instigator of the Prince, and induced the King to exile him from Portugal and sequestrate his properties. D. Pedro proceeded to Castille, from whence he returned in 1314 to enlist in the army of D. Alfonso. Although irritated at the unjust sentence passed on him, D. Pedro always manifested himself a peacemaker, and, as we have seen, became a powerful agent in aiding D. Isabel when she endeavoured, in Coimbra, to reconcile her husband to his son.

If history records the name of D. Pedro, and lifts him from the abyss of forgetfulness in which are engulphed the rest of the illegitimate sons of D. Diniz, it is not on account of the political part he played, but for his literary genius. Like his father, he was an accomplished man, and was gifted with a similar genius for poetry, since a book of *Trovas*, or ballads, are attributed to him. For a length of time the work known as the *Nobiliario*, or *Livro das Linhagens*, was also attributed to him, and is still known by his name. Rebello da Silva, speaking of a tradition he found in the book, and which served him as the plot for one of his romances, thus characterises the work: "The drama is the historical novel, and such as desire the honour of patriots should greatly study these legends of the *Nobiliario*, and peruse

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them in the spirit of past epochs. Those portraits, nearly blotted out, are still animated by gleams of soul and life, and the beliefs of the primitive ages. They are pieces of the great mirror on which they were reflected, and it is necessary to frame them in modern mouldings to be able to see them with all their beauties and defects."

Such a work, written at the dawn of literature, is a precious book, because it unites all the ingenious qualities of the rude epochs, and the individual who wrote it may be said truly to unite in himself the most perfect expression of the belief, the thoughts, and the feelings of his time.

Notwithstanding the sacred oaths pledged at the signing of the peace treaty between the King and his son, fresh discords arose in 1323. A pretext for these disorders was again afforded by Alfonso Sanches. When harmony was re-established between the King and Prince, D. Alfonso Sanches asked to retire to Castille, where he held possessions; but after a time Alfonso Sanches returned to Portugal, and besought the King leave to reside on Portuguese territory. The King granted his wish. This permission, however, awakened anew the suspicions of the Infante, which induced fresh demands. He besought a further grant of money, under the plea that his rental was insufficient for maintaining his house and rank. The King summoned the Cortes, and laid before them the demand of the Infante. The Cortes unanimously refused to grant any such demand. D. Alfonso, full of indignation, proceeded to Santarem, and heeding evil counsels and perfidious suggestions, raised once more the standard of revolt. Quitting Santarem with an army hastily gathered together, D. Alfonso marched to Lisbon, with the former daring intention of becoming the master of the capital and of the government of the kingdom.

D. Diniz, on learning this news, at once sallied out with his troops to arrest his progress. Marching on to an inevitable battle, yet he sent him a mediator in Alvaro Martins de Azevedo, a loyal knight, and daring in word and deed, but meeting him in Lumiar, was so badly received that he comprehended that the Prince had come fully determined to fight.

Meanwhile the hosts of the Infante advanced in the direction of Lisbon, with floating banners and blowing trumpets in sign of war. Half-way to the city, on the fields called Alvalade—comprehending the space known in our days by Campo Grande, Campo Pequeno, and its intermediate space—they encountered the King's troops ranged in battle array to prevent his passage.

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On beholding the royal standard and the noble figure of his father surrounded by faithful knights, the stony heart of Alfonso was not softened, but ordered his army to stand forward, and with martial daring, assumed the position prescribed by the ordinances of the time to oppose the attack.

Both armies sounded the war-cries and blew the trumpets, and with barbarous bravery the signal was given, and a shower of arrows and darts obscured the air, wounding and slaying the opposing vanguards. Meantime the cavalry, with lances at rest and swords raised aloft, awaited the order to commence the battle. Parents and sons, brothers and friends on either side prepared to commence the slaughter, and perchance claim as its victim the aged form of the monarch or that of the rebel son.

But to Lisbon had come the Angel of Peace, whom God had entrusted with the beneficent mission of dispelling by her sweet influence the tempestuous clouds which had so heavily gathered and weighed over the last years of the reign of D. Diniz. The Queen D. Isabel learnt in Lisbon and in the palace of the castle that the armies of her husband and son were ranged in line of battle against one another. She comprehended at a glance the urgency of the case, and proceeded to act accordingly. Mounting a mule, she hastened in the direction of the Campo de Alvalade, where the hideous clangour of arms and trumpets announced the sinister deeds which were about to take place. Suddenly that noble form of the grief-stricken wife and mother was seen calmly traversing the ranks of warriors, encircled with the aureole of chastity and goodness. On beholding their Queen thus mounted and almost alone, the soldiers stopped their war-cries and lowered their weapons, and the knights put down their standards, and one and all knelt down reverently. D. Isabel had come to check the disaster of this terrible war. Through the host of royal soldiers she passed on to the ranks of her son's army: on every side she was received with similar reverence; they beheld in her the Angel of Concord, and acknowledged the wickedness of this sacrilegious war. Further on she proceeded until she confronted her son, and in the eloquent words which God put in her inspired lips, this noble Aragonese woman pleaded with tears that he should not again rebel against his father and King, nor desolate anew the country over which he was to reign, and laid before him all the horrors of a civil war, and especially not to perjure his soul by forgetting so soon the solemn

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promises made in the presence of God, promises which she had pledged herself as surety.

The Bishop of Lisbon, who had come with the same intention of making peace, now joined his pleading to hers.

The Prince yielded to the pleadings of his royal mother, whose words had greatly impressed him and the knights around him, and quitting his army, proceeded, accompanied by only six knights, to the King's tent, and respectfully kissed his hand and besought his pardon for his disobedience.

What could D. Diniz do else but forgive him and open his arms to receive his prodigal son? He, however, bade him retire to Santarem.

The Sovereign and his Queen returned to Lisbon, where the people received them with every demonstration of joyous welcome. On the spot where the combat was to take place, a short distance from the Campo Pequeno, on the wall to the right of Arcodo Cego, is seen a kind of niche or portico raised from the ground. On the stone may be read an inscription in Roman letters, which says as follows: "Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, ordered this stone to be placed here in memory of the peacemaking effected by her between the King, her husband D. Diniz, and her son D. Alfonso IV., at the moment when a battle was about to be fought between them in the era 1323."

Three months had elapsed since the affair of Alvalade, when the King, in the month of February, 1324, departed for Santarem, where he was in the habit of visiting about this time of the year, to enjoy more freely the pleasures of hunting, and watch the splendid agricultural labours of Riba Tejo, which in a great measure were due to him.

On approaching the boundaries of the district he learnt that Alfonso, who had for some time resided in the Palace of Alcaçova, would prevent his entrance into the town. The King hastened his march, and rapidly gained the town before the army of the Infante had time to come forth, and he proceeded to take up his residence and that of his retinue in the house of some of the fidalgos, in order not to disturb his son in the royal palace.

The cause of this new disturbance, it appears, was due to the King D. Diniz being accompanied by his son Alfonso Sanches, which greatly irritated the Prince-heir, and led him to suspect that there was some further intention in his coming. As usual, those who surrounded the Infante exaggerated the aims of the King, and induced him to again

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rise in open rebellion. Some encounters took place between the soldiers of both armies, leaving many wounded and slain, especially among the troops of the Infante, who were compelled to retreat, leaving many prisoners. The combat, however, was only terminated when D. Diniz and D. Alfonso appeared armed, and, almost by force, quelled the revolt. The King at once summoned his troops throughout the kingdom, resolved upon punishing his son and the partisans who followed him.

All things presaged a fresh rupture, which would have taken place had not some of the prudent fidalgos, headed by Count D. Pedro, met on that same day to arrange about a pacification, and advising Alfonso Sanches to resign his appointment of *Mordomo-mor*, and depart for his town of Albuquerque, in Castille.

The monarch, however, justly irritated, was disinclined to listen to any further treaties of reconciliation. Nevertheless, the two sons, Alfonso Sanches and the Count D. Pedro, were dismissed.

Arbitrators were nominated, and it was decided to give the Infante a larger rental. The revenues and crown properties of Alfonso Sanches should be withdrawn from him, as well as his post, and that of chief officer of Entre Douro and Minho from Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, the heroic defender of Guimarães. As securities of this treaty, castles on both sides were to be exchanged in pledge, and arbitrating judges were appointed, mutually subject to certain fines. All these were humiliating conditions imposed by a vassal to his King. The odious character of the Infante, and of his covetous nobles who followed him, was manifested in every light.

The King at first resisted the exigencies of his son, but at length yielded to the representations of Alfonso Sanches and Mem Rodrigues, who felt that their sacrifice was indispensable for the peace of the kingdom, and perceived that the health of the King was in a very precarious state, and that they must needs quit the Court to be sheltered from the vindictiveness of the Infante, ere he should assume the sceptre, their fears being fully justified in a dismal manner by Alfonso IV. in the very first year of his reign.

On the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed on 25th February, 1324, Alfonso Sanches withdrew to Albuquerque, on the frontiers of Castille, in whose military service he entered later on, while Mem Rodrigues retired to his castellated residence of Penagate.

After a few days, the Infante, with a numerous retinue, departed

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for the north of the kingdom, leaving the King in Santarem. Prudence should have counselled Diniz to proceed to Santarem with a good army, and not with a mere handful of men. The humiliating capitulation he signed can only be explained by the coercion in which his people found themselves in view of the equal or superior force of the Infante, and surrounded by the adverse population of Santarem.

The world-wide reputation enjoyed by D. Diniz throughout Christendom as an excellent ruler rendered these continual perturbations a source of great scandal, and fired with indignation all the European Courts. The Pope felt it his duty to send a legate to Portugal to quiet the spirits and bring the Infante to submission. He entrusted this mission to D. Berenguer of the Order of Preachers, and Archbishop of Santiago. The envoy of the Pontiff arrived at Santarem on 18th May, 1324. The King went out to receive him ere he approached the boundaries, and conducted him to his own residence with all possible pomp.

Notwithstanding that peace was already effected, the legate preached peace and concord in presence of the Court and all the people, thus fulfilling the mission he had received from the Holy See. A few days later he proceeded to the north of the kingdom to seek the Infante, in order to fulfil towards him this ministration, which he effected in Oporto, and then retired to his diocese.

During the summer D. Diniz returned to Lisbon, but towards the autumn he commenced to feel very unwell, and deeming that the pure air of Santarem would benefit him, he proceeded in September to that spot, accompanied by his wife and the whole Court; but on reaching Villa Nova da Rainha he had an access of fever and weakness, which inspired grave fears that his last hour had come. D. Isabel, deeply afflicted, delayed the journey, and sent a message to the Infante, informing him of the state of the King.

D. Alfonso was deeply moved on receiving the news, and his conscience became a prey to remorse, and he sped to his dying father's bedside, to behold in him the victim of his unnatural conduct, since the bitter trials he had endured on his account had bowed down in grief that noble head.

D. Diniz received him as though all resentment had passed away, and in his soul all other human passions had become extinguished but the holiest and purest paternal love.

But his last hour had not yet come, and he was able to proceed to

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Santarem, and in November to resume the affairs of State. Nevertheless, his sickness was a mortal one, and he prepared all things calmly and prudently. If the last years of his reign had been troublesome and full of bitterness, it may well be said that his last days were as happy as they could possibly be. He saw at his side his repentant son, and bending over his sick-bed the lovely form of his saintly queen and wife, while he heard around the wails and cries of the people eager to hear the last accounts, and beheld his antechamber crowded with the nobles and the clergy, who cast in oblivion the severities of the sovereign and remembered only his lofty qualities. It was truly a national mourning, since they felt it was not only their king whom they were going to lose, but the "father of the people," as he was generally called by them. These manifestations few monarchs attain to see, yet none else are more flattering and welcome. On the last day of the year he made his fourth and last will. On the 7th of January, 1325, he breathed his last, retaining consciousness to the last. His last words were addressed to his son, the Infante, bidding him practise the virtues of tolerance, justice, and filial love to his mother. He was sixty-three years and three months of age, and had reigned nearly forty-five years.

It remains to us to say a few words respecting the Queen, who was the affectionate and resigned wife, and whom the nation styled "Saint" ere the decree of canonisation had come from Rome. D. Isabel survived her husband for some years, but always spent her widowhood in retirement. D. Diniz was buried in the convent of Odivellas, which he founded, his widow followed his remains, and resided for some length of time in the monastery. On returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, she kept the first anniversary of her husband's death in Odivellas, and then retired to the convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, where she spent the rest of her life in the exercises of piety, but always keeping a watchful eye over the thorny path of her son's government. Soon after the death of her husband she took the habit of Saint Clare, but at the respectful pleadings of all the people she did not profess in the Order nor separate herself for ever from the world.

And, in truth, her saintly office of peacemaking was not yet ended. Fresh discords broke out between her son the King of Portugal and the King of Castille. As soon as she heard of this, D. Isabel took her pilgrim's staff and proceeded to Estremoz, where her son was. But the fatigues of the journey and the heat of the summer worked their fatal

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consequences on a delicate and exhausted frame, and the saintly Queen expired in Estremoz on the 4th of July, 1336, in the sixty-fifth year of her age. Her remains were transported to Santa Clara of Coimbra.

The beneficent intervention of D. Isabel in all the contentions which took place in her time; the resignation she ever manifested to the conjugal derelictions of her husband, and in bearing oftentimes his injustice; her sweet, modest piety; the charity which she dispensed on such a large scale, all rendered to win the highest respect during life, and at her death to be held unanimously in the light of a saint.

How could it be otherwise? When civil war desolated the kingdom; when the Knights of the Middle Ages breathed nought but odiums and revenge, and were swayed by the most violent passions; when their ensigns waved at the mercy of the burning breeze of the battle-field; when the suburbs of Lisbon trembled beneath the tread of the war-horses clad with mail, and in the streets of the city were gathered together the affrighted multitudes listening in horror to the echo of the war trumpets; when Portuguese blood was about to be spilt by Portuguese hands—did not the people behold the sweet, gentle form of the Queen quickly speeding to traverse the battle-field, and at the sound of her voice, as though it were the command of an angel, their weapons fell to the ground, and above the fierce heat of wrath and odium and vengeance the calm rainbow cast its beams, announcing peace and tranquillising their spirits. It was only natural that the people should hail her as a saint when they beheld such miracles performed. And when they saw her, charitable, cheerful, and active, founding hospitals and churches, convents and asylums, and in Santarem wending her way amid the wards of the hospital, tenderly nursing the crippled little ones and orphans, and further on opening asylums of mercy which another Queen later on was to develope on a grander scale—the people understood that the Angel of Concord was likewise the Angel of Consolation. They found in her the guardian and protector of the poor and the oppressed, and, lifting up their grateful suppliant hands, commenced to call her by the sweet title of the saintly Queen.

Then did legends rise up around her as naturally as the butterflies hover around the flower, fragrant as her image, gentle as her disposition. Then did they assert that gold had been turned into roses, when her royal husband, indignant at her open-handed almsgiving, chided her and surprised her as she one day was carrying her apron

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full of gold, and on demanding to see what she carried, the gold suddenly became transformed into lovely roses. Legends also tell us that when the Queen was superintending the construction of a church in Leiria, and had bestowed all she had on the poor, that she one evening paid the workmen by giving each a rose, and that these roses were turned into gold. In the legendary chronicles of Saint Elizabeth of Portugal all is fragrant with flowers; the poetic instinct of the people has transformed her life into garlands of gold and flowers, which fell from her hands as she blessed with queenly grace the fond hearts of her Portuguese subjects.

For three centuries was the wife of D. Diniz venerated by the Portuguese before the Church sanctioned her admission among the list of her saints. At length, in 1516, she was beatified by Pope Leo X. at the urgent pleading of D. Manuel, and, at the request of Philip III., Pope Urban VIII. solemnly canonised her on 25th May, 1625. Churches were soon after erected in many parts of the Catholic world dedicated to her patronage.

Providence had placed by the side of D. Diniz, the just and enlightened King, D. Isabel, the chaste, saintly Queen, as though Portugal was not to lack any splendour, and the Portuguese crown became invested with the double aureole of illustration and virtue. By the side of the Poet-King rose the angelic form of mystic poetry.

These acts of ecclesiastical commemoration carried the name of the pious Queen and of D. Diniz throughout the Catholic globe. But it was their grand deeds, as we have seen, that won the eternal gratitude of the Portuguese and the admiration of all who peruse their history. D. Diniz certainly was one of the best rulers of Portugal, and may be justly considered by all nations and in every epoch as a great and eminent statesman.

If at times we have seen him take a double part in his political relations with the monarchy of Leon and Castille, by being wanting to his engagements, and aiding rebels and perverse men against governments which were accepted by the peoples, it was to regain by similar means the places usurped from Portugal; it was to enlarge the country and fix the definite limits of our nationality. Wishful of dominating the Peninsula, he was forced to follow the policy which it had adopted. Acts of treachery and preponderance were so frequent that, despite some diplomatic perfidies, Diniz was considered one of the princes most loyal and just of the Peninsula. For this reason did the two great

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kingdoms of Aragon and Castille appoint him arbitrator in their gravest events, and submitted to his decision.

Although the genius of war did not weave martial crowns as the triumpher of battles, since there were none fought by Portuguese arms, he was always at the head of the national forces in all the campaigns, and when apprised that his most powerful allies had been annihilated and others betrayed him, had the skilful daring of penetrating a distance of forty leagues into the interior of Castille, and taking advantage of the adversary's weakness, increased, as the most successful warrior, the Portuguese territory, by taking possession of two important castles and eleven towns.

The civil dissensions which troubled the Government were due to the same cause, the mediæval feudalism aided by Castillian elements. Taking for their chieftain, first the brother, then the son of Diniz, they combated royalty in the monarchy, and, aided by the people, fostered day by day their exemptions and power. The husband of Isabel was as quick and successful with his brother, as he was weak and undecided in repressing the son. It was because, in the first instance, his spirit was unbiassed, and he was incited by the just ambition of preserving the throne; in the second, because he was urged by paternal love and respect for legitimacy in the succession of the crown. Nevertheless, he triumphed in both junctures, the first by reducing the chief of the insurrection to impotence, and the latter by submitting first, and then delivering the sceptre. The grandson of Alfonso III. continued in his government against the privileged classes the civilising work which he had combated in his father.

Yet the principal glory of Diniz did not come from the sword. A perfect King for his time, and deeply conscious of the needs of the country, he notably increased the territory of Alfonso Henry; but beyond this, he raised to stupendous heights the edifice of internal organisation, whose foundations had been laid by Sancho I.

His disloyalties with the neighbouring countries, his rare moments of repressive cruelty, the errors he may have fallen into as a politician, and the many he committed with his ardent sensual character—all these Diniz redeemed by the deep general reform which he effected in Portuguese society. He developed more largely than any of his ancestors the population of the country; he elevated agriculture, by all the various methods possible, to a state of prosperity which astonishes us even at the present day; he created internal industry and commerce

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by promoting municipal organisation, favouring rural labours, and frequent fairs and markets, and raising the spirit of the people; he secured maritime traffic by establishing vast associations of mutual assistance between merchants, and by definitely instituting our war navy, with which he defended from pirates the sea-coasts and the Portuguese merchant ships, and prepared and laid the foundations for the discoveries which imparted to Portugal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a universal and lasting renown.

By erecting some fifty fortresses, reorganising the popular militia, and reforming with praiseworthy abnegation the military orders, he largely prepared the defence of the country, and bequeathed to D. João I. the means of resisting a formal invasion of Castille, and for once and all establishing with immortal glory the independence of the country.

He was a zealous administrator of finance and a wise ruler, and raised by national resources the public treasury to opulence. He had a tolerant spirit, prudent and just in the application of the law, and no prince of his time exceeded him in these rare qualities. He possessed a deep knowledge of the needs of the nation he governed, and whatever reforms he believed necessary were carried out and perfected, while creating others which were adequate to the necessities of the people, and accepted by the public spirit; for this reason the institutions he initiated or developed did not fall into disuse after his death, but were perpetuated. By gentle means, and by protecting the people, he proved himself one of the most rigid adversaries to the unreasonable privileges of the nobility and the Church. Having received the civil power bending beneath the yoke of the Portuguese clergy, and in their turn fettered to the Roman tiara, Diniz succeeded in raising it with dignity, and imparted life to the national episcopacy. Without severing Catholic unity, without renewing the former strifes, he overcame the Ultramontane influence hitherto omnipotent in the country, and induced private ecclesiastical right to prevail—a considerable reform, which tore asunder the former humiliating conditions of feudalism, and gave to the nation its true autonomy, and established on legal solid bases the rights of the State and the Portuguese Church.

By largely developing the establishment of the councils which had been initiated by former governments, and by persevering to call to the Cortes the representatives of the people, he was able, through the aid of this powerful element, to wrestle advantageously with the privileged

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classes, curtail their excesses, and commence firmly and deeply to annihilate in Portugal mediæval feudalism, ecclesiastical and military.

With the laws of mortmain decreed and executed firmly by civil authorities and superior knowledge, and by adjudicating to secular tribunals civil actions, which hitherto had been judged by the ecclesiastical courts, he deprived the clergy of their territorial power and the sovereign right of administrating justice. By forbidding to nobles the erection of new seignioral castles, and razing to the ground many of the old ones, and withdrawing from them their traditional rights of deciding many causes by the sword, of investing knights, of exemption from royal imposts, turning into parks and honours the lands which they had acquired at hazard, and many other means, he wrenched from its foundations feudal nobility, as he had done to the temporal power of the Church. Since that period the beneficent influence of time sufficed to completely dethrone the ancient oligarchic institutions of the Middle Ages, which were the crushing oppression of the people and the absorption of the forces of the State.

Lastly, D. Diniz, who was the greatest poet of Portugal during the first four centuries, created, through his illustrious favourite, the Study House of St. Eloy in Lisbon, and with general enthusiasm the university diffused throughout the kingdom love of letters and study, and laid the foundation of secular and public instruction, and opened to the Portuguese people the doors of science, and, as a consequence, civilisation and liberty.

After the work of Alfonso Henry, that of Diniz is the greatest which we behold in the pages of Portuguese history: the former founded the military nation, and the latter the cultured classes. The conjunction of these two labours afforded to Portugal, centuries after, the boon of realising, in the wide evolution of the human race, its glorious mission of widening the globe.

END OF FIRST BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

### 1325—1357.

### REIGN OF D. ALFONSO IV.

Acclamation of D. Alfonso IV.—The House of the Sousas—Cortes of Evora—Alfonso Sanches is condemned—Attempts at a conciliation—Alfonso XI. of Castille and his uncles—War between Alfonso IV. and Alfonso Sanches—Arronches—João Alfonso is found guilty—Peace—Portugal, Castille, and Aragon—Alfonso XI. and his tutors—D. Constança Manuel—D. Juan of Biscay—D. Branca—Negotiations are commenced to annul the marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal and D. Branca—Assassination of D. John of Biscay—D. Alfonso XI. demands in marriage the hand of the Infanta D. Maria—The Aragonese oppose the marriage—The treaty of marriage is effected—Revolt in Valladolid—Confederation of Portugal, Aragon, and Castille—D. Alfonso IV. the Hunter—His first lawgiving—A Portuguese diplomatist—Suit of divorce and marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—Disturbances in Castille—Opposition of the Castillian King to the marriage—Envoys from Portugal sent to D. Juan Manuel—Revolt of D. João Nunes de Lara and D. Juan Manuel—Continued opposition of Alfonso XI. to the marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—The Portuguese fleet is insulted—War between Portugal and Castille—Marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—Activity of Alfonso XI.—Aid from Portugal is besought—Reply of the Portuguese King—Naval forces—Mussalman invasion—Siege of Tarifa—D. Maria proceeds to Portugal—The Portuguese King decides to aid Castille—Campaign of Salado—A battle is fought—Tragedy of Ignez de Castro—Disorders in Aragon—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor—Campaigns of Algeciras and Gibraltar—Pestilence—Death of Afonso XI.—Assassination of Gusman—State of Portuguese policy—Internal policy—Codices of the Jews—Commerce, navigation, and first attempts at maritime discoveries—Death of Alfonso IV.

THROUGHOUT the towns and cities of Portugal still resounded the doleful announcements of the death of the great King, D. Diniz, when his legitimate firstborn, in presence of the Archbishop, D. Gonçalo Pereira, was taking the customary oath to govern the country according to the established laws and justice, and the Herald King-at-Arms of the Court was proclaiming in solemn tones that the Prince D. Alfonso was, by the grace of God, acclaimed King of Portugal and the Algarve.



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At length the so much desired day had dawned when he should behold his ambition realised, and for which he had so schemed and intrigued and spilt Portuguese blood to hasten. How many ghastly thoughts were entwined with the golden hopes which had arisen! how much vengeance was coupled with the festive echoes of drums and fifes!

D. Diniz had carried to the grave a deep regret. At his last moments he had not beheld his two sons reconciled and friendly around him; indeed, to the contrary, only a short year previously he had been compelled to sacrifice to the implacable, turbulent jealousy of the one the honours and properties and residence of the other. The form of his illegitimate son, the hapless offspring of Aldonsa Rodrigues, despoiled and exiled to the foreign castle of Albuquerque, rose up at that solemn hour before his clear yet dying eyes, the hour of farewell and of pardon. And that same form must have likewise risen up in the memory of many of those who assisted at the noisy, brilliant acclamation of Alfonso IV., as we see it traced vigorously in the first pages of this opulent reign.

The royal standard was unfurled by the side of the new monarch, as chief ensign, by the haughty, magnificent bastard, D. Pedro da Ribeira, Count of Barcellos, Lord of Gestacô, Lalim, Varzea da Serra, and lands of Vouga, he who, no doubt, from his homestead of Brunhido, had witnessed the funeral procession of the father and the acclamation of the legitimate brother, his former companion in rebellion, amid the numerous brilliant court of his lieges.

But, however, in the place of majordomo we no longer see the favourite loyal bastard son of the agriculturist king, that D. Alfonso Sanches, lord of the towns of Conde, of Albuquerque, of Medelhim, and others, whom the fierce jealousy of the new King had withdrawn from the aged, suffering parent, and even persecuted in his shameful exile. By a species of irony of fate this charge was exercised by the Infante D. João Alfonso, the inexperienced bastard of D. Diniz, that gallant child whom his brother Alfonso Sanches had perchance saved from the sword of the Infante Count of Barcellos in the challenge of Pinheiro de Azer.

In the revolt of D. Alfonso against his father, D. Pedro of Ribeira rises up as the most distinctive form among the revolutionists, in the same way as Alfonso Sanches ever rises up in the history of D. Diniz as its most salient figure.

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Sons of D. Diniz by two ladies—the first by D. Gracia of Torres Vedras, who died in 1323, and called Pedro de Ribeira, from the fact that she had received the dowry of Ribeira de Sacavem; and the latter by D. Aldonsa Rodrigues, to whom Diniz gave, in 1301, the royal farms of Paos, Ameal, Paredes, Casaio, and S. Lourenço de Bairro, in the land of Vouga. The jealousy of these two mothers appears to have been transmitted to them whose armies rivalled each other.

D. Diniz had an intuitive feeling of this antagonism, which he endeavoured to neutralise, although vainly, by an equal distribution of honours and power. Hence he appointed D. Alfonso Sanches his majordomo and lord of the town of Condé and of the seigniorities with which he endowed his mother, and to D. Pedro he entrusted the no less important charge of chief ensign. Both these sons were married to ladies of the highest rank and wealth.

By the marriage of D. Alfonso Sanches with D. Theresa Menezes, only daughter of D. João Alfonso de Menezes, the staunch friend and majordomo of D. Diniz, and the able diplomatist who arranged the treaty of Alcanizes, first Count of Barcellos, and of his wife D. Theresa Sanches, Infanta of Castille, he became Lord of Albuquerque, Menezes, Medalhim, and other Castillian lands, as he might have inherited also the County of Barcellos, had it not passed over to D. Martim Gil de Sousa, tutor of D. Alfonso IV.

From this fact, no doubt, arose the disagreements between D. Alfonso Sanches and D. Martim Gil, which the King endeavoured to repress, but which led to Sousa renouncing his country and king, and becoming a vassal of Castille, as some of his ancestors had done before him.

D. Pedro, who was created Count of Barcellos and Chief Ensign after Martim Gil de Sousa, married D. Branca de Sousa, granddaughter of Mem Garcia de Sousa, and thus not only united himself to the highest nobility of Portugal, but became one of the branches of the celebrated powerful house of the Sousas. D. Branca was daughter of D. Constancia Mendes de Sousa and of the *rico-homen* Pedro Ames d'Aboim. Her sister married D. Alfonso Diniz, an illegitimate son of D. Alfonso III. An aunt of his married D. Lourenço Soares de Valladares, a distinguished *rico-homen*, Lord of Tangil, Governor of Entre Douro and Minho; and from this marriage resulted a lady who wedded another illegitimate son of D. Alfonso III.—D. Martin Alfonso—and originated the branch family of the Sousas Chichorros.

We have mentioned this division of the greatest Portuguese house

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existing at the commencement of the monarchy because this fact carries with it some features deeply characteristic of the epoch, and by many ways this family holds a prominent place in the history of the first ages of the monarchy.

In the peace treaty celebrated in Coimbra between D. Diniz and his legitimate son, the latter induced the King to include a clause restoring to the Count of Barcellos all his honours and properties, and since then he appears to have retired into obscurity. Despoiled of his position through having risen up against the King his father and the nation, the Count of Barcellos is restored to them by the intervention of the Prince Alfonso, and his gigantic form is seen in the funeral procession of D. Diniz and in the noisy acclamation of the new monarch.

Alfonso Sanches, ever faithful to that same parent, ever at his side in the bitterest hours of his life, is exiled to Albuquerque, deprived of the important and elevated charge which he occupied in the Court of the agriculturist King, was now about to feel the ferocious and implacable odium of his brother.

The reign of Alfonso IV. opens dismally with the terrible manifestation of hatred that leaves all other events in the background, and which took place during the first years of the government of the successor to D. Diniz.

Alfonso IV. no doubt felt the need of reforming the political discipline of the State which he himself had formerly contributed to relax, and to curb the hopes of his partisans of other times, to whom he had set the example of disrespect for royal authority, by a solemn affirmation of it. Hence he commenced his reform by convoking a Cortes of *ricos-homens*, knights, and fidalgos of the kingdom, as likewise bishops and abbots, priors, and other monastic and ecclesiastical dignitaries attached to the churches, and to the archbishopric of Braga and Oporto, the representatives of the Councils of the kingdom, and others, in order that they should all take their oath of allegiance to him as their King and master.

The Cortes were assembled in Evora, and once again did Alfonso IV. proclaim his terrible libel against Alfonso Sanches, and endeavour to induce the Parliament to condemn formally his exiled brother as a traitor to his liege lord, and as a disturber of the peace of the kingdom. It appears the Cortes hesitated to satisfy royal rancour; but Alfonso IV. would not be deterred from his set purpose, and therefore he instituted a summary process against his brother, main-

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taining the former accusations brought against him during his father's reign. Finally, Alfonso Sanches was found guilty; but as he prudently kept aloof and out of the reach of his brother's fury, he was only despoiled of all honours and offices which he had hitherto enjoyed on Portuguese territory, and deprived of all he possessed.

Alfonso Sanches nevertheless endeavoured to calm and appease the spirit of the monarch by forwarding a respectful message from his residence in Castille. In this letter, after referring to the unjust sentence given against him, and to the hard conditions of his condemnation, by which he is deprived of all he possessed, yet offers him faithful vassalage, and pleaded a revocation of the sentence, with the restitution of what belonged to him during the reign of D. Diniz.

But Alfonso IV. continued inexorable. Nor was he moved by the exhortations to conciliation and friendship which the ambassador Lopo Alves de Espejo, sent by the renowned King of Aragon, D. Jaime II., to Portugal on the occasion of the death of D. Diniz, to offer his condolence to the Queen and son, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne, and simultaneously to promote peace and concord between the brothers (1325).

But Alfonso Sanches had in Castille, and in Portugal, many powerful friends and adherents, who, no doubt, were impatient to manifest their loyalty in some signal manner. In Portugal itself, and in the bosom of the Portuguese Court, he had his former faithful companion in the campaigns against the present King of Portugal—his brother John Alfonso. In Castille he was powerfully aided by the Infante D. Philip, the legitimate son of D. Sancho the Brave. Don Philip was uncle and former tutor of the young King of Castille, D. Alfonso XI.

The history of Castille is so intermingled with the Portuguese up to the fourteenth century that it is needful at times to mention it. D. Philip was likewise instigating a rebellion against the royal authority of his nephew.

When, at the age of fourteen, Alfonso XI. ascended the throne in 1325, he found Castille in a state of complete anarchy, and he commenced his reign by disagreements with his celebrated tutors, the Infantes D. Philip, D. Juan Manuel, and D. Juan, who, in mutual rivalries and haughty misuse of the power which they individually exercised, had devastated, or allowed the devastation of the kingdom.

Hardly had they renounced solemnly in Valladolid their tutorship,

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and pledged homage to their nephew as their King and master, with the prelates, *ricos-homens*, and representatives of the cities, than they at once instituted anew a manifest rebellion.

One of the first ideas of the inexperienced monarch was to rid himself of these troublesome vassals. To suppress these became a fixed thought with the King. Hence, in 1326, he had D. Juan treacherously assassinated, and the same fate befell, in Madrid, in the subsequent year, the Infante D. Philip, and this youth of sixteen was scheming to effect an equally sinister fate on D. Juan Manuel.

Meanwhile, one of the first government acts of Alfonso XI. was to send an embassy to Portugal, to condole with the Queen D. Isabel on the demise of D. Diniz, and to congratulate Alfonso IV. on his elevation to the Portuguese throne. This embassy was received by the Queen in Odivellas, and by Alfonso IV. in Lisbon.

Let us return to Alfonso Sanches. Besides the influence and number of adherents which he possessed in Portugal and Castille, he possessed some seigniorities besides Albuquerque. Deeply irritated at the discourtesy of Alfonso IV., he sought redress by force of arms; and, summoning together the forces recruited in Castille and Leon, he joined them to his own army of Portuguese partisans, and proceeded to enter the lands of Braganza. While a part of his army were entering into Braganza, robbing and devastating the land from Medelim and Albuquerque, another portion, commanded by Alfonso Sanches, broke into Odiana, in order to attack the Master of Aviz, D. Gonçalo Vaz, who defended the frontier on the side of Ousella. A combat ensued between the troops of Alfonso Sanches and the royal army, in which the latter was defeated.

Exasperated by this defeat, Alfonso IV. at once marched towards Albuquerque, invaded Castille, and on approaching the castle of Codoceira, besieged it, until Diogo Lopes, who held the castle for Alfonso Sanches, was compelled to surrender it by capitulation.

It was about this period of our history that Alfonso XI. of Castille commenced to traverse his dominions in order to establish order and consolidate royal authority by rigorous means, and at times even of cruel severity, and took possession of the castle of Valdenebro, the former asylum for outlawed fidalgos, and levelled it to the ground, in the same way as Alfonso of Portugal had done in Codoceira. But the campaign of the Portuguese was less profitable

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than that of his namesake of Castille, since it offered him less victims with which to appease his revengeful spirit.

Alfonso Sanches then retired to Medellin, while Alfonso IV., after razing Codoceira to the ground, departed quickly to Lisbon. It appears this act was due to the fact that Alfonso Sanches was united by political comradeship and sentiments of friendship to his brother João Alfonso.

It was natural that Alfonso IV. and his former partisans, the malcontents of the reign of D. Diniz, should not view with favour these two individuals, who had more than once met them in vigorous and decided hostility to maintain the authority of the King D. Diniz and the power of Alfonso Sanches in their former rebellions.

In the same manner may be supposed that João Alfonso regretted the elevation and triumphant advances of those who had been the adversaries of his father, of himself, and of his favourite brother, as also the persecution incited against the latter. Yet the hapless Alfonso Sanches had the secret hope of obtaining some places wherein he might render himself strong, or shelter himself with his own partisans from the persecution of the new monarch.

To João Alfonso was entrusted the defence of the frontier on the side of Caia, by appointing him governor of the frontier of Portalegre and Arronches. The great stratagetic importance of Portalegre and Arronches during the first epochs of the monarchy, and even long after, is fully proved by the many bitter disputes which these places gave rise to, even down to the reign of D. Diniz.

Taken from the Moors in 1166 by Alfonso Henry, then reconquered by them, to be retaken by Sancho II., and once more regained by the Moors, and again taken from them by the valiant D. Paio Pires Correia in 1242, Arronches, which had been bestowed by D. Sancho II. to Santa Cruz of Coimbra in 1236, reverted once more to the Crown in the time of Alfonso III., who did not hesitate to give in exchange for it the patronage of Obidos, Assumar, and Albergaria de Poiares, thus proving its importance. Moreover, he granted certain privileges in 1255, which were further confirmed in the year 1272.

As D. Sancho II. had bequeathed Arronches to his son the Infante D. Alfonso, D. Diniz was not satisfied until he had dislodged his turbulent brother from that part of the frontier.

Later on, D. Alfonso IV. even went so far as to decree in positive terms that Arronches should never be withdrawn from the direct

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possession of the Crown. This decree was issued on 12th May, 1475, and in the reign of King D. John I. it was also established that all shepherds of that land should have firearms, and all the inhabitants of the town and its boundaries be permitted the free use of arms throughout the kingdom.

Arronches was for a length of time one of the most important keys of the frontier. In this campaign, however, Arronches assumed an especial importance, owing to the fact that it stood exactly opposite the principal vantage-ground of the invading army, that of Albuquerque, and it is scarcely comprehensible that it could be in good faith that Alfonso IV. appointed an individual to guard the frontier in whom he could not place any confidence.

It appears certain that John Alfonso either opened negotiations or was in communication with his brother and former companion at arms, and that he proposed to aid him, or at least maintain neutrality, in exchange for the three towns which belonged to him, of Alva de Lista, Castromonte, and Villa Açor.

Alfonso Sanches was not opposed to this negotiation, but observed that the concession of Alva de Lista rested on his friend Alvaro Nunes, to whom it belonged. However, the latter agreed to the exchange, and it was then that the people of Alfonso Sanches invaded the territory of Braganza.

Civil war was imminent, should D. Alfonso Sanches find partisans to rise up with him. As soon as the news of this invasion reached D. Alfonso IV., he sent the Master of Aviz, D. Gonçalo Vaz, at the head of some municipal troops, to Ouzella. At that time the troops which had effected the raid on Portuguese frontier had already retired to Castille, but D. Alfonso Sanches came personally to Albuquerque to continue the war against his brother.

It was not long before the Castillian troops of Alfonso Sanches met the Portuguese army of the Master of Aviz, Gonçalo Vaz, in a pitched battle. We have seen how brilliantly the municipal troops fought in the Navas de Tolosa, but now they lacked the experience of warfare which they then had, since they were summoned out of their houses to face the enemy at once. For this reason, notwithstanding the bravery with which they flung themselves on the Castillians, they were defeated by the soldiers of Alfonso Sanches, and the Master of Aviz beheld with deep chagrin his army retiring precipitately in the direction of Ouzella. It was some consolation to his disappointment, however,

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that he had left his enemies in such a plight that they dared not pursue him.

The indignation of Alfonso IV. may well be imagined on learning the unsuccessful issue of his army, and he at once mustered together his troops and marched against Albuquerque. It was then that he levelled to the ground the castle of Codoceira, near Albuquerque, and, carried away by the fearful sentiments of vengeance which ever dictated his acts, he destroyed the castle. He then returned to Portugal. It was about this time that, suspecting his illegitimate brother D. John Alfonso was conniving with D. Alfonso Sanches, ordered him to be beheaded, which sentence was carried out on 4th June, 1326. The reign of the King who was to order Iñez de Castro to be executed was commencing by fratricide!

But in the minds of all prudent persons this war was inglorious and could bear no good fruit, and, moreover, only served to foster passions and nourish personal spite, to the detriment of the towns and cities, whose population beheld their fields devastated periodically by the contending armies. D. Alfonso Sanches was likewise disposed to treat of peace, since he perceived that he obtained nought, and only spent his rentals uselessly, spilt the blood of his vassals, and irritated more and more his brother. Hence he was very grateful to the saintly Queen Isabel when he learnt that she was labouring to appease the anger of the sovereign. And, in truth, the Queen, who was then residing in her convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, proceeded to follow the mission which Heaven had entrusted her with, and which at length she paid with her life, as we said before, dying while endeavouring to allay the discords which had arisen between her son and the King of Castille. In this instance she intervened as mediator in the contention, and, assisted by some individuals, she attained to re-establish peace between the two brothers, and furthermore obtained from Alfonso IV. to restore his properties and goods to Alfonso Sanches and allowed him to reside in Portugal, where he lived up to the year 1329, enjoying, if not the actual friendship of the King, at least his goodwill. Such was the influence which the gentle words of Saint Isabel worked upon even the rudest spirits.

As was natural, the protection and aid which D. Alfonso Sanches found in Castille, even if that protection was not directly vouchsafed by the King Alfonso XI., could not contribute towards binding the relations between the two neighbouring kingdoms; nevertheless, the desire to effect advantageous marriages for his two sons induced

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D. Alfonso IV. of Portugal not to manifest any displeasure, but strengthen the alliance between the two States by matrimonial relations; yet this alliance was not lasting, but, on the contrary, gave rise to great discords, which were embittered by the recollections of the past. We shall proceed to narrate these episodes in the history of Portugal and Castille.

As we have said, in Castille reigned Alfonso XI., son of Ferdinand IV. and grandson of the King of Portugal D. Diniz, by his mother the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia.

Ferdinand IV. died in 1312, leaving an infant son of eleven months to succeed to the throne. Discords at once broke out during his minority, and D. Diniz was on the point of interfering in order to protect the rights of his daughter D. Constancia, but the latter survived her husband only a short time, dying in 1313, and the King of Portugal, who was ever prudent, perceived that, having no longer any direct interest, it was unnecessary to join the contentions of his neighbours.

There was then in Castille a prince of whom Father Marianna, in his "History of Spain," says "was of such a turbulent character, and so changeable, that many judged he had been born solely to disturb the kingdom." This prince was D. Juan Manuel, nephew of Alfonso the Wise, and son of his brother the Infante D. Pedro Manuel. He acquired a double title in the history of Spain, as a turbulent vassal and brave captain in the political history of the country, and in its literary history as one of the principal cultivators of Castillian prose. It is certainly an exceptional case to find in the same individual the undesirable glory of disturber of the kingdom and the calm glory of a brilliant writer and eloquent, deep thinker. The American author Ticknor, in his beautiful work on Spanish literature, offers his homage to the prince who, after Alfonso the Wise, was the one who gave the greatest impulse to the Castillian language.

D. Juan Manuel was one of the most powerful vassals of Castille, who, placed on the steps of the throne by his birth, was almost placed on a level with the crown by reason of his wealthy possessions. He was Duke of Penafiel, Marquis of Villena, Lord of Escalona. In 1320 he was elected co-regent of the youthful Alfonso XI., but his powerful influence soon enabled him to expel from the government such as would not bend to it. D. Juan Manuel was really the only regent.

His administration was peaceful and energetic. Nevertheless, when Alfonso XI. attained his majority, he manifested himself sufficiently

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jealous of power to consent that D. Juan Manuel should continue to hold the reins of government at his side. The Infante, indignant at what he judged the ingratitude of the King, quickly instigated a revolt. He allied himself to D. Juan, the Lord of Biscay, another discontented vassal, and lifted up the banner of insurrection. D. Alfonso trembled on beholding, at the very commencement of his reign, these two most powerful masters rising against him. He then endeavoured to sow discord between the confederates. For this end he flattered D. Juan Manuel, and induced him to withdraw from the alliance by promising to give him in marriage his daughter Constancia, and appoint him *Adelantado* of Castille—that is to say, place him at the head of the military forces of the kingdom in the war against the Moors. In this way he satisfied doubly the vast ambition of D. Juan Manuel, he gave a throne to his daughter, and restored to him his interest in the affairs of State.

The conditions of the treaty were carried out. D. Constancia proceeded to Valladolid, where Alfonso VI. solemnly married her, and D. Juan Manuel went to the frontier to conduct the war against the Moors. But the Lord of Biscay was furious at the way he was treated by his ally, and seeing himself alone on the battle-field, judged he ought to avoid the resentment of the King by taking refuge in Portugal. But it is said that Alfonso XI., counselled by D. Alfonso Nunes Osorio, manifested that he desired a reconciliation with him, and with promises of absolute pardon, induced him to come to Castille, and in a banquet at which the hapless nobleman assisted in Toro, was assassinated by the King's orders.

This infamous perfidy, which we dare hardly attribute to D. Alfonso, a youth of sixteen, but to the evil advisers who surrounded him, commenced to open the eyes of D. Juan Manuel, who then perceived that the King, in wishing to establish peace with him, had no other intention but to tear asunder the union which threatened the throne. This was at the beginning of 1328, and it was not long since the Infante had won the victory of Guadalhora against the Moors, and the knowledge that he had rendered an important service to his country would increase the indignation he felt when he received the news, which clearly manifested the illwill of the King of the marriage which was being arranged between Alfonso XI. and his cousin D. Maria, daughter of Alfonso IV. of Portugal.

As soon as the King of Castille judged himself firmly placed on the

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throne, he endeavoured to dissolve his marriage with D. Constancia, and form an alliance with a sovereign house. The King of Portugal took advantage of this attempt, and as the union was equally desired by both Crowns, they were not long in coming to a treaty. Alfonso XI. was to wed the princess of Portugal, D. Maria, and the prince-heir to the Portuguese crown, D. Pedro, to unite himself by the bonds of matrimony to D. Branca, the Infanta of Castille. These were not, however, the only marriages which were arranged. As D. Constancia, the repudiated princess, was granddaughter of James II. of Aragon on her mother's side, Alfonso XI. feared that her uncle, the reigning King of Aragon, should be offended at the repudiation of his niece; and, in order to pacify him, offered him as his bride his own sister, D. Leonor, a princess of great beauty and lofty qualities of mind. The King of Aragon, who had lost his wife a short time previously, accepted the proposal, and in this way, by marriage, were united the three great kingdoms of the Peninsula.

Alfonso XI. now threw off the mask and espoused the princess D. Maria, after sending his former bride, D. Constancia, a prisoner to Toro. It was natural that, foreseeing the indignation of D. Juan Manuel, he should wish to retain his daughter as a hostage in order to make her the prize in some negotiations. And in effect it was not long before D. Juan Manuel rebelled, and as though in this strange episode of the history of the Peninsula all things should be bound and unbound through marriage, D. Juan Manuel likewise contracted matrimonial relations with D. Blanca de Lacerda, in order to summon to his party the numerous relations of his bride's noble house.

The war, however, did not last long, and in this is seen the foresight of D. Alfonso. Peace was quickly and simply brought about by restoring him his daughter, whom, as we said above, he had sent as a prisoner to the castle of Toro.

These two marriages of D. Alfonso XI. with his cousin D. Maria, and that of D. Pedro with the Infanta D. Branca, which were contracted under the auspices of open perfidy, appears to have carried the curse of Heaven with them.

The marriage of D. Branca with D. Pedro proving unfruitful, a divorce was instituted. The new consort chosen was D. Constancia, daughter of D. Juan Manuel. The joy of her father was very great, as by that marriage he satisfied his ambition and took revenge on the King of Castille for the affronts received. The dowry assigned to his

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daughter was very great, far more than many daughters of kings took with them, for it amounted to more than 300,000 dobras.

The principal conditions of the marriage were as follows :—

The Infante promised his alliance to the Crown of Portugal against all its enemies, and to serve it personally and with his possessions, with the exception of the Church or the King of Castille, should they be its enemies, since he was suzerain lord of the Infante ; the King of Portugal likewise pledging his alliance.

D. Constancia to be absolute mistress of the lands which should be given her for a marriage portion, as was done to all former queens of Portugal.

The Infante to be permitted to visit his daughter whenever he wished, and to reside in Portugal for any length of time.

Should two sons be born of this wedlock, the second to inherit the dominions of D. Juan Manuel; but if, on the contrary, she should have no second son, to the husband of D. Constancia or to her only son, but never were these dominions to be joined to the Crown of Castille.

Notwithstanding that all the documents were signed, the marriage was far from being realised. The King of Castille at first disguised his irritation, and even appeared satisfied with the new alliance of his cousin, but his latent illwill manifested itself in other forms—by insinuating that it would be better for D. Juan Manuel to give his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Navarre, or by surprise at the largeness of the marriage portion, while at the same time he counselled Portugal not to content itself with so small a portion ; in a word, by employing every means to indirectly break off this marriage, which he so greatly disliked. But all his efforts were useless, and D. Pedro and D. Constancia were married by proxy. In the name of the princess, the Dean of Cuenca, D. Ferdinand Garcia, came to receive the Infante of Portugal, and in the name of the Infante, proceeded Gonçalo Vaz de Goes to Castille to receive the princess.

Even then did the King of Castille maintain his disguise by appearing to be perfectly satisfied with this marriage, and when in Valladolid he received the news from the mouth of Gonçalo Vaz, the representative of D. Pedro, he manifested great joy and sent rich presents to the bride, and from Portugal was sent a special ambassador, Martim Lopes Machado, to thank the King of Castille. This exchange of courtesy and goodwill concealed the strange ending that these

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congratulations were to have. In effect, just as D. Constancia was about to depart to Portugal, she was, by order of the King, detained in Castille.

The astonishment of Alfonso IV. was very great at this turn of affairs, and he felt highly indignant; nevertheless, considering his character, he behaved with great moderation. He sent as his envoy to D. Alfonso XI., Alvaro de Sousa, to demand an explanation for this strange proceeding. The King of Castille replied evasively, and continued to prevent the departure of the princess. The King of Portugal sent a second envoy bearing a letter, wherein in courteous terms he besought his nephew to allow the departure of the bride, but he obtained nothing.

Meanwhile Alfonso XI. showed that he had no intention of retreating from the open hostility which menaced him, and thus satisfy the indignation which burned his spirit. The Portuguese squadron of eight ships, commanded by Stephen Vaz de Barbuda, as it sought shelter from a storm in the Bay of Cadiz, was unexpectedly attacked by the Castillian Governor, Gonsalo Ponte de Marchena. Furthermore, the manner in which D. Alfonso XI. treated his wife became at length so unbearable that she was compelled to leave the Court and retire to Burgos. All things seemed to indicate that the King of Castille was determined upon severing all peaceful relations with his impetuous uncle.

But the forbearance of Alfonso IV., whose disposition we know, is explained by the need he had of preparing for war. And in effect, while he sent embassies to Castille, and otherwise delayed to take revenge, he was constructing ships, fortifying the strongholds on the frontiers, and collecting together the army to invade the neighbouring kingdom. After this he sent, according to the usage of that epoch, a king-at-arms to challenge his relative, accusing him of illtreating his wife, and preventing the departure of D. Constancia to Portugal as the bride of D. Pedro. When this formality was gone through, the war commenced.

This war was inglorious and ruinous to both countries, a frontier war that had oftentimes been repeated between Portugal and Spain, and which had always been signalised by devastation of fields, the ruin of cities, the destruction of castles, through which the armies passed. These evils are excusable when a great cause is at stake, and a whole nation and its independence or salvation is entrusted to the fate of

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battles, and when over the ruin of dismantled cities and lowly huts reduced to ashes the people condone the sacrifice by proclaiming the glorious liberty of the country. But to be compelled to endure these untold evils on account of mean family questions which only interest the private lives of its rulers, and to behold the simple husbandman gazing aghast upon his ruined homestead, his crops destroyed and his children oftentimes put to death, simply because his royal majesty is on bad terms with his wife, or did not respect court etiquette in his relations with his neighbour, is certainly hard to bear, and most certainly the monarchs who thus act towards the nations confided to their care incur a terrible responsibility in the sight of God.

D. Diniz, who ever knew how to steer skilfully through the mazes of discords with the neighbouring kingdom, would not have committed the imprudence of enkindling a conflagration in the country on account of royal family marriages, for he would not have based them on perfidy, and therefore would not have been exposed to the consequences of such perfidy.

But D. Alfonso IV., to the end of his life, always made every consideration subservient to what he judged to be State reasons, and he continued his policy unmindful of any obstacles. In order to marry his daughter to the King of Castille, he did not care to enquire whether that sovereign trod under foot all laws of morality, and giving to his son the wealthy princess D. Constancia, he heeded not to cruelly offend the pride of D. Alfonso XI., and now we see him plunging the kingdom into disastrous engagements in order to avenge personal affronts, and risk in campaigns of war the prosperity of the kingdom, which was the fruit of so many years of wise administration. With two armies, he at the same time invaded the States of his nephew and relative. One detachment entered into Galicia, and desolated the province and destroyed the troops with which the Archbishop of Compostella and other fidalgos attempted to resist him, while the second detachment, commanded in person by the King, crossed the frontiers of Spanish Estremadura, devastated the places near to Badajoz, and leaving a strong garrison to besiege the stronghold itself, proceeded to Andalusia, and carried ruin and devastation almost as far as Seville, then returned to strengthen the siege of Badajoz.

It was the road followed by D. Sancho in the time of Alfonso Henry, when at the head of his brilliant knights; but then that territory which he traversed in war guise was under the dominion of

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the Saracens, those ancient enemies of the Faith, of their race, and of the Spanish nationality, whilst now the soldiers of Alfonso IV. were carrying the devastating firebrands of war into a kindred people, brothers in creed, in origin, and in their glorious traditions.

However, as the siege of Badajoz became protracted, D. Alfonso IV. raised it and returned to Portugal, where he prepared for a new campaign. It was about this time that D. Isabel (1336) died in Estremoz, where she had come to make peace between the two Kings. The Queen D. Beatrice endeavoured to continue the mission of the sainted Queen, which had been interrupted by death, and unknown to her husband she proceeded to Badajoz, where D. Alfonso XI. of Castille had arrived, to try and induce him to come to terms. But there was wanting to her the authority and sweet charm of the wife of D. Diniz, and although D. Alfonso XI. listened to her respectfully, he promised nothing, and in proof of the small attention he paid to her pleadings he soon after entered into Portugal, and put to fire and the sword the environs of Elvas. In this war we find nought else to describe but devastations and reprisals, veritable campaigns of guerilla warfare, or rather of highwaymen.

But the Portuguese did not delay long before they took vengeance for this incursion of Alfonso XI., and later on it fell to the Castillians to enter the province of Entre Douro and Minho, cutting down and wrecking all before them, yet on this occasion they were severely punished. This army was commanded by D. Ferdinand Ruy de Castro, a relative of that hapless woman who was to come to Portugal to meet love and a fearful death. As he was retiring with his troops, he encountered the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Oporto, and the Grand Master of the Order of Christ. A struggle ensued, wherein the Castillians were completely defeated, many were left slain on the battle-field, and the rest fled precipitately.

The fate of arms was against the Portuguese, and the reverses which they suffered on sea by the squadrons certainly did not presage the glorious renown and triumph which in a short space of time the Portuguese navy was to acquire, a renown which brought to Portugal a world-wide reputation.

Gonçalo Camello sailed out, commanding some galleys, to devastate the coasts of Andalusia. He scoured all the open places on the coast, and disembarked in Gibralcon, where he destroyed all the Spanish forces that came forth to oppose him, led by the governor of the

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stronghold. The fleet returned to Lisbon loaded with spoils, and for the second time sallied out to devastate the coast; but on this occasion the squadron was commanded by the chief admiral, the Genoese Manuel Pezagno, whom the King D. Diniz had sent for to Italy. Again was the coast of Andalusia assailed; but the Castillian armada, commanded by the Admiral Tenorio, had come out seeking the Portuguese galleys to take his revenge. A naval engagement resulted on the height of Cape St. Vincent—a fearful combat, in which both contending parties suffered great losses; but at length fortune smiled on the Spanish fleet, which is not to be wondered at, in view of the superiority of their numbers. The Portuguese were defeated, and their admiral, Manuel Pezagno, taken prisoner.

The news of the naval victory filled the King of Castille with joy and pride, while in the breast of the Portuguese sovereign arose a deep spirit of vengeance. Once again his army proceeded to devastate Castille, meanwhile that the Admiral Tenorio, by command of Alfonso XI., was entering Seville, conducting the noble Genoese admiral triumphantly as his prisoner. Moreover, at this very moment the Queen D. Maria, wearied out by so many sorrows and insults, was retiring to the side of her father; hence it will be perceived that the spirits of all were sufficiently aroused.

Nevertheless, it was time that these passions and contentions were appeased, since a common danger, a supreme catastrophe, was impending over Christian Spain. The former enemies of the Gothic race, the Moors, threatened anew a terrible invasion into Spain. For a great length of time the King of Granada, assisted by his co-religionists of Africa, was gaining ground on the frontiers against the Castillians. It was a warning to Alfonso XI. to concentrate his forces on that side of his dominions; but the Castillian King, impelled by unworthy passions to make war against Portugal, was deaf to the interests of his kingdom.

Pope Benedict XII., who had succeeded Pope John XXII. on the pontifical chair, watchful of the interests of Christendom, perceived how many evils this war would bring, and charged his legate to counsel Alfonso XI. to arrange terms of peace. In this affair he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Rheims, who at the time was French ambassador in the Court of Castille. But the representations and appeals of these two prelates were vain, and the only reply vouchsafed by the Castillian King was to effect an invasion into Algarve, from



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which followed, as usual, devastations and incendiarism throughout the lands scoured by the Spanish army.

It was indeed a difficult matter to obtain from Alfonso XI. that he should listen to peace. Firstly, because he was still revelling in the glory of the victory won by the admiral; and secondly, the idea of peace found a declared enemy in his beautiful mistress, D. Leonor de Gusman, who had attained supreme influence over the spirit of the monarch. She well knew that peace must be sacrificed when affairs had reached to the point that the Queen, obliged to take refuge in Portugal, had set fire, so to say, to her ships, and placed her royal lover in the alternative of choosing between her and his legitimate wife. If he took her side he must choose war, as peace could not possibly be re-established without the return of D. Maria to occupy the place which she had been deprived of by an ambitious favourite; hence D. Leonor de Gusman employed all her seductive powers to compel Alfonso XI. to close his eyes to the perils of his kingdom, and combat for her like a knight-errant.

Such were the unworthy motives that prevented the conclusion of peace. In order that D. Leonor be not deprived of royal favour, whole towns on the Algarve were reduced to ashes, and for that same reason many places were devastated on the lands of Galicia. And in effect reprisals soon followed. Alfonso IV. crossed the frontiers of the north and took Salvaterra and Orense, sacking, destroying, and setting fire to towns, and withdrew to Portugal, proud of having made the wretched Galicians pay for the misdeeds of their King.

The mediators who had sought to effect peace now again came forward, and certainly with greater success, because, although they met with the same difficulties as formerly, nevertheless they obtained a truce of hostilities. This was in the year 1338, and negotiations for peace were at once instituted. But Alfonso XI. did not seriously desire peace. He was still too much under the influence of D. Leonor. It is certain that when the Portuguese envoy, D. Gonçalo Pereira, Archbishop of Braga, who was entrusted with this negotiation, arrived to Alcala, where the delegates of the King of Castille were assembled, he had proposals made which were of such unreasonable form that, without deigning to discuss them, he at once returned to Portugal.

Hence a new scene of war was laid open which promised to prove even more sanguinary than any previous one, because the King of Portugal allied himself to the King of Aragon, while Castille was about

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to be invaded on the east. But the campaign was not opened, because vague rumours began to spread that the Emir of Morocco intended to invade Spain at the head of a powerful army, and at the same time the Admiral Tenorio lost a naval battle against the Moors. Hence Alfonso XI. could no longer despise the warnings and dangers which threatened him on that side, while the alliance of Portugal with Aragon was no less to be feared. At length the King of Castille listened to the Nuncio, who continued to urge a conciliation, and a treaty of peace was seriously entertained. The great danger which threatened Castille likewise threatened the other kingdoms of the Peninsula, and all the reigning sovereigns were conscious of the necessity of joining together against the common enemy. Hence negotiations were not difficult of being entertained. The Portuguese plenipotentiaries were Vasco de Moura, Gonçalo Vasques, and Gonçalo Esteves, while the Castillian ones were Martin Fernandes Portocarrero and D. Fernandes Sanches de Valladolid.

As the plenipotentiaries had ample power given to them, the treaty was easily arranged and signed under the following conditions:—

D. Constancia was free to depart for Portugal, and D. Blanca, the repudiated wife of D. Pedro, to return to Castille with the marriage portion given to her; and the Queen D. Maria, casting in oblivion all past offences, should return to her royal husband, and D. Leonor de Gusman be exiled from the Court. Both kings to enter into an alliance, defensive and offensive, and the King of Aragon to be included in the treaty; and finally, none of the three kings to enter into peace treaties with the Moors without the consent of the three powers.

In this way was war terminated—this humiliating war, which might well be called "a war of women," because, although they actually did not lead the armies, yet it was they who moved the intrigues and enkindled the passions—a war mean in its original motive, mean in its results, and mean in its acts. It is not recorded, while it lasted, that any great battle or any grand feats of arms took place, such as national history loves to record with pride when relating the prolonged strifes of Portugal with the Castillians. The chronicles of this ill-fated war only record robberies and devastations. In this war D. Alfonso lost the best years of his reign without deriving glory or advantage. The alliance which was effected and which put an end to this strife was more fruitful, because it afforded him the opportunity of gathering the purest laurels of his military career, as it led him to take a part in the

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brilliant expedition which terminated the invasion of the Moors of Africa against Spain, and which buried on the margins of the Salado all the hopes which the Crescent could yet have of regaining their lost supremacy over the lovely lands of the Peninsula.

Ever since Portugal, spreading its lands towards the south, met the ocean on its extreme frontier, and separated by the vast territory of Castille, the land still occupied by the Saracens, and withdrew from her daily strifes, so did we likewise withdraw from occupying ourselves with the vicissitudes of this Empire, which, founded by Tarik on the fields of Guadalete, was fast proceeding towards decadence.

The wrestling was obstinately protracted for ages, but vast indeed were its results. The brilliant Arab monarchy, founded by the adventuresome chief of the dynasty of the Ommeyas, how reduced had it become! At one time it embraced the whole of Spain, with the exception of a wild portion of the Asturias; it had crossed the Pyrenees in order that its standard of the Crescent should wave from the ancient walls of Narbonne, and now, at this period of history, it was reduced to a small but lovely tract of land called Granada. In compensation, the small monarchy of Asturias, the weak shoot planted by Pelayo, the hero of Cangas of Oniz, on the wild ruggedness of the mountains of the north, grows up and spreads its roots and branches out into four kingdoms towards the south. Of these four kingdoms, Portugal cut out for herself a narrow band on the sea-shore, and was satisfied with this portion because she beheld unfolding before her horizon the limitless ocean through the daring of her navigators; Navarre, traversing the Pyrenees and forming a nation, half French and half Spanish, had by reason of its own geographical position received the death-blow of its own autonomy; and Aragon and Castille threatened on both sides to destroy the distinguished remains of the once flourishing empire of Andaluz.

We have seen how Ferdinand III. and Alfonso X. of Castille, by taking Murcia, Seville, and Niebla, and Alfonso II. of Portugal, by completing the conquest of the Algarve, had totally destroyed the empire of the African Emirs in the Peninsula, and dispersed the secondary and ephemereal kingships which rose up by the side of Granada from the general dispersion of Arab Spain. The discords which had arisen among the Arabs themselves had greatly helped the Christian princes to effect this supreme blow. The discontent which reigned among the Wallis of Andaluz under the African yoke induced

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them to proclaim themselves independent in the same way as Granada had done, and the only one where this independence was lasting. On the other hand, a new dynasty in Africa, the Beni-Merines, strove to dethrone the Almohades, as these had in their turn dethroned the Almoravides. For these reasons the Emirs of Africa lost for ever their dominion over Spain; and if the kingdom of Granada still subsisted in a corner of Andalusia, it was due to the dissensions which existed among the Christian princes, and that kept them divided among themselves.

These dissensions continued, and were the salvation of Granada. It is true that the Beni-Merines, when their co-religionists of Granada were pushed to extreme perils, used to cross the strait and came to succour them with all the forces of the Almaghreb, but they were never able again to take possession of Spain. The defeat of Abu-Yacub by Sancho IV., surnamed the Brave, was the first disillusion which they experienced, and the routing of Salado their last and supreme one.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Granada continued a precarious existence which was gradually extinguishing, and which eventually became totally put out when the greater portion of the Christian States of the Peninsula gathered together their forces, and united themselves into one great power to combat and defeat the Mussalman Empire with their whole strength. But this supreme moment had not yet come—indeed, not for several centuries; and the Arabs, deprived of the sunny lands of Spain, concentrated all their affections within the blissful tract of Granada, which they enriched with all the marvels of Oriental civilisation.

During the reigns of Sancho IV. and of Ferdinand VI. this daily strife continued, with varied fortune; but at length the limits of the Arab possession became lessened, and during the reign of D. Ferdinand IV. the Moors sustained a sensible loss in the taking of Gibraltar, a city which Arab writers call the "key of Andalusia," because, so long as the Moors held it, they were enabled to effect easily the landing of succour from Africa; while, if it was in the hands of the Christians, they, so to say, closed the doors of Spain upon the hordes of the Beni-Merines. A formidable invasion, such as that of the Almoravides and Almohades, was being prepared on the other side of the strait, in answer to the call of Abul Hassan, King of Fez and Morocco.

With the advanced troops in Gibraltar and Algeciras, and in accord with the Emir of Granada, Abul judged the time had come

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for repeating and realising the attempts of Yusuf-ben-Tachfin and of Abdelmumen, by bringing into the Peninsula a terrible army, and again reduce to the domination of Islam the divided Christian societies that had reconquered it step by step.

It was a common danger which threatened them, but the Portuguese King manifested himself less panic-stricken at the effect which this disaster might cause than the other States of the Peninsula.

The Castillian King convoked the Cortes in Burgos after his reconciliation with his father-in-law and D. Juan Manuel, and besought large subsidies from him in order to enter at once in the campaign against the Moors. On the other hand, the King of Aragon obtained from the Pope a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues for this species of holy war, and sent a fleet to join the squadrons of Castille, under the command of the renowned Admiral Jofre Tenorio, and these prevented the passage, which had already commenced, of the African troops.

Accompanied by D. Juan Manuel, D. Juan Nunes de Lara, the Archbishop of Toledo D. Gil de Albernoz, and D. Juan Albuquerque, and a numerous army of municipal troops and military orders, Alfonso XI. proceeded from Seville to attack the enemy along the territories of Antequera, Ronda, and Archidona, without, however, meeting any; and razing to the ground the towns which the Moors had abandoned—leaving in Tarifa D. Ferdinand Peres, and in Arcos D. Ferdinand Ponce de Leon; a bishop of Mondoñedo, D. Alfonso de Biezma, in Xeres—he retired, in the winter of 1339, to the city he had started from, after taking large prizes, and delivering the government of the whole frontier to D. Gonçalo Martinez de Oviedo, Grand Master of Alcantara.

The squadron of Aragon, composed of twelve galleys, commanded by Gilabert de Cruyllas, joined the Castillian, and both endeavoured, although fruitlessly, to prevent the continued passage of the troops of Abul along the strait. Two important events signalised this first period of war. On passing to Algeciras, Abdelmalek, son of Abul, resolved upon taking possession quickly of all the deposits which the Christians had formed in Lebreja, and organising an *algara* on that side, advanced in the direction of Xeres to carry it out. When, however, the Mussalmans' advance-guards had dispersed about the villages, they used to send the flocks they captured, under a strong guard, to Algeciras; but Porto Carraro, the Alcaide of Tarifa, and other frontier governors, used to form an ambuscade and crush these forces,

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meanwhile that the Grand Master of Alcantara surprised Abelmalek himself in his camp.

The violence of this unexpected attack completely disbanded the troops of the son of Abul, who fell one of its victims. This disaster called forth a cry of pain and rage in Granada and in Morocco, which greatly stimulated the Moorish kings. However, this disaster endured by the Moorish troops was soon followed by another on the Christian side to compensate them. This was the unfortunate landing effected by the Aragonese admiral, Gilabert de Cruyllas, on the coast of Algeciras. Routed by the Moors, Cruyllas was slain in this combat, and the fleet of Aragon retired precipitately to Catalonia.

This was succeeded by a new, and, to Castille, more important naval loss. The Castillian squadron, composed of twenty-seven galleys, six larger ships, and a few of minor importance, remained guarding the strait and endeavouring to prevent the passage of the African troops. It was an impossible matter to entirely prevent their passage with such a small force. A Moorish fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, thoroughly equipped for transporting troops, crossed from Africa, sailing towards Algeciras. If the Castillian admiral were wanting ships and people with which to attempt an offensive action, there were not wanting enemies and envious people in the Court who violently accused him of want of activity. His wife, who was in Seville along with the Court, apprised him of all the accusations brought against him, and the gallant sailor, naturally indignant, attempted with this small fleet to rush into an unequal combat with the naval forces of the King of Morocco, wherein he perished, after a desperate, fierce struggle, clasping the Castillian standard.

Another event took place which more considerably aggravated the situation of Castille, and led to the loss of one of its most distinguished generals. The post of Grand Master of Santiago becoming vacant, the Order elected one of its members, Vasco Lopes. But the passion felt for D. Leonor de Gusman by Alfonso XI. continued still to dominate his actions, and led him to appoint as Grand Master his youthful illegitimate son D. Fadrique, a child of seven years of age, and thus annul the election of D. Vasco Lopes. This appointment led to some resistance in the Castillian Court, which either Alfonso XI. would not or could not affront, or else she induced him to cancel the post in favour of her brother, Alfonso Melendez de Gusman, who was appointed Grand Master.

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This affair deeply offended many illustrious and powerful *ricos-homens*, among them the Master of Alcantara, Martinez Oviedo, he who had vanquished the army of Abdelmalek, and who now openly and strongly manifested his indignation. Summoned to the Court of Alfonso XI., Martinez, who well knew the summary process the King made use of to silence the daring or more dangerous censors, refused to obey the intimation, and placed himself, with the castles and knights of the Order, in complete rebellion, and furthermore sent a proposal to the King of Portugal, that he would deliver up to him the strongholds on the frontiers occupied by the knights of the Order, should he agree to aid him against the Castillian monarch. The proposal was sufficiently inviting, nevertheless Alfonso IV. nobly refused to accede to it. Then commenced a fresh intestine war, in which the cruel, impetuous character of Alfonso XI. was often manifested in a signally terrible manner. After an obstinate, desperate resistance, the Master of Alcantara, who was strictly besieged in Valencia de Alcantara, decided to deliver himself up to Alfonso XI., who, implacable in his ferocity, ordered him to be beheaded and burnt as a traitor.

It was on his return to Andalusia, after this terrible campaign, that the Castillian King received the news of the disastrous fate of the squadron, which had become reduced to only five galleys. It would be flagrant injustice were we to leave on the minds of our readers the impression that Alfonso XI. did not possess, in an eminent degree, the true qualities of a king and general. His prodigious activity, his firmness of character, and the skilful and vigorous action which distinguished him seemed to increase and become strengthened by disasters and perils.

Finding himself almost deprived of a fleet, his means at the lowest ebb, and wearied out by an intestine war, surrounded by the restless elements of rebellion with an inevitable and stupendous invasion of Moors facing him, the Castillian King developed such rare energy, and a foresight which in him was unusual. While ordering all the ships he possessed in Andalusia, Galicia, and Asturias to be collected together, repaired, provisioned, and equipped in order that in a short time he might send to Tarifa a small fleet under the command of D. Alfonso Ortiz Calderon, the Prior of Saint John, he solicits the Queen, his forsaken wife, to write to her father, the Portuguese King, to beseech him to send a Portuguese squadron to the aid of Castille, and likewise sends an envoy, in the person of John Martinez de Leyva,

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to Genoa to contract for the furnishing of some ships, and on his way back to solicit from the Pope a bull of indulgences for those who should take part in the war of Castille, and for the fleet of the King of Aragon, Pedro IV., as a new naval auxiliary.

In the month of July, 1339, the treaty was signed in Seville, as we said, between Portugal and Castille.

The Queen D. Maria was residing with her son at a convent in Seville when her husband besought her intervention with D. Alfonso IV. in the matter of the fleet. D. Maria at once sent her chancellor, D. Vasco Fernandes, the Dean of Toledo, to Portugal to deliver in Monte-Mor-o-Novo to Alfonso IV. the solicitation of his daughter. The chancellor received the verbal message from the Portuguese King, that should the King of Castille require his aid, to treat directly with him on the affair without the intervention of women, or of the Queen, with whom it was unbecoming to treat upon military affairs.

The chancellor delivered his message, and the Castillian King very quickly sent him to Portugal to reiterate directly his former appeal. Then D. Alfonso IV. ordered an important naval force to be equipped, and appointed to take the command of the fleet Admiral Manuel Pezagno and his son, the same individual that Jofre had taken prisoner, and whom he brought to Seville when he proudly made his triumphal entry. The Castillian King set them at liberty, and sent them now to the Portuguese monarch, probably as a sort of intentional act of redress—triumphant and reinstated to favour—to afford protecting aid in place of the squadron of Jofre Tenorio which had been totally destroyed.

The Portuguese admiral proceeded to take his position outside Cadiz, and prudently limited his action to menacing from thence the passage of the African troops.

The envoy of Castille in Genoa engaged fifteen galleys, equipped and furnished and manned, under the command of Egidio Boca Negra, at the cost of 800 golden florins for each, and 1,500 for the officers monthly.

The King of Aragon, on his part, promised twelve galleys, commanded by Pedro de Moncada, grandson of the renowned Admiral Roger de Lauria. It was too late, however, to effect an advantageous naval action which might save Castille from the terrible invasion which threatened her. Numerous forces had already crossed the strait, and

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in September, 1340, Yusuf Abul Hagiag came in person to place himself at their head, and join at Algeciras the army of the Emir of Granada.

Doubtless the chroniclers exaggerate the Mussalman forces when they compute that these numbered from five to six hundred thousand men, among them seventy thousand horsemen, although it is but natural that they should be numerous, as they wished to make a decisive effort to reduce anew Castille to the dominion of Islam, for which object they had organised and called out an algara, or holy war. A great number of families followed the invading army in hopes of an assured conquest.

The danger which threatened the Peninsula was very great, and terror began to spread among the people. It appears, however, that the generals of the Mussalman army were not great masters of military strategy, because in place of a sharp attack, which would most probably have proved fatal for Castille, they delayed their action by first besieging Tarifa.

This stronghold was held by the Governor, John Alfonso de Benevides, and despite the superiority of numbers and elements of attack enjoyed by the invaders—who, from what we can gather from Arab sources, possessed a rudimentary artillery—the Christians defended themselves most heroically and desperately. The squadron of Ortiz Calderon, which had proceeded to aid and defend them by sea, proved useless to them, as a terrible storm overtook the fleet at the commencement of the siege, and completely wrecked it.

Therefore the Castillian King quickly summoned a Cortes in Seville, and announced to them the resolution he had formed of succouring Tarifa. The need of obtaining aid by a strong alliance with Portugal was also acknowledged necessary, and met with the approbation of the Cortes, even to the point of D. Alfonso XI. declaring that he should proceed immediately in person to Portugal and solicit the aid of his father-in-law.

But the policy of Castillian pride would not allow this act, and Alfonso XI. was therefore constrained to beseech his despised wife to depart to Portugal and plead the cause for him.

Who does not call to mind the admirable verses which this sorrowful embassy inspired in the mind of the grandest singer of epic poetry of modern times, the immortal Camões?

It was in Evora that the Queen D. Maria met her father, the King

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of Portugal, and, bathed in tears, besought him to succour, or rather save her husband, the throne, and the kingdom of Castille.

Alfonso IV. did not turn a deaf ear to the moving pleadings of his daughter, but promised a prompt and unconditional aid; and not long after he met, in Jurumenha, the King of Castille, in whom the imminent danger which threatened him had served to put down the proud boasts of former times, and to whom the King of Portugal, engaged to fulfil the promises made to his daughter, the Queen D. Maria.

On withdrawing from the King to conclude the preparations for this terrible campaign, and place himself at the head of his forces, D. Alfonso XI. ordered that the King of Portugal should be everywhere received with all royal honours within the Castillian dominions.

D. Alfonso IV., personally commanding all the knights and soldiers which had rapidly gathered in Elvas, and ordering other forces to join them in forced marches, entered with his daughter into Spain, and was received as its saviour. On reaching Badajoz all the clergy, both secular and regular, came out to meet him, saluting him with the canticle, "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord." He was also enthusiastically welcomed in Seville by Alfonso XI., and after conferring together on the plan of campaign to be followed, they marched slowly upon Tarifa on 20th October, to afford time for the contingent troops to be collected from various parts and join the army. A week later they had encamped two leagues from the besieged stronghold, on a spot called Peña del Ciervo, and simultaneously the Aragonese squadron, commanded by Ramon de Moncada, and the Castillian fleet of the Prior of St. John appeared on the waters of Tarifa.

And, in truth, it was time they should do so; the unequal wrestling would most certainly end in the extermination of the heroic yet diminished defenders of the stronghold whom the Christian Kings had endeavoured at once to strengthen and garrison with men and provisions, in order that the garrison should, during the battle which was about to take place, fall upon the rearguard of the enemy.

The Mussalmans had raised the siege, in order to attack the Christian troops which were approaching. The Kings of Morocco and Granada awaited them in separate camps with their respective troops.

Numerically speaking, the Mussalmans had the advantage, but if the spirit of covetousness, of vengeance and glory which impelled them on was very considerable, the feelings on the Christian side were no less

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intense and stimulating, since they not only fought for their faith, but to save their families and native land.

The Christian forces in camp held a council of war, and it was arranged that the King of Castille should attack the King of Morocco, and the King of Portugal that of Granada.

Alfonso IV. was accompanied by the Bishop of Braga, the Prior of Crato, the Grand Masters of the Order of Aviz, Lopes Fernandes Pacheco, Gonçalo Gomes de Sousa, Gonçalo de Azevedo, and other distinguished *ricos-homens;* but as they had only been able to collect together little more than a thousand knights, the King of Castille furnished him with a host of three thousand. Hence the Portuguese had some four thousand against seven thousand Granadine troops. The camps were separated by a small river called the *Salado.*

Unfortunately, the common danger did not suffice to appease the intrigues and spites which divided the Castillian nobles, and it appears that, in face of their formidable enemy, grave suspicion of vengeance and treachery rose up to diminish the already sufficiently small hopes of a Christian victory.

The 30th October, 1340, dawned, and the King of Castille entrusted his vanguard, probably with the reserved idea of seduction and odium, to the revengeful D. Juan Manuel, his erewhile deadly enemy. When the signal was given to advance, D. Juan Manuel, with his people, appeared to hesitate, to the point that among the most fervent partisans of the King there arose the idea that it was a diversion of treachery. Two of them, Garcilaso and his brother, at the head of a division of a thousand men, rapidly advanced, and crossing the river Salado by a small bridge, carried before them a Mussalman division.

Meanwhile the brother of the King's mistress, whom D. Alfonso XI. had made Master of Santiago, and D. Juan Nunes de Lara, manifested a similar hesitation as D. Juan Manuel, but the King coming up to them constrained them to advance and cross the river. The King at once followed with the body of the army, and valiantly fought in the battle, which then became general and fierce.

With better fortune, or by reason of commanding a more faithful and better disciplined army, the King of Portugal came down upon the Granadine multitude like an avalanche, and breaking through their ranks, quickly worked havoc and confusion, even before the victory was assured on the side of the Castillians. Panic spread on all sides throughout the Moorish camps, and then commenced a fearful

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stampede. The Christian Kings, joining together their forces, began to pursue the enemy ruthlessly, and carried them pell-mell to the Gualdalmesi.

The Moorish Kings likewise gathered together what soldiers they could, and fled in the direction of Algeciras, where they soon divided, the King of Morocco to embark in Gibraltar and to return to his dominions, and the King of Granada departing for Marbella to return to his Court.

The Castillian chroniclers of the time note a curious incident, which they highly censure—that is, the inactivity of the Aragonese squadron, after receiving orders to land some forces with the object of falling upon the Mussalman rearguard.

Castille was saved, and with her, perchance, all other Christian societies of the Peninsula. The losses sustained by the Moors were very great, and there are some chroniclers who do not scruple to assert that over two hundred thousand Mussalmans perished in this battle, and that on the Christian side only about twenty were slain! Without taking notice of these absurd exaggerations, we can safely assert that the losses were very great, since Arab historians own to it. In the description given by Conde, in his "History of the Domination of the Arabs in Spain," he says, "The battle-field remained covered by broken arms and the slain; the slaughter effected was memorable, and among the enemies it passed into a proverb, this bitter day."

The Moorish camp fell into the power of the Christians, and such was the amount of rich spoils found that, according to the chronicler of the King Alfonso XI., the depreciation of gold and silver such that in Pampeluna, Valencia, Barcelona, Lisbon, and other cities, and even in Paris, gold and silver fell in value one-sixth.

We shall here mention an act of noble disinterestedness and chivalry performed by the King of Portugal. It appears that Alfonso XI. commanded that all rich spoils collected in the besieged camps, as well as all prisoners of war taken, should be sent to the Castle of Tarifa, and he then invited his ally, the King of Portugal, to come and take what portion he pleased. To this invitation Alfonso IV. positively refused to accede; but, on being strongly pressed by the King of Castille, Alfonso IV. selected only, as a remembrance of this memorable victory, a scimitar richly worked with precious stones, a few swords and saddles of exquisite workmanship, and retained as prisoners a nephew of Abul Hassan and a few others. This generous proceeding of the

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Portuguese King was much admired by his subjects and foreigners, and history records his magnanimity.

The grief of Abul Hassan was very deep at his losses, not alone as king, but in his domestic life, since his favourite Sultana Fatima, a daughter of the King of Tunis, was slain, a son and nephew taken captive, besides some of his most valiant soldiers.

Two days after the battle, on 1st November, both Kings collected together their troops and proceeded to Seville, and Alfonso IV. departed for Portugal.

The King of Castille, deeply touched at the noble proceeding and aid which he had received from his father-in-law, and whom he scarcely expected would even aid him, much less come in person to save Castille, insisted upon personally accompanying him as far as Cazalla de la Sierra, and returned to effect some further conquests by besieging and taking some of the strongholds of Granada. Since that time he manifested greater respect and consideration to his wife, and broke off all relations with D. Leonor de Gusman, thus proving how deeply had been the impression made on his spirit by the generous acts of the Portuguese King.

The news of the glorious victory achieved in the battle of Salado was echoed throughout Christian Europe as an extraordinary and marvellous event. The King of Castille sent the Pope a brilliant embassage to offer him a part of the spoils as glorious trophies consecrated to the triumphs of faith.

Yet while the Kings of Portugal and of Castille were rejoicing over their triumph, sorrow and mourning filled the cities of Fez and Granada. Their noblest African chieftains were no more, and in Granada they deplored the loss of their most important personages, since the Portuguese sword had cut down the flower of the nobility of Andalusia, among them their chief Cadi, Abu-Abdallah-Muhamed Alascari.

Since the battle of the Navas of Tolosa, in which the Portuguese won some laurels, never had a similar disaster oppressed the Mussalman race on the lands of Spain.

This epoch of the victory of Salado was the most brilliant during the government of Alfonso IV. The grand part he took in the expedition against the Moors assured him a distinguished place among the Kings of Portugal throughout posterity—a place which he would certainly not fill were we to behold in him only the rebel son and the assassin of the hapless Iñez de Castro. Nevertheless, this monarch, whose violent

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character so little attracts our sympathies, was, like his father, an able administrator, and the country he ruled prospered during his reign, and prepared itself to follow out the glorious destinies which were marked out. Yet the evil deeds of the *man* cover, so to say, with a dark mantle the judicious acts of the *king*; and in order that the future should offer homage to his name, it was needful that in the darksome depths of his life should burst forth, under the sun of Andalusia and on the shores of Salado, the brilliant gleams of his uplifted sword.

On the return of the Portuguese King he prepared to follow out a project which the war had interrupted, a project of which few vestiges remain, but which constituted one of the first attempts in the vast field of Portuguese discoveries and conquests beyond seas. We shall reserve this, however, for examination later on in our history, and proceed to narrate an event which is allied to the sanguinary history of the prince-heir of Portugal.

We have already seen how, after a long intrigue and a desolating war, the Infanta D. Constancia, daughter of D. Juan Manuel, was allowed to proceed to Portugal to join her affianced husband, the prince D. Pedro, in August, 1339. It appears the Infanta was accompanied by a lovely maid of honour, the daughter of D. Pedro Fernandes de Castro, and some relation to D. Constancia. As was usual at that time, this marriage was not due to any affection or mutual sympathies, which so often binds and knits souls together, although this wedding cost so many efforts and bloodshed. Hence, although the Portuguese prince surrounded his wife with everything she could wish—and, indeed, she was worthy of all he could lavish upon her—the youthful D. Pedro was unable to resist the charms of the maid of honour, D. Iñez de Castro, and he fell deeply in love with her. This love was reciprocated by Iñez until it became a Court scandal, which, it is affirmed, shortened the span of life of the hapless Infanta D. Constancia.

In the year 1345 the Infanta gave birth to a prince, D. Ferdinand, who later on succeeded to the throne, and a month after the event D. Constancia died.

D. Pedro, finding himself a widower and free to follow his inclinations, now gave himself up completely to the charms of the lovely Castillian, refusing to accede to the wishes of his father and the dictates of diplomacy, of contracting another union with a foreign princess.

Legendary art has so enwrapped this tale of love amid the webs of poetry that it would be a hopeless task in our day to divest its history

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from its trammels and place it on the severe arena of discussion. D. Iñez de Castro is one of those ideal types of the great family of Ophelias and Desdemonas which it would be almost profanation to subject to the criticism of investigation.

The tragic ending of this love is generally ascribed to the jealousy of the Portuguese nobility on account of the intimacy which existed between the Castillian knights, more particularly the relatives of Iñez and D. Pedro, and this jealousy naturally gave rise to an intrigue. This intrigue was naturally based on the danger which would threaten the succession of the throne and to the legitimate grandson of D. Alfonso IV. if the extreme affection manifested by D. Pedro were to induce him to legitimise his children by marrying D. Iñez. It appears more rational, however, that this intrigue found in the severe spirit of Alfonso IV. a full appreciation of the danger and offence which such relations would bring.

D. Alfonso IV. endeavoured to induce his son to enter into a new marriage with a foreign princess, but he met with a firm resistance on his part. It was evident that the love which D. Pedro bore for D. Iñez was an insuperable obstacle, since the interests of policy, the fears of a domestic scandal, or the dangers of the dynasty were not able to overcome it.

In face of these objections the violent and even brutal policy of those times did not hesitate to take extreme measures rather than waste time in subtle combinations, and the simplest solution was the deprivation of life. The Archbishop of Braga, as a friend of D. Pedro, warned him of the web of intrigues and political anger and conveniences which was being woven around him. But D. Pedro could never suspect that he would be assailed by such a terrible outrage.

D. Iñez resided with her children in Coimbra, or rather in the palace, which tradition tells us was erected by the Queen D. Isabel, contiguous to the convent of Santa Clara, on the shores of the Mondego. Resolving upon depriving her of life, D. Alfonso himself—so tradition says—accompanied by his chief officer, Alvaro Gonçalves, and two others, called Pedro Coelho and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, proceeded to the palace of Santa Clara on an occasion when D. Pedro was absent, and the three companions of the King carried out the cowardly assassination of this hapless lady.

When this cruel act was made known to the Infante, grief and rage completely overflowed their bounds, and forgetting every consideration,

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and all respect due as a vassal, prince, and son, he broke out in a terrible manner, as though he had lost his reason. D. Pedro had inherited the fierce, implacable character of his father. Associating to himself the brothers of Iñez, Ferdinand and Alvaro de Castro, and collecting together some people, he soon openly raised up a rebellion against the royal throne, and commenced a devastating campaign against it.

Desolating the dominions of those who had concurred in the death of D. Iñez, he marched to Oporto, which the Archbishop of Braga—he who had apprised him of the conspiracy—attempted to defend. Through consideration for this prelate, D. Pedro raised the siege, and proceeded to devastate in another direction. But whether the tardy remorse for the fearful action he had committed, or whether external policy prevented him, we know not, but it is certain Alfonso IV. did not proceed against his son with that impetuous severity peculiar to his character, and which the rebellion of his son would naturally induce. On hearing that he had proceeded to besiege Oporto, the King was compelled to send an army against his rebel son. On reaching Guimarães, he found that D. Pedro was endeavouring to take Oporto. This was the only event of any importance which took place during this short war, and, as we said, the Infante desisted through consideration of the Archbishop, while after the first outburst of anger and blind revenge, better feelings overcame him, and he saw his conduct in its true light, that it was both criminal and against policy—criminal because it was a revolt against his father, and against true policy since he was devastating the very territory over which he was to reign.

The news that the King had arrived as far as Guimarães in order to succour Oporto, no doubt contributed towards inducing D. Pedro to raise the siege, yet it is no less true to say that the Infante ardently desired to be reconciled to his father, and the reason that this reconciliation had not been already effected was due to the fact that there had been no mediator. But now this mediator appeared in Canavezes, in the person of his mother, the Queen D. Beatriz, who, deeply distressed that in her old age the strifes should be renewed which had embittered her youth, had now hastened to interpose her influence between father and son. Her mission was not a difficult one in this instance, since the Infante was ready to fling down his arms, and the King his father unwilling to shed the blood of his own son by entering into this war. The remembrance of the past, and the consciousness of the same conduct



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on his part towards his father before him, all joined together to trouble him, and impelled him to vacillate in the resolution of making war.

To the pleadings of D. Beatriz were added those of the Archbishop D. Gonçalo Pereira, he who defended Oporto, but whose affection for the Infante did not prevent from doing his duty as a vassal; and other noblemen, who all joined the Queen in her pious mission of peacemaker, and induced a treaty to be drawn up between father and son. This treaty was sworn to by the Queen in Oporto, by the King D. Alfonso in Guimarães, by the Prince in Canavezes, and included, as we are told by the chronicler of the *Monarchia Lusitana*, the following conditions:—

First—The Prince promised and pledged on oath to pardon, as he actually did, all who had conspired in the death of D. Iñez, either in deed or counsel.

Secondly—That he pledged in future to be an obedient vassal and son to his father the King.

Thirdly—That he would at once dismiss all and every one of those who had abetted him.

Fourthly—That the King pardon all those who had followed the conspiracy of the Prince in whatever way they may have done so.

Fifthly—The King granted general amnesty, and granted to his son royal plenary jurisdiction in criminal and civil affairs, in any part where he should reside, or through which he should pass.

In effect this treaty implied a kind of abdication, or at least the Prince D. Pedro was made regent with small restrictions and reserve.

A new and profound sorrow visited soon after the aged monarch, who had to receive his daughter, the hapless Queen of Castille, as she fled terror-stricken from the fearful cruelties practised by his son.

D. Alfonso IV., however, was not deluded by the oaths pledged by his son, and felt that D. Pedro had only adjourned his vengeance for an opportune moment, to visit it on those who had robbed him of his happiness. Hence when the Portuguese King perceived that the shades of death were surrounding him, he summoned to his side three councillors, Alvaro Gonçalves, Pedro Coelho, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, and in presence of Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, the Prior of Crato, whose authority had up to that moment protected them against the vengeance of the Prince, yet who judged that they were not safe in the kingdom as soon as the lover of D. Iñez should ascend the throne, counselled them

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to quit the country and take refuge in Castille. These three followed the advice given them, but which proved of little use, as we shall see further on in our history.

But the sorrows of these latter years had rapidly done their work, and broken up the health of D. Alfonso IV.; and death, which he had felt coming on, soon did its work. Two years had elapsed since the assassination of D. Iñez, and it appears that hapless lady had summoned him within a certain term to appear before the judgment-seat of God. But let us not anticipate history, and let us glance back on the events of the last years.

After the campaign of Salado, it appears the former alliance which was then renewed did not long subsist, but as soon as the common danger was over, intrigues and suspicions were again renewed which had severed the peninsularian triple alliance. Grave disorders took place in Aragon, engendered by the deep hatred existing between the celebrated D. Pedro IV. and his stepmother D. Leonor of Castille, sister to Alfonso XI.

In order to counteract the disguised hostility of Castille, the King of Aragon naturally desired to enter into a strong alliance, and for this object sent an embassage to Portugal, comprised of Lopo de Garrea and Pedro Guilhem de Escaymbos, to solicit the hand of the Infanta D. Leonor, daughter of Alfonso IV., in marriage. This embassy was received by the Portuguese King in Santarem on 4th June, 1347.

As soon as the King of Castille heard of this project, he at once sent to the Aragonese King a deputy in the person of Fernan Sanches de Tovar, to desire him not to wed the Portuguese Infanta, because he, the King of Castille, had, at the solicitation of D. Pedro IV. himself, asked her hand for his brother the Infante D. Ferdinand, and nephew of Alfonso XI.

The King of Castille likewise sent to Portugal, with the same object of dissuading the King to give his daughter's hand in marriage, D. Juan Alfonso Albuquerque. But neither these nor other embassies had the desired effect. Moreover, with a certain contempt, or perhaps rude indifference, for the objections brought forward by the Castillian King, D. Pedro of Aragon and D. Alfonso of Portugal quickly arranged the marriage between them, and on the 11th of June the respective contracts were signed in Santarem, while before the end of the year 1347 the Infanta D. Leonor landed in Barcelona as the Queen of Aragon.

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On the death of D. Jayme, speedily did D. Ferdinand, to whom by right belonged the government of Valencia, cast himself with his adherents to aid the revolt that broke out in that kingdom. It was the commencement of a general rising, the horrors of which were further increased by the breaking out of a terrible epidemic called the *black pestilence*, and a few months after landing in the kingdom of her husband, the Infanta of Portugal fell a victim (1348).

Notwithstanding the varied fortune of war, and having suffered the cruellest humiliations, the Aragonese King attained not only to separate from the revolutionary cause his stepmother and brothers, but even win the goodwill of the King of Castille, who promised to aid him.

Wishing to maintain the great moral prestige which the victory of Salado had afforded him, the Castillian King formed the project of conquering Algeciras, which stood like an open door for new invasions from the Moors of Morocco, and succeeded in obtaining from the Cortes convoked in Burgos (1342) large subsidies for that object. The fleet engaged in Geneva, commanded by Boca Negra, arrived and joined that of Castille, and a squadron of ten galleys furnished by the King of Portugal, under the command of Carlos Peçanha.

After several small engagements, the three squadrons were able to destroy completely a large armada of eighty galleys and other ships of Granada and Morocco, followed by a new victory obtained by the Aragonese squadron against the Mussalman fleet.

It was then that D. Alfonso departed for Algeciras. But the Portuguese fleet had returned to Lisbon, and the Aragonese one had been ordered home. The Castillian army was alone to continue the siege, which was becoming prolonged, as it met with a skilful and obstinate defence; moreover, the army suffered intensely owing to the severity of a hard winter.

Alfonso XI. again solicited the aid of the Portuguese King by a loan of some two million maravedis, for which were given as security various castles and towns. Aragon and France were likewise besought to aid Castille, and the lengthened brave campaign, known under the name of "Siege of Algeciras," was continued until it ended in the capitulation of the stronghold.

This event, and the disorders which broke out in Africa, induced the King of Castille to undertake the conquest of Gibraltar, and in 1349 he pitched his camp opposite this stronghold. But pestilence

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was desolating Europe, and in Spain it caused a dreadful havoc among the besieging army, one of the victims being Alfonso XI.

The death of the King of Castille caused a profound sensation, while in Portugal the sedition of the prince-heir and the treaty of Canavezes had concentrated national policy. But despite all the grave external affairs which up to the last moment fettered the policy of Alfonso IV., and even the disasters and embarrassments which befell the internal government of the country, the work of reformation and social consolidation, and the efforts for the aggrandisement of the living forces of the country, cannot be said to have relaxed. His efforts were very great to develope navigation and national commerce, and serve as a brilliant relief to this reign so stained with cruelty.

Were we to state that the first announcement of the great naval poem, which so splendidly was worked by Portugal, appeared during this reign, we should not be far wrong. We must confess that the resolution of obtaining a certain maritime power ever accompanied, during the earliest governments, the lengthened, persistent labour of consolidating the Portuguese State. D. Alfonso IV. continued this work by promoting and developing the royal navy, whose importance commenced to be considerable in the war of Castille and against the Moors; a most noteworthy fact being the idea entertained by this King to conquer the Canary Isles, and the attempts he made of starting naval expeditions of discovery.

We find that in the year 1344, Pope Clement VI., then in Avignon, conferred on a Spanish prince the seigniority of those islands, and at the same time requested the King of Portugal and other monarchs to aid him in establishing this singular sovereignty, and D. Alfonso, in his reply dated 12th February, 1345, apprises the Pope that he had already entertained the idea of conquering the Canary Islands, and for this object he had sent men and ships to reconnoitre the islands, and that these had brought to the kingdom men, animals, and various objects. The Portuguese King adds, that when he was preparing to organise an expedition of conquest, the wars with the Castillians and the Moors had broken out meanwhile to prevent him from carrying out the project.

We have positive evidence of an expedition having been sent from Lisbon in 1341; and it further appears that among the commanders of this expedition there was a Genoese called Nicoloso de

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Recco, and a Florentine, Angelino del Tegghia dei Corbizzi. While the impulse given to maritime commerce daily increased, it would be impossible for us to give a sketch even of the enormous legislative labours which signalised this reign. Commercial relations with England and France also increased, and it was about this epoch that a Fisheries Treaty was entered into by the cities of Lisbon and Oporto with the reigning English sovereign, Edward III., by which leave was granted to fish on the coasts of England, and those of Normandy and Guienne, provinces which now belong to France, but which in those days constituted the Continental apanage of the Crown of the descendants of William the Conqueror. D. Alfonso likewise contributed very largely to the collection which in the reign of Alfonso V. was formed under the title of *Ordenações Affonsinas*. Five times he held Cortes, in Evora in 1328; Santarem in the years 1331, 1334, and 1340; and in Coimbra in 1335.

On the 28th May, 1357, D. Alfonso died, surrendering his soul to the Almighty, Who would weigh in an impartial balance his virtues and his crimes. He was sixty-seven years of age.

He left only one son, the Infante D. Pedro, who succeeded to the throne, although he had seven children, who all died before him, his daughter, D. Maria, the Queen of Castille, dying only a few months previously, on 18th January, 1357.

Of all Portuguese kings, D. Alfonso IV. is, perchance, the one whose memory has been most severely open to criticism. The ambitious conspiracies and rebellions against his father, his obstinate and implacable persecution against one of his bastard brothers, the death of another on the scaffold, the assassination of Iñez de Castro, the suspicion—we believe unfounded—of the poisoning of his daughter, the despoiled Queen of Castille—all have invested the form of this king, otherwise eminent, with a sinister and repellent aspect, and covered his memory with the cloak of condemnation, obscuring many good qualities and brave actions.

It is well known that in domestic life he ever preserved good morals, and he never gave any scandal in his conjugal life, and on this point offers a notable contrast to his father, D. Diniz, whose conduct at the Court was extremely reprehensible. Between father and son, D. Alfonso IV. offers in this instance a perfectly distinct feature; he was an exemplary husband, and ever employed his royal authority with especial force in preserving morality and preventing the corruption of

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good customs. Hence the defects which darkened his acts as a man did not prevent that the administration of Alfonso IV. should prove enlightened and profitable to the country, and concurred to the development of its forces. Portugal found herself growing robust after a stormy infancy, and an adolescence which was still beaten about by tempestuous winds, and was rapidly advancing to its period of vigorous strength. All the Kings of Portugal, whatsoever may have been the defects of their character individually, had ever impelled the nation to take a forward step in the path marked out for her. Alfonso I. widened its territory; Sancho I. populated it, and planted on the deserted wastes whole cities and towns, castles, and, as it were, gave birth to the municipal existence which became so vigorous in the Middle Ages; while Alfonso II., among other benefits which his administration energetically conferred on the kingdom, placed a serious obstacle to the development of feudalism in Portugal. D. Sancho II., by extending the Portuguese dominions throughout the province of Alemtejo and a part of the Algarve, completes, so to say, the formation of the kingdom, because to his successor it sufficed to enter into a sharp campaign to terminate the work to which the finishing blow was given by the brave sword of the husband of D. Mecia de Haro; and D. Alfonso III. covers the kingdom with municipalities vigorously organised, and introduced into the Cortes—which up to that date had been simply wards of nobles and the clergy—the representatives of the councils, infuses energy to the arm of the people which only the enervating absolutism of the sixteenth century weakened and paralysed. We see how D. Diniz appeases the discords with the clergy, subdues the nobility, places bounds to the prodigality with which the Crown properties were distributed by private individuals, favours the development of agriculture and commerce, gives a decided impetus to the navy, and establishes regular studies; while his successor, D. Alfonso IV., continued the administrative work of his father, and draws the respect of Christianity to his kingdom by the brilliant manner he contributed to win the victory of Salado. Finally he held the reins of government with prudence amid the storms which in his time devastated the Peninsula, and even Europe; and we shall see further that the reigns of D. Pedro I. and D. Ferdinand, although stained with cruelties and follies, were those which more greatly co-operated towards developing the activity and the vital forces of the country.

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When Alfonso IV. breathed his last sigh, he left the kingdom of Portugal to his successor in a perfect state of internal and external peace, and it would be an act of great injustice to deny that his government had realised an important progress in the work of the political consolidation of Portuguese society.

END OF SECOND BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE THIRD.

### 1357—1367.

### D. PEDRO I.

**D. Pedro I. ascends the throne—Negotiations with the King of Castille—War between Castille and Aragon—Royal marriages—The assassins of D. Iñez—The marriage of D. Pedro with D. Iñez is disclosed—The Cortes—External policy of the country—Cortes of Elvas—Internal policy—Claims of the States—Justice of D. Pedro I.—Death of D. Pedro.**

In the year 1357, D. Pedro I. ascended the throne of Portugal at the age of thirty-seven, as he was born on 8th April, 1320, and, like his father, he took up the reins of government at a mature age, and hastened, as is usual, to notify the event to the Kings of Aragon and Castille.

External policy appears to be the first affair that merited the attention of the King. The King of Castille solicited permission from D. Pedro I. to translate the remains of his deceased mother, D. Maria, to Seville; this permission was at once granted, sending to Castille as ambassadors Martin Vasquez and Gonçalo Annes de Beja, to establish negotiations for various marriages between the princes of both Courts, and thus strengthen anew friendly relations.

Flattered by these auspicious advances, or foreseeing the advantage which might follow from a close alliance with the Portuguese Kings, D. Pedro of Castille, while sending the Archbishop of Seville and other prelates to receive the body of his mother, hastened to send to Portugal his chancellor, John Fernandes de Melgarejo, to ratify his good and loyal friendship and discuss the projected marriages.

It happened that about this time D. Pedro of Portugal received from Huesca an intimation from the legate of the Pope to the effect that he should not establish any relations with the Castillian King, who

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had been excommunicated, or aid him in his war against Aragon. This war had broken out a short time previously, in consequence of some supposed affront, which had wounded the majestic pride of D. Pedro of Castille. War was therefore declared in 1356, and D. Pedro of Castille commenced a series of violent extortions, in order to obtain money and open a campaign on the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia. Former odiums, domestic and dynastic, were rekindled, and while the Count of Trastamara and his partisans succoured the Aragonese King, the brothers of the latter, the Infantes D. Fernando and D. Juan, fought against him.

It was with some difficulty that the legate of the Pope was able to effect a short truce between the two kingdoms, which truce was treacherously broken by D. Pedro. The legate a second time attained to establish an amnesty in 1357, exchanging hostages and comminating pain of excommunication against whoever should violate the treaty.

But such were the evil designs of the Castillian King that the mediator excommunicated him, and, as we have seen, intimated to the King of Portugal this act, perchance because he suspected the negotiations were commenced between them. Hence at the beginning of his government, the son of Alfonso IV. found himself, like his father had been, in the advantageous situation of having his alliance besought by Aragon and by Castille, States which it was their interest not to have Portugal as their enemy.

The war between these two States soon terminated, but the intrigues and antagonism existing in both Courts invested the peace treaty effected by the Pope's legate with a very precarious aspect.

Skilful and far-seeing in the midst of his perverse ferocity, D. Pedro of Castille took advantage of the amnesty to endeavour to obtain an effective alliance with the King of Portugal against Aragon, by flattering the desires and projects of his father; and for this end he sent three envoys, D. Samuel Levy, Garcia Goterres Tello, and Gomes Fernandes de Soria.

As we shall see further on, the intelligent diplomacy of Alfonso IV. was worthily continued by the government of his son. In June or July, 1358, was celebrated between the two monarchs a treaty of alliance vaguely offensive, but which was at the same time a negotiation for three marriages. By this treaty it was arranged that the Infante D. Ferdinand, the legitimate son of D. Pedro of Portugal, should wed the Infanta D. Beatriz, daughter of the King of Castille; and the

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Infantes D. João and D. Diniz, sons of the Portuguese King by D. Iñez de Castro, should marry D. Constancia and D. Isabel, in six years' time, the sisters of the future Queen of Portugal, the bridegrooms and brides elect being largely dowered by their respective countries. As, however, both contracting parties required military aid, and the King of Castille besought it against Aragon, Portugal imposed as a condition, that Castille should not make peace with Aragon, nor any other State, without the previous knowledge of the King of Portugal. The Castillian King very soon took advantage of this treaty to solicit, through his envoy Juan Fernandes de Enestroza, the aid of some galleys against Aragon. With instructions to serve in this campaign for only three months, the Admiral Lancerote Pessanha quitted Lisbon with a fleet of ten galleys in 1359. It appears that on this occasion, or soon after, D. Pedro sent a trusty messenger to his son-in-law, D. Fernando, to promote a secret league between him and the King of Aragon against the King of Castille.

Some historians attribute the facility with which D. Pedro lent his alliance and aid to the neighbouring monarch to the fixed, unrelenting idea of seizing the assassins of D. Iñez de Castro, who had taken refuge n that kingdom. It is certain that in 1359 a new treaty was celebrated, by which the King of Castille was obliged to deliver up to the King of Portugal, Pedro Coelho, Alvaro Gonçalves, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, in return for D. Pedro Nunes de Gusman, Mem Rodrigues Tenorio, Fernan Gudiel Toledo, and Fernan Sanches Caldeira, who had fled to Portugal. The pact was a cruel one, and was carried out, with the exception of the surrender of Pacheco, who had escaped to Aragon and taken refuge under the protection of D. Henry of Trastamara.

In order not to revert again to the tragic history of the love and death of Iñez de Castro, we shall close it with the two extraordinary events by which D. Pedro ended it. It was a fearful vengeance he wrecked upon the two noblemen, whom he tortured and slew with unheard-of cruelty. He ordered that Pedro Coelho and Alvaro Gonçalves should have their hearts torn out, the King assisting at this execution perfectly unmoved.

The other event was the revelation of his clandestine marriage with D. Iñez de Castro—a singular revelation, which ought to have been publicly made known long before, and which must have filled with deep remorse those in the Court who had, so to say, assisted at the execution of this hapless lady, by command of Alfonso IV. Some have denied

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the truth of this, while others have obstinately supported it, and therefore we think best to explain simply the facts, to be impartially judged by our readers.

On the 12th June, 1360, D. Pedro summoned a Cortes, or a special meeting of his Court, in Catanhede, and in presence of the Chief Mayordomo, the Count of Barcellos, the Chancellor João Alfonso, the Notary Gonçalo Pires, and other dignitaries, he declared on oath that he had married clandestinely D. Iñez de Castro seven years previously —that is to say, 1357—in the city of Braganza, and that this marriage was witnessed by two individuals, the Bishop of Guarda D. Gil and his chaplain Estevão Lobato, who testified that the extraordinary royal declaration was correct, and that authentic documents were drawn up at the time.

Some days later another and more numerous assembly took place, in which the Mayordomo repeated the revelations of D. Pedro, and the testimony of the two witnesses, and further declared that the King did not wish to make public his marriage during the lifetime of his father, fearing lest he might place objections, since his consent had not been demanded, on account of the parentage existing between D. Pedro and D. Iñez; and read a brief from Pope John XXII., dated February, 1327, by which he dispensed him of all canonical impediments which existed on both sides, "between D. Pedro and the lady he wished to marry," &c. The Mayordomo-mor finished his discourse by demanding certificates of the documents for use, and in favour of the Infantes D. João, D. Diniz, and D. Beatriz, children of D. Pedro by D. Iñez, and thus the session terminated.

It appears that this extraordinary revelation gave rise to grave doubts, especially on account of the delay in making the marriage public, and by the singular fact that the day and month could not be assigned, since one of the witnesses affirmed it took place on the 1st January.

But D. Pedro heeded not these doubts, and ordered the body of D. Iñez to be translated with regal pomp from Santa Clara de Coimbra to Alcobaça, where she was laid in a splendid tomb. Years after, on the eve of his death, the son of Alfonso IV. still affirmed his marriage with D. Iñez de Castro.

It is said that the first nobility of the kingdom and the highest dignitaries of the Church assisted in the funeral cortege of the translation of the remains of Iñez de Castro. Throughout the road, men bearing lighted torches were ranged in two lines, extending from

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Coimbra to Alcobaça. The road at nightfall presented a magnificent scene. On the arrival of the body to Alcobaça, it was laid in the tomb ready to receive it, and on its slab was sculptured a lovely statue, representing her image bearing the queenly crown which the poor martyr had been unable to wear.

In that tomb slept in eternal sleep the hapless Iñez until the year 1807, when the vandalism of the French soldiers who invaded Portugal came to disturb her rest. Judging to find treasures hidden within those magnificent tombs, the hordes of Junot wrenched off the slab of the sepulchre of Iñez de Castro, and strewed her ashes on the pavement of the church. A sad fate had pursued that body, which had been dowered with so much charm and beauty. An atrocious act of violence had deprived her of life, and some centuries later even those remains must needs suffer further violence, infamous and sacrilegious, at the hands of senseless profaners!

Following the project of establishing peace between the two monarchs of the Peninsula, to whom he was closely bound by blood relationship and loving traditions, the Portuguese King proposed openly, in 1360, to the King of Aragon to accept him as mediator, and with this object sent two envoys, Alvaro Vasques da Pedra Alçada and Gonçalo Annes de Beja.

The King of Aragon replied, complaining that Portugal had aided Castille against him, who had ever been a loyal friend and ally of D. Alfonso IV., but he would willingly enter into peace treaty, should the Infante D. Ferdinand, his brother, and Count D. Henry de Trastamara assent, who were already on the Castillian frontier, and then the Portuguese King could send his envoys to Castille to enter into respective negotiations with these. For this object was nominated as ambassador D. Fr. Martin do Avelar, Master of the Order of Aviz; but, whether owing to incapacity, or because the King of Castille would not agree, the attempt was frustrated, and in the year 1362 we see organised an offensive union against Aragon between Castille, Navarre, Portugal, and the Emir of Granada, and the son of Alfonso XI. marched upon the Aragonese frontier, leading a large force, a part of which were Portuguese troops, some three hundred knights, and others.

It was but natural that even at that date the suspicion that the Count de Trastamara intended to ascend the throne of Castille should stimulate the Portuguese King, uncle of the King of Castille, to aid the

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latter, and it is certain that the alliance projected by Portugal and Navarre was not very sincere or friendly, as subsequent events proved.

In these wars, wherein domestic odiums and dissensions take so important a part, the most extraordinary changes rapidly succeed each other.

A new attempt at peace made in Murviedro fell through on account of the exigencies and bad faith of the Castillian King, and Navarre and Portugal definitely withdrew from him.

The Aragonese King endeavoured by all possible means to win the concordance of Portugal, by sending successively two embassies and proposing the marriage of his daughter, D. Joanna, with the son and heir of D. Pedro.

In the midst of this intrigue and the tortuous disloyal policy of that time the Aragonese King treacherously assassinated his brother, the Infante D. Ferdinand, and husband of the daughter of D. Pedro of Portugal.

Feeling himself seriously threatened by the triumphant forces of Castille, by the intestine discords, and by the war in Italy, he endeavoured to appease the Portuguese King, meanwhile that he planned to free himself by the assassination of D. Henry de Trastamara, and perchance disarm the wrath of the Castillian King. But the war suddenly assumed a very diverse aspect, which altered the relative position of the adversaries.

D. Henry de Trastamara, being at the head of a formidable army of Castillian fugitives, French adventurers, English, and Aragonese, among them the celebrated Bertrand Duquesclin, invaded Castille, proclaimed himself king in Calahorra, and continued to march triumphantly to the very heart of the kingdom.

Disheartened, betrayed, and hated, the Castillian King retreated as far as Seville, and from thence sent his own daughter, D. Beatriz, betrothed to D. Ferdinand of Portugal, with an ambassador, Martin Lopes de Torgilho, to ask the aid of the Portuguese King and urge the realisation of the marriage of his daughter with the Infante heir. The Infanta took all her dowry and trousseau, and it was not long ere her father overtook her, for he had quickly quitted Seville for Portugal on learning that Count Trastamara was marching upon Seville.

On reaching Coruche, the Castillian at once communicated to D. Pedro that he came to solicit from him immediate aid and complete the marriage negotiations between his daughter and his son,

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the successor to the Portuguese throne. The situation was a grave one.

Far more than to the brave impetuosity of his soldiers and allies, D. Henry was assisted in taking possession of Castille by the general odium which the legitimate son of Alfonso XI. inspired on account of his oppressions and cruelties.

To side with the latter would be to involve the country in a perilous quarrel and all the evils of a war which would bring no certain advantages. Personally the friendship of the Portuguese King for the one of Castille could not be very great: the vile treatment to which he subjected the sister of D. Iñez de Castro after wedding her could not have entitled him to sympathy from D. Pedro of Portugal, who was of a more revengeful mood than the brother of these ladies, D. Ferdinand de Castro, who, though brother-in-law to the invader, held Galicia for a length of time in favour of the exiled king.

On the other hand, by the side of Trastamara stood the sister of the first wife of D. Pedro of Portugal and the invader himself, who found here an asylum against the persecutions of the Castillian monarch, and was no enemy to the Portuguese fidalgos, but deeply offended by D. Pedro of Castille and by his partisans in the short campaign to which they joined against Aragon.

But above, however, personal influences stood evidently the interests of the State, and Portuguese policy, which in justice could not be accused of disloyalty in this crisis, because Portugal had then no engagements on hand with the King of Castille, and could even be considered exonerated in relation to the union of the Prince D. Ferdinand with D. Beatriz, as this had not been celebrated within the stipulated term of the treaty of 1358, steered with great skill and prudence.

A royal council was held, and it was decided that it was not expedient to aid D. Pedro of Castille, because his own people disliked him and the Count of Trastamara already ruled nearly the whole kingdom while, on the other hand, if this aid was denied, it would be indecorous for the Portuguese King to grant what he came to ask.

D. Pedro of Portugal sent a message to that effect couched in gentle terms, through D. João Alfonso Tello, to the dispossessed king, who, retreating to Albuquerque and not being received there, besought a safe conduct across Portugal in the direction of Galicia.

The King sent the Count of Barcellos and Alvaro Pires de Castro to accompany him as far as Lamego, from whence he proceeded to

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embark in Galicia for Bayonne. But the Portuguese King did not allow him to take the daughter of Trastamara, D. Leonor, whom he held possession of as a hostage.

In view of the triumphant usurpation of the neighbouring kingdom, Portuguese policy appears to preserve a dignified reserve.

It was the new King, D. Henry of Trastamara, who was the first to come forward and endeavour to enter into a negotiation for peace and friendship, by addressing a letter to D. Pedro to express his cordial wishes and solicit him to send envoys to the frontiers, in order to confer with those he should himself send, and arrange a treaty between the two crowns. And in effect, towards the end of 1366, the Portuguese envoys, D. João, Bishop of Evora, and D. Alvaro Gonçalves, Prior of the Hospital, met in Caia the envoys of Castille, D. Juan, Bishop of Badajoz, and Diogo Gomes de Toledo, and ratified the treaty of peace and alliance celebrated in Agreda between the Kings D. Diniz and D. Ferdinand; moreover, arranging that D. Henry should urge upon the King of Aragon to reconcile himself with the King of Portugal and grant peace and free liberty to D. Maria, the widow of the assassinated Infante D. Ferdinand of Aragon, with all belonging to her.

Soon after this event, two ambassadors arrived from the King of Aragon—Fr. Guillen Conil, the Prior of San Domingos of Barcelona, and Alfonso Castel-Novo—to definitely establish peace with the Portuguese King, and beseech in marriage the hand of his daughter, the Infanta D. Isabel, for the brother of the Aragonese Queen, D. Fadrique, King of Sicily.

While thus rapidly sketching the tangled web of the external policy of the kingdom, we have been unable to speak of the interior government of the country, wherein may be characteristically traced the historic features of D. Pedro.

In 1361 he convoked the Cortes in Elvas, which met on 23rd March. To the individual complaints of the various States of the kingdom succeeded a lengthened tissue of evils which oppressed the people, and the needs of the clergy and of the nobility. As was natural, the people were those who had most to complain, and these complaints were brought forward by the representatives of the Councils, who did not hesitate to express them in severe and daring language.

D. Pedro was possessed of a high sense of justice, and, moreover, desiring to win the popular favour in order to strengthen his royal authority by the strong arm of the popular classes, who were more or

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less always agitated by the rise and fall of historic and social evolutions, and who now were lifting up their heads in proportion as feudal traditions declined, at once took up these complaints to vigorously redress them. The administration of justice was provoking general dissatisfaction. Torture was applied and abused; investigations were despotically carried out in an arbitrary manner; accusations were brought forward against the minions of the law that they delayed and involved law suits. The nobles complained of violation of their privileges. The clergy likewise demanded the rights of respect for the immunities conferred, arranged, or attributed to the Church. In a word, it was a long list of grievances which all classes brought forward.

Portuguese society had arrived to the limits of civil consolidation, and found in this King the opportune expression—rude, no doubt, but sincere and necessary—of a more firm and wider rule than the direct oligarchic rights of the conquest and of feudal tradition. A supreme force, national and capable of organisation—the incarnation, so to say, of an abstract power, of a moral power, or, as we should say at the present day, a constitutional power—the royal authority exercised by by D. Pedro naturally assumes a juridical aspect; it became a magistrature, a priesthood, a social commission, the embodiment of the law.

In the long and nearly always beautiful legend which enwraps the memory of this King, there are many episodes which are deeply characteristic.

The events which were taking place in Castille completely altered the projects of the marriages arranged between the royal families of Portugal and Castille. Not only was the marriage of D. Fernando with D. Beatriz broken off, but D. Pedro did not attain to see his son married. Two sons of his by D. Iñez de Castro, who, in 1358, had arranged to wed the daughters of the then King of Castille—the Infante D. João married clandestinely D. Maria Telles de Menezes, while D. Diniz married a daughter of D. Henry II. of Castille. Notwithstanding the absorbing affection and sorrowful passion for D. Iñez, D. Pedro married a third time, the third wife being, it appears, D. Branca, by whom he had no children. However, there are historians who doubt that this marriage ever took place.

On 18th January, 1367, D. Pedro I. died, in his forty-seventh year, and tenth of his reign. He was greatly bewailed by the people,

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with whom he was a general favourite, notwithstanding his extravagances, or probably for that very reason. His heir to the throne, D. Fernando, was twenty-one years of age. He found the country peaceful and relatively safe, externally and internally, the treasury sufficiently prosperous, commerce in a good state, the throne respected and esteemed, and the general situation of the kingdom prosperous and easy.

We must here speak of the Master of Aviz, who was to become later on the heir and successor of the throne, under the title of D. John I.

It appears that, after the death of Iñez de Castro, the late King, D. Pedro I., had an illegitimate son by a noble lady of Galicia, called D. Theresa Lourenço, who was born in Lisbon and received the name of John. During his early years he was entrusted to the care of Lourenço Martins, an opulent, honoured citizen of Lisbon, and later on he passed on to the care of D. Nuno Freire de Andrade, Master of the Order of Christ, as the King judged he would be the most fitting person to inculcate all the gifts due to a knight.

The Master of Aviz, D. Martin de Avelal, died in 1364. Owing, probably, to the affection he had taken to his youthful charge, D. João, the Master of the Order of Christ conceived the idea of transmitting to him that appointment, and for this object proceeded to Chamusca, where the King was at the time, and communicated to him his project, which D. Pedro warmly approved. He then summoned all the heads of the Order of Aviz, and laid before them the wishes of D. Pedro. At an epoch when religious orders held a lofty independence and prestige, it was only natural that the Order should not accept a mere child as their chief and Grand Master. But D. Diniz, in his time, had so protected the military orders, and at the same time had made them so dependent on the throne, that not one of the commanders thought of raising any objection. In this way D. John, the bastard son of D. Pedro I., was, at the age of seven years, elected Master of Aviz, and who was to win for that Order the honour of giving its name to one of the dynasties of the Portuguese sovereigns.

END OF BOOK THE THIRD.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE FOURTH.

1367—1383.

### D. FERDINAND I.

Character of the new King—Reconquest of Castille by D. Pedro—D. Ferdinand enters into a treaty with him—New invasion by Count Trastamara—Death of D. Pedro—War between Portugal and Castille—Siege of Lisbon—Heroic defence of the Portuguese—Peace—The administration of D. Ferdinand—European policy—Political events in Portugal—War with Castille—D. Nuno Alvares Pereira—War—Devastations by the English—Heroic acts of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira—Peace with Castille—Despair of the English—Political results of the peace with Castille—Marriage of the Infanta D. Beatriz—Death of D. Ferdinand—Influence of his reign on the future of the kingdom—Political conquests of the third State—Democracy.

YOUTHFUL, generous, gallant, dowered with a handsome figure, and an insinuating, affectionate disposition, D. Ferdinand easily won an auspicious popularity which he knew not how to preserve, or render himself worthy. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was a great lover of the hunting-field, but he did not likewise inherit their energy of character, nor the rare political skill which so greatly distinguished them. Inconstant and mild, he was easily influenced by sentiment and pleasures, yet nevertheless it appears that D. Ferdinand, at the commencement of his reign, was urged by useful and generous projects to promote agricultural progress and increase national navigation. Perchance in this was principally manifested a certain ambitious spirit of adventure and ostentation, which is not rare to find, together with singular improvidences and easy strifes, in these volatile and imaginative characters. Probably D. Ferdinand had dreams of a great naval power, since he, though friendly with D. Henry of Castille, proposed to dispute the crown with him when he definitely had released himself of his rival, the hapless D. Pedro.

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As soon as D. Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of his father, he sent to the King of Aragon envoys in the persons of Alfonso de Castro Novo and Fr. Guilherme, to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship. This was effected in Alcanhões, where D. Ferdinand was at the time, and where soon after appeared also envoys sent by D. Henry of Castille, with the same object.

In that small town was ratified the treaty of 1366 between Portugal and the new Government of Castille. But this ratification was certainly not very sincere as regards D. Ferdinand.

The exiled D. Pedro of Castille was negotiating a treaty (1366) at Libourne with the celebrated *Black Prince*, Edward Prince of Wales, son of Edward III. of England, in order to reconquer his former kingdom.

At the beginning of the year 1367, the invasion commenced its triumphant blood-stained march. On 15th April of the same year, Trastamara was completely routed in the famous battle of Aleson, between Navarrete and Azofra, and D. Pedro, believing that he was already restored to the sovereignty of Castille, was despatching from Seville an ambassador—his chancellor, Matthew Fernandes—to the King of Portugal to establish a treaty by which to secure his friendly neutrality, or even his aid, which might be so necessary at any moment, whether against the pertinacious bastard or against the English allies. The conditions under which D. Pedro obtained the aid of the latter had been most onerous, as was natural, and with his usual bad faith the Castillian King had already commenced to fall short of the treaty, by which serious disputes arose day by day among the conquered.

D. Ferdinand received the ambassador of Castille in Coimbra, and a treaty of peace and alliance was made between the kings, which they successively ratified. Up to a certain point, politically considered, the procedure of the Portuguese King may be excused.

The Count of Trastamara was compelled to intern himself first into Aragon, and afterwards into France, while Portuguese policy, wrongly advised, either knew not of the aids he received from that kingdom and the efforts made to re-conquer the crown, or else did not believe in the efficacy of these efforts.

It is certain that soon after the treaty of Coimbra between D. Ferdinand and D. Pedro, the Count of Trastamara, with a small portion of daring men, had broken into Aragon, where he was assisted powerfully by distinguished officers and French and Aragonese nobles,

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and in the month of September of this same year of 1367 was a second time acclaimed King of Castille in Calahorra. Similarly as the first invasion, this second one was increasing, and rapidly advanced.

On the south D. Pedro was pursuing his accustomed system of cruelties and vengeance. Forsaken by the English, whom he basely betrayed, he entered into closer relations with the Moors of Granada, who made him pay dearly for his vacillating alliance.

He resolved finally to march against Trastamara, and in this campaign an event took place which was calculated to end the strife against the brothers by a fratricide. Through a treachery of Duquesclin, they were brought face to face. The two fought a fierce duel, and D. Henry beheaded his brother (1369).

D. Ferdinand received the news of this tragic affair on the 5th of April, and impelled by an unreflecting ambition, he at once prepared to dispute the crown of Castille with him. And while some of the towns of Castille adverse to D. Henry acclaimed the Portuguese King the legitimate King of Castille, as being the great-grandson of D. Sancho, he entered into a league with the Emir of Granada for the term of fifty years, in order that together they should make war to Count Trastamara, his partisans and allies dividing the kingdom between them. Not feeling secure with this absurd negotiation, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to invigorate the alliance with Aragon, and sent to that kingdom Badassal de Espinola, Alfonso Fernandes de Burgos, and Martin Garcia to solicit the hand of the Infanta D. Leonor.

At the same time he despatched from Lisbon to Seville a numerous fleet of some thirty men-of-war, and twenty-eight Portuguese galleys, and four fully equipped Genoese galleys. He then proceeded triumphantly in person to march upon Corunna, which received him without offering any resistance. Besides Corunna, other towns had already declared themselves for the Portuguese King, such as Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcantara, Valencia de Alcantara, Tuy, and others.

Galicia was held by D. Henry, yet its brave governor, D. Ferdinand de Castro, was manifestly in favour of the Portuguese sovereignty, and perchance, had the son of D. Pedro I. been any other individual, he might have realised at the time an annexation which would have proved advantageous.

Count Trastamara then marched upon Zamora, and on to Corunna, but whether D. Ferdinand did not deem himself secure among his

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vassals of yesterday, far from his own States, or because he thought of organising the war with Castille under other conditions, we know not, but we know that he embarked in one of the galleys, and proceeded by sea to Oporto.

D. Henry then proceeded to the Portuguese frontier, and entering in, assailed the territory of Entre Douro and Minho to besiege Braga.

From Oporto D. Ferdinand rapidly descended as far as Evora, from whence he sent to the invader a nobleman and a Breton merchant of Lisbon, called Beltran, to negotiate a peace treaty.

This singular attempt of the King of Portugal to enter into a campaign of that nature, although it might represent only an expediency of delay, nevertheless proves that the policy of D. Ferdinand, adventuresome and weak, was far from being the strong policy of D. Alfonso IV.

Braga defended itself nobly, and a few days after, on being besieged by the King of Castille—that is to say, between the 13th and 18th of August, 1369—it entered into a convention with the besieger to surrender, should the Portuguese King not send succour within fifteen days.

However, on the 17th the Breton merchant arrived on the camp of D. Henry, having left his companion in Oporto, and commenced negotiations for peace. Very quickly were these negotiations broken, and the city was forced to surrender. Setting fire to the town, D. Henry marched upon Guimarães, which resisted him. By promising to induce this town to surrender, D. Ferdinand de Castro, who accompanied the Count of Trastamara as his prisoner, obtained leave to proceed to that place, and taking advantage of this permission, he joined the Portuguese against the pretender. At the same time the latter was apprised that D. Ferdinand was marching against him, so he hastened to raise the siege, and retired to Tras-os-Montes, where he took Braganza, and then retired to Castille.

The Moor of Granada on his part took possession of Algeciras and wrecked the fortifications. On the following winter the Count Trastamara further attempted to subject some towns of the north, among them Ciudad Rodrigo, which upheld the rights or pretensions of the Portuguese King; but besides the obstacles which the winter opposed, what troubled him more than the energy and tactics of his rival was the difficult problem of paying foreign adventurers who had aided him in the Castillian re-conquest. Nevertheless, it is certain that

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D. Ferdinand did not desist from disputing with him the Crown of Castille.

Towards the end of 1369, D. Pedro IV. of Aragon sent to Portugal two ambassadors, D. João de Vilaragui and Bernardo de Miragle, to arrange the marriage of his daughter D. Leonor with the Portuguese King, stipulating an alliance against Castille.

By the treaty celebrated in Lisbon, it was agreed that, besides the projected union, Aragon was to make war for two years against Trastamara, and lend to Portugal 1,500 lances, at the expense of the latter, for six months. But the most important part of the agreement was the anticipated division of the Castillian kingdom which was then established. Aragon acknowledged D. Ferdinand as legitimate King of Castille, and other kingdoms dependent on that Crown, with the exception of Murcia and Molina, and various other places. Navarre at once entered into the treaty, and D. Ferdinand sent an ambassador, the Count D. João Alfonso Tello, to Aragon to further the results of the former treaty. Meantime the Portuguese King was appointing other envoys—Balthasar Espinola, Affonso Fernandes, and Martin Garcia—to negotiate new alliances.

The city of Carmona was one of those which declared for D. Fernando. This city was besieged by the Queen of Castille, D. Juana, and compelled to enter a convention, by which, should the governor not be succoured within a short term, it would capitulate. Notwithstanding that this aid did not appear, Carmona continued to resist, and the Queen was forced to raise the siege, in the same way as Trastamara had had to abandon that of Ciudad Rodrigo. But the latter did not delay to come in person to assault Carmona after vainly soliciting the promised aid from the Portuguese King, and at length had to surrender. When the situation appeared thus auspicious for D. Ferdinand, the mediation of the pontifical legate suddenly brought a pacific solution between Castille and Portugal. On 31st March, 1371, there met together in Alcoutim, the Count of Barcellos, as plenipotentiary of D. Ferdinand, and D. Alfonso Peres de Gusman, on the side of Trastamara, when a treaty of peace and friendship was entered into, in which the King of France also appears as one of the contracting parties, which can only be explained by the close bonds which united Trastamara to the French sovereign.

By this treaty D. Ferdinand was to marry the daughter of the Castillian King, the Infanta D. Leonor, who should bring as a marriage

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portion Ciudad Rodrigo, Valencia de Alcantara, and other points which maintained the Portuguese candidature, and would belong to the Crown of Portugal, the latter ceding all those she had taken possession of, or had been delivered up to her.

As was natural, the King of Aragon, who had so lately allied himself with Portugal, was surprised at the ending of the pledged alliance and conventions effected, and was filled with wrath against the Portuguese King, and proceeded to take possession of all he possessed in Barcelona and other places.

On the other hand, a new phase was taking place in the spirit of the son of D. Pedro, which prepared greater misadventures for Portugal. The weak, fickle heart of D. Ferdinand was moved to love a beautiful, noble lady of an ambitious disposition, who was married to one of the most notable persons of the Portuguese Court. This lady was D. Leonor Telles, daughter of D. Martin Alfonso Telles, and wife of D. João Lourenço de Cunha of Entre Douro and Minho.

D. Ferdinand of Portugal promised to annul the marriage of D. Leonor, and substitute her in place of the Infanta de Leonor, whom he was to wed in a few months, as arranged by his treaty with Castille. The husband easily consented to give up D. Leonor to the King, and retired to Castille. The lady was eager to be proclaimed Queen of Portugal, and D. Ferdinand, completely blinded by his folly, yielded to the ambition of D. Leonor Telles, and at the very time when in Toro was sworn to, at the request of the King himself, the treaty of Alcoutim (10th August, 1371) by the Court of Castille, he tore asunder this very treaty, rejecting the Infanta D. Leonor as his wife in favour of this new favourite.

The scandal of the affair and the presumption of this woman met with fierce resistance and deep condemnation from the people, especially the masses, and in Lisbon the manifestation of discontent of the burghers assumed grave proportions.

A popular leader, Fernam Vasco, a tailor by trade, even went so far as to address a rude and severe reprimand to the King on behalf of Portuguese democracy.

D. Ferdinand became alarmed, and replied protesting that he had no thought of marrying Leonor Telles, but illuding in this way the people of Lisbon for the moment, he hastened to quit the city with her, and proceeded to Santarem.

The storm then broke out violently, but popular fury, wanting

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discipline and a wise, energetic guidance, was spent in simply threats, complaints, and curses. But D. Leonor Telles had skilfully prepared her plans: she had foreseen the difficulties, and reckoned upon meeting resistance, because having possessed herself of the spirit of the King, she knew how to stem the torrent against her.

From Santarem issued stern orders against those who had mutinied in Lisbon, and the daring leader was put to death. The lovers proceeded on their journey as far as the monastery of Leça, where D. Ferdinand, summoning his Court together, publicly announced his marriage with D. Leonor Telles, and exacted that she should be acknowledged Queen of Portugal, and the Court kiss her hand as in homage due, meanwhile endowing her with extraordinary gifts. Only one individual had the manliness to refuse his homage to the reigning scandal. This individual was the Infante D. Diniz, son of D. Iñez de Castro, brother to the King.

A more grave circumstance, however, was the offence offered to the King of Castille, whose daughter D. Ferdinand had promised to marry, this marriage being a conditional and essential part of the peace treaty with Castille, and of acknowledging the Portuguese sovereignty over certain towns.

D. Ferdinand, even in 1371, sent an embassy to Castille, to settle amicably the difficulty which had arisen concerning the marriage with the Infanta D. Leonor, and beseech a modification to the treaty of Alcoutim.

The first reply of the Castillian King was rudely in the negative. The Count of Trastamara demanded the integral fulfilment of the treaty. The Portuguese King insisted in his demands, and sent a second embassage in April, 1372, which succeeded in obtaining the reform besought in that treaty at the cost of renouncing and ceding to Castille, Ciudad Rodrigo, Valencia of Alcantara, Monte Rei, and Alhavaz, which places would have belonged to him had he married the Castillian Infanta, besides various castles, such as Araujo, Alva de Listra, and Cabreira.

The King of Castille on his side restored some places on the northern frontiers which he had taken possession of. Securities were exchanged, and the new treaty was ratified and sworn to by both sovereigns and their respective Courts.

In this way terminated this shameful affair, and the projects of aggrandisement of D. Ferdinand.

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Scarcely had the new treaty been signed than the disloyal adventuresome policy of D. Ferdinand prepared to make war against D. Henry of Castille. But a new rival of the latter appeared on the field to dispute the crown.

This was the Duke of Lancaster, the son of Edward III. of England, who had married a daughter of D. Pedro of Castille by his mistress, D. Maria Padilla. D. Henry was not altogether freed from meeting serious resistance to his claim, for in this same year he had to undertake a vigorous campaign in Galicia. D. Ferdinand sent to the Duke of Lancaster one Vasco Domingues Chantre of Braga, and the Duke at once sent to Portugal João Fernandes Andeiro and Roger Hoor to sign a treaty of offensive alliance against Castille and Aragon, which was effected in Braga.

Anticipating a rising, D. Ferdinand took various ships which were off Lisbon, belonging to Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Asturias, and retained them as prisoners. D. Henry was at the time in Zamora, and from thence despatched to Portugal the aged assassin of Iñez de Castro, who had been exiled to his States, exacting from D. Ferdinand the restitution of the ships to the merchants to whom they belonged, and demanding a formal declaration of peace or war.

Notwithstanding the reply and unfavourable informations which he received, D. Henry sent a new embassage to the Portuguese King, who comprehended the hostile intentions of the latter. The King of Castille no longer hesitated to invade Portugal, in spite of the attempts at mediation which Cardinal Guido of Bologna, the pontifical legate, had attempted, and rapidly marched upon Almeida, Pinhel, Celorico, Vizeu, and Coimbra, and reached the environs of Lisbon in March, 1373, after provoking vainly in Santarem the Portuguese King to come out on the field.

Great indignation was felt throughout the kingdom, and even at Court, that D. Ferdinand should have allowed the King of Castille to prosecute his invading march with impunity upon Lisbon without stopping his course in Santarem.

Lisbon was plunged into an indescribable anguish when it became known that the Castillian army was approaching. The greater portion of the population were in the suburbs, and being unable to take refuge within the walls of the city, some were of opinion that they should form themselves into an army, and proceed to arrest the course of D. Henry at the bridge of Loures, and thus expose themselves to a

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certain death; others, that they should barricade themselves in the respective streets which abutted in the Rocio, and concentrating in that spot the principal defences of the city, provide arms to all friars and clergy. The last opinion prevailed, and they hurriedly began to improvise fortifications.

Meanwhile that this was going on, D. Henry, accompanied by the Infante D. Diniz, were entering on the side of Villaverde to lodge themselves in the Monastery of St. Francisco, which was erected on the mountain or hill of that name, and offered therefore an excellent point of observation.

The people of the city who were below became terror-stricken on beholding the numerous forces of the Castillians that were coming on them, and leaving their barricades, fled precipitately with what goods they could hastily carry to take refuge within the rampart walls. Confusion reigned supreme, and while all this was taking place, D. Ferdinand from Santarem was merely sending the Count D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, who was the Alcaide of the city, and the Admiral Lançarote Pessanha, and a few other knights, to oppose the invasion of the Castillians, he meanwhile remained with D. Leonor Telles in Santarem, thus entrusting to a handful of men the defence of the greatest and most important city of his kingdom, in order to revenge himself, counselled by the Queen, for the affronts received from the inhabitants of Lisbon on the occasion of his marriage, as Herculano tells us, or through the cowardice peculiar to his character, as we draw from Fernam Lopes.

When these knights and officers arrived to Lisbon, they agreed to furnish four galleys and some ships which lay in the Tagus, and proceed to encounter the Castillian fleet, commanded by Ambrosio Boca Negra, which had already left Seville.

When the Portuguese squadron was speeding out of the bar, they sighted the fleet of Castille. One of the knights, João Focim, was of opinion that they should open fire at once, but the Admiral Lançarote being weak-hearted, said it would be better to postpone the battle until the Castillian fleet stood opposite the city, in order that all should witness the glory and triumph of conquering. A large portion of the city was, as we know, undefended; nevertheless, he allowed the enemy a free entrance into port!

The Castillians therefore quietly entered the waters of the Tagus without being disturbed, steered their galleys to the naval arsenals

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(*tercenas naves*), and calmly landed large numbers of soldiers. Meanwhile Admiral Lançarote at this juncture landed, and proceeded to consult the *Camara* of Lisbon as to what he ought to do! And while he was doing this, the galleys of Boca Negra, well fitted and armed, were rowing towards the Portuguese squadron, which, left without captain or admiral, now endeavoured to fly to Ribatejo, but the Castillians grappled them and captured some of the ships, and thus remained masters of the waters of that port!

Admiral Lançarote was severely and justly censured for his cowardly behaviour, and D. Ferdinand dismissed him from his post, and appointed in his place a brother of D. Leonor, João Alfonso Tello. A report began to be spread within the city walls that some of the Portuguese were in league with Diogo Lopes Pacheco to treacherously allow the Castillians to enter. Among the suspected ones were those who held the keys of the twelve gates of the enclosure. The people rose up and apprehended them, took the keys from them, and subjected them to torture, but were unable to draw any confession from them. Two others were dragged through the streets until they were torn to pieces.

In all these events may be seen the great change which had been worked in Portuguese society during this reign, and the dissolution of the higher classes, a dissolution which proceeded from the example set by the throne. The nobility which was nearer to the King became easily perverted by its contact with the King. The masses, being further off, ever preserved a noble feeling of morality, an honourable aspiration for justice in the midst of the perversion of the aristocracy. It was the voice of the people which rose up to condemn the marriage of the King with D. Leonor Telles, and it was the energetic arm of the classes which defended Lisbon at the cost of the direst privations; and whilst their King was reclining on the soft couches of the palace of Santarem the people defended his country, loving it for itself and for its kingly traditions, and in the excess of its patriotic devotion even practised atrocities towards those it deemed traitors.

The King in Santarem slumbered tranquilly while the people in Lisbon watched over the city by day and by night, says Fernam Lopes. It suspected treachery from within and aggression from without. It was the lion defending the den of its cubs.

In our opinion, the reign of D. Ferdinand, in as far as concerns the third state of Portugal, carries with it a high—nay, a lofty importance. It was the daydawn of democracy. It was the sudden awakening to

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the consciousness of its rights. The masses were wearied out of enduring the whims of kings and nobles, and the spectacle of their rashness. They remembered that the blood of their grandsires was spilt to wrench the royal power from the hands of the widow of D. Henry, who scorned the memory of her husband by her life with the Count de Trava; that D. Alfonso II. had disputed with his sisters the paternal inheritance; they bore in mind the anarchy which was promoted by the nobility during the minority of D. Sancho II.; they remembered likewise that they had been only an instrument in the hands of Alfonso III. when he endeavoured to strengthen himself against the nobility and against the clergy; and they also remembered that they were sacrificed during a contention of brothers between D. Diniz and the Infante D. Alfonso, and in a similar conflict between D. Diniz and his son. That on account of the repudiation of the daughter of D. Alfonso IV. they had to fight against the Castillians for the space of four years; and in order to avenge the death of the favourite, Iñez de Castro, they had seen the horizon to the north of the country reddened by the conflagrations which rose up, because the vengeance of Pedro I. passed over towns and cities like the genius of extermination; and now it sees before it the beautiful Leonor de Telles spreading more and more her powerful influence, like the lethal tree, which spreads its branches, poisoning all things over which its deadly shadows fall. What forms rise up to soften the dark tints of the picture? Scarcely two. The heroic form of Alfonso Henry the Conqueror and the sweet, gentle figure of the saintly Queen Isabel!

The people awake from its torpid sleep: it is the lion which is aroused. It suddenly comprehends that the blood of the people has a value, because it is fertilising. And, in truth, the blood of the tailor, Fernam Vasques, was duly prized by the spirit of the people, and fertilised the earth over which it fell, infusing life into the germs of democracy. Its conscience is also awakened, and the people understand that among their rights is the one of making kings, and later on they comprehended that it could also unmake them. D. John I. belongs to the number of the kings created by the people. From the moment of the acclamation of the Master of Aviz a representative government commences to germinate in Portugal, and the people are made conscious that it has a voice. When the people of Lisbon began to understand their grand and noble mission they endeavoured to win their rights at the sacrifice of their lives and properties. The Castillians, on learning

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that the inhabitants of the city had, on fleeing to take refuge within the walls, cast all their valuables into the wells, endeavoured to hook them up, from which resulted fights and skirmishes with the Portuguese, who fought with such daring that D. Henry, who watched them from his point of observation in the Monastery of St. Francisco, was struck with admiration. The incursions of the besiegers were frequent, and signalised by the cutting down of vineyards and olive plantations, by sacking the houses, setting fire to the farms and homesteads. One of these incursions, led by the son of the King of Castille, proceeded towards Cascaes, which, being poorly defended, surrendered, many of the inhabitants made prisoners, and their houses pillaged. Moreover, as the Castillians had taken possession of some residences close to the ramparts, and from thence shot arrows upon the besieged, the latter resolved upon setting fire to these houses. When the Castillians beheld the glare of the first conflagration they tried to rob all the city and then set it on fire, saying that as the Portuguese desired to kindle a fire, they would assist them to keep it up. The whole of the Rua Nova, with its important commercial establishments, was burnt down, as well as the parishes of Santa Magdalena and San Julião, comprehended in the new town of Gibraltar to the south of the Episcopal See. It was an enormous devastation, while the greed for robbing increased on a par with the desire of destruction, which laid waste the finest streets of Lisbon. The Castillians even went so far as to wrench the gates of the Custom House of the city—which gates, Fernam Lopes tells us, were of exquisite beauty—in order to carry them away when they should return to Castille, and if they did not effect equal damage to the magnificent bronze horses of the fountain of Rua Nova, it was because the Portuguese removed them in time to save them from destruction.

But, despite all this, the greater part of the population of Lisbon gathered together within the narrow circle of the rampart walls continued energetically to resist all the horrors of the siege, without allowing the magnitude of the devastations effected to dishearten them, or the spectacle of famine and thirst, which lay before them, to weaken their resistance for a single moment.

Meantime the province of Minho was invaded by the *Adiantado* of Gallicia, Pedro Rodrigues Sarmento, and the Count of Côa, D. Henry Manuel, came out to encounter him, with all the people he could gather together, but the Portuguese were defeated. Then the Alcaide of the

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Castle of Faria, Nuno Gonçalves, delivered up the castle to the care of his son, and sallied out with his troops to avenge the Portuguese, but was conquered and taken prisoner. Suspecting that the Castillians would take him as a prisoner to the castle walls and there inflict torments upon him in order that his son, to save his father, should deliver up the fortress, besought the *Adiantado* of Gallicia to take him to the castle because he desired to counsel his son to surrender. This was granted, and the Castillian troops, with Pedro Sarmento at their head, accompanied Nuno Gonçalves. On reaching the fortress, the Alcaide summoned his son, and in presence of the Castillians, instead of advising him to surrender, bade him resist. The Castillians, who beheld how they had been deceived, struck him down with swords and lances; but the Castle of Faria was saved, because the youthful Alcaide, inspirited by the words of his father, resisted until, in despair, the Gallicians were forced to raise the siege.

Happy the people who would not allow themselves to be corrupted by the cowardice of their king, and found the way to defend so heroically the land of their birth!

D. Henry of Castille fully comprehended this sublime truth, and desired to raise the siege. In this sense he consulted his counsellor, Diogo Lopes Pacheco, who had begun life by assassinating a woman, and ended by being a traitor to his country.*

Pacheco was considerably astonished at the discouragement of the Castillian King, and replied that the Portuguese were within the ramparts like so many sheep in a pound, and being so great their numbers they must sooner or later be forced to surrender through want of provisions, and that to take Lisbon was equivalent to taking possession of the whole kingdom, which must soon surrender.

D. Henry did not wish to betray weakness, and therefore resolved upon continuing the siege, and ordered four military engines to be prepared for casting showers of broken flints within the rampart walls. This was done by D. Henry unwillingly, because he had seen with his

* Pacheco was one of the assassins of Inez de Castro. He took refuge in Castille and curried favour at the Court, but when D. Ferdinand ascended the throne, he presented himself in Santarem and besought, not only pardon, but a restitution of his rights. D. Ferdinand granted what he asked for. Why, then, did he again withdraw to Castille? It is the opinion of Fernam Lopes, that as he had counselled the King not to marry D. Leonor Telles, he had withdrawn to Spain, fearing the wrath of the Queen.

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own eyes that the Portuguese were capable of great heroism, and fully expected they would prove more obstinate than himself. This is what may be logically deduced from the narrative given, and which we will briefly state.

Pope Gregory XI. sent to the Spanish Peninsula a legate to establish peace negotiations between the Kings of Castille and Portugal. This legate was D. Guido of Montfort, Cardinal of Bologna. When the Cardinal arrived to the Portuguese frontiers, D. Henry had already proceeded to Lisbon, hence the legate's first interview was with D. Ferdinand, in Santarem, whom he found willing to listen to peace-making, as was natural, more particularly as the aid he expected from England was not forthcoming. From Santarem the Cardinal proceeded to Lisbon, where he conferred with the King of Castille, whom he also found willing to raise the siege, despite the counsels of Pacheco. From Lisbon, the Cardinal Montfort returned to Santarem, where D. Ferdinand nominated as plenipotentiaries D. Alfonso, the Bishop of Guarda, and the knight Ayres Gomes da Silva, to arrange negotiations, which were at length effected.

The conditions were as follows: The Kings of Portugal, Castille, and France to make a treaty of reciprocal alliance, for themselves and their descendants, against England and the Duke of Lancaster.

The King of Portugal pledged himself, not only to refuse aid to the English when visiting the ports of his kingdom, but also to expel them; and, were it necessary, to ask the co-operation of the King of Castille for that object.

D. Ferdinand engaged to expel from his kingdom all Castillian fidalgos who frequented the Court, among them D. Ferdinand de Castro, brother to D. Iñez de Castro. The King of Portugal would pardon D. Diniz, his brother, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, and any other Portuguese who had followed the party of D. Henry, restoring all their inheritances and properties; and he would also be equally indulgent to all towns and places which had adhered to D. Henry.

D. Beatriz, sister of D. Ferdinand and daughter of D. Pedro by D. Iñez de Castro, to wed D. Sancho de Albuquerque, brother of D. Henry.

In the event of either of the contracting monarchs breaking the treaty, he would incur the penalty of perjury and pay 30,000 gold marks.

As securities of the contract, the King of Portugal would deliver up

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to Castille as hostages some of the Portuguese fidalgos, among whom would be included João Alfonso Tello, brother to the Queen, the Admiral Lançarote Pessanha, six citizens of Lisbon, four from Oporto, and four from Santarem; and as pledges, the strongholds of Vizeu, Miranda, Pinhel, Almeida, Celorico, Linhares, and Segura.

These conditions being accepted—conditions which were heavy indeed for Portugal—it was resolved upon that they should be solemnly ratified by the two sovereigns. This was done on board ship on the waters of the Tagus, opposite Santarem, at which conference the Cardinal Montfort assisted.

The Castillian nobles who were to be delivered up in virtue of the treaty of Santarem were, however, not willing to make the sacrifice, and they fortified themselves within the castle of Ourem. As D. Ferdinand found himself, by this act, in the predicament of having to pay for the infraction of the treaty, he therefore entreated them not to hesitate; and at length the Castillians yielded to his supplications, and resolved to depart. This was done in Portuguese galleys, conducting them to the port of Valencia, which belonged to the kingdom of Aragon.

The lesson was a severe though just one. D. Ferdinand, who hitherto had not lifted up his arm to defend the nation and his subjects, judged it expedient now to erect a wall of defence around Lisbon, and decreed that the expense of this construction be defrayed by the neighbouring towns. This wall was commenced in September, 1373, and was concluded two years later. The new gates of the rampart wall numbered thirty-four, besides twelve which already existed, and upon the wall itself seventy-seven towers were erected.

When the inhabitants of Lisbon beheld the stonemasons and labourers hastening from the suburbs and encamping close to the works, they began to curse the King who thus erected this new bulwark to please his idle notions, and who had calmly witnessed the people bravely defending the ancient bulwark; but in proportion as the walls rose up, the people of the city were forced to acknowledge that they really required some further defences, which they could not possibly hope to obtain personally from the King.

On concluding and signing the treaty of peace with France and Castille, D. Ferdinand strove to establish a prudent and wise administration in the interior of the kingdom, and maintain skilful diplomatic relations externally, with the object of awaiting the results of the



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measures he had taken with respect to agriculture. These measures constituted the celebrated law called *Sesmarias*, which "enjoined that all proprietors of arable land be compelled to cultivate it, either on his own account or by others; and these said cultivators be obliged also to have the necessary number of oxen for the proper working of the land; and should the oxen be on other land at exorbitant prices, the authorities of the councils to compel the owners to sell the oxen at reasonable prices. The lands which, notwithstanding these laws, were not worked advantageously by their proprietors, would be at once confiscated, and reverted to the profit of the municipality, who would see that these said lands be cultivated on its own account, and receive the rentals." Sons of farmers who were not employed in some office of importance to the republic, or could not prove to possess five hundred pounds of their own, were obliged to employ their time in agricultural labour, either cultivating their own heritage or taking that of others on hire, or should their means not allow of this, they must serve as journeymen labourers on the lands of more wealthy agriculturists. Besides this, it was not permitted to any one to have oxen who had no lands to cultivate, and those who had oxen must work lands in proportion to the number of oxen; or, on the contrary, would forfeit them, to the profit of the municipality.

Beggars and vagrants were by law obliged to work, under pain of the lash for the first offence, and expulsion on the second conviction.

Such measures must ensure some results in course of time, although not so great as the enthusiasts of D. Ferdinand would wish us to suppose, because it was very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out the law in all its force, since it depended in a great measure on a general fiscal watchfulness, which must needs be strict to be of any use.

But D. Ferdinand was wishing to obtain means, even at the expense of promulgating laws which deeply affected property and private rights. It appears, however, that he had in view a fresh strife, and that he secretly entertained the idea of entering into a new war, or rather series of wars.

He issued orders that all Portuguese intending to construct ships of one hundred tonnage and upwards might cut down the necessary timber from the royal forests, and that all materials imported from abroad for that object should enter free of duty, likewise all required from other ships which bartered or sold; that proprietors of shipping be also exempted from paying custom-house dues for merchandise which

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they carried as freight during the first voyage, and on their return voyage entered into the port of Lisbon.

These measures, while infusing fresh spirit into the merchant navy, were injurious to the royal navy, since it placed the timber for the construction of its ships at the disposal of private proprietors; besides which, the exemption from duties on the sale of ships might prove prejudicial to the nation if foreign Governments purchased these constructions in any considerable number. Thus, under the ostentation of converting Portugal into a dockyard for the whole of Europe, we behold the dangers he incurred, more particularly as D. Ferdinand was projecting a new war, and by the treaty of Santarem he was bound to expel the English from all Portuguese ports, thus offering to a powerful nation a deep provocation, and bound himself to furnish the King of Castille, whenever he should need it, the aid of the Portuguese fleet when sending a squadron of a certain importance against England; therefore it appears to us that the guarantees granted to the merchant navy ought not to have been so ample and open.

During the reign of D. Ferdinand there already existed, in the city of Oporto, a commercial exchange, created at the request of the merchants of Portugal and the Algarve, by the King D. Diniz, in the year 1293. As a consequence of the measures adopted by D. Ferdinand, he had to amplify and extend in Lisbon the institution of commercial exchanges which embraced the contributions of the whole commercial body. In the amplification of the establishment of *bourses* was added the *Statutes of a company of ships* organised by D. Ferdinand, the object of which was to indemnify the owners for the losses of any of their ships.

Hence the commercial exchange was neither more nor less than the accumulation of a fund resulting from commercial imposts, which were designed for assigning a pension to merchants in precarious circumstances. Therefore the glory of founding this institution was not due to D. Ferdinand, but only that of widening the object, of this, which may be justly called a commercial association, because from the moment that D. Ferdinand offered such ample privileges to the merchant navy, there necessarily followed the further privilege of preserving the owner against the loss of ship and cargo. From this need, and from the former institution of commercial exchanges, naturally resulted the erection of the first company established for maritime insurances. We may add, in passing, that owing to the perturbations which arose in the

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kingdom after the death of Ferdinand—perturbations which affected the establishment of exchanges—D. John I. had to renew them by a provision from Santarem, dated 11th July, 1397.

We must here mention, that owing to the enormous outlay which had taken place on account of the wars with Castille, D. Ferdinand, fearing to be censured for the step he was taking of altering the coinage which avowed the poverty of the kingdom, effected this change secretly. Fernam Lopes tells us "that D. Ferdinand took this resolution without the consent of the people of his kingdom, or even the knowledge of the prelates, nor any other consent." The secret design of D. Ferdinand for doing this was, according to the testimony of Chagas, because ever since he celebrated the peace treaty of Alcoutim, he nurtured a deep odium against the King of Aragon, who had, with very little ceremony, taken possession of the Portuguese gold, which he had sent to Barcelona for defraying the expenses of the war which had become so suddenly interrupted by the King of Portugal. These reprisals were certainly justified, as being allied to the King of Aragon, and being about to wed his daughter, the King D. Ferdinand had made peace with Castille without having forewarned him, and arranged another marriage without first giving even a frivolous excuse to the father of his first promised bride. Perchance the very consciousness of the greatness of his fault, and how justified the monarch of Aragon was in being offended, induced this odium in the heart of D. Ferdinand. We must indeed confess that this trait in the character of D. Ferdinand does not honour him.

After the treaty of Santarem, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to plot with the King of Castille, who was himself offended with the King of Aragon, to make war against the common enemy, and with the King of England to make war to the Castillian King! For this war against Aragon, which so greatly occupied the spirit of D. Ferdinand, the Portuguese monarch was to send four galleys immediately after the siege of Lisbon. But D. Henry, who secretly negotiated the marriage of the daughter of the King of Aragon, D. Leonor, with his son and heir D. John, informed D. Ferdinand that he would not oppose his peacemaking with the Aragonese King, because his wishes were that he should make amends for some of his errors, and for this object to send commissioners to arrange this, and that as he himself had to send succour to the King of France, his ally, against England, he besought his co-operation with six or ten galleys. "Hence," as Pinheiro Chagas

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says, "the King of Portugal, with all his pretensions as a shrewd diplomatist, was no more than a pliable instrument in the policy of others." But he was more than this, he was false and untrustworthy.

Soon after the signing of the treaty of Santarem, in which he had, as we know, entered into an alliance with the King of France and Castille against England and the Duke of Lancaster, he was sending plenipotentiaries to London to negotiate a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance with Edward III., in which treaty he newly confirmed those he had entered into with the Duke of Lancaster, as King of Castille, further stipulating that the King of England should send to Portugal a military aid to assist him to combat Henry the *Bastard*, King of Leon and Castille; in this way endeavouring to avenge the invasion of the Castillians and the siege of Lisbon.

But as D. Ferdinand was eager to war against the King of Aragon, he did not hesitate to violate the treaty of London, and with this object to come to an understanding with D. Henry of Castille. The King of Castille, who had already experienced the perfidy of D. Ferdinand, besought him, as we have seen, the aid of ten galleys; and D. Ferdinand, who kept in view the King of Aragon, would have sent him the ten to war against he who by the treaty of London was his ally, were not deficient of galleys, owing to the King of Granada having captured some, and being unable to send those which remained so far away.

Meanwhile the negotiations for the marriage of D. John, son of the King D. Henry of Castille, with D. Leonor, daughter of the King of Aragon, were continued. At first the Aragonese monarch resisted, but at length he yielded, despite the wishes of the Queen. This marriage actually took place, as well as that of D. Carlos, son of the King of Navarre, with the daughter of the King of Castille, the same D. Leonor whom D. Ferdinand was about to wed.

But, despite this marriage and treaty, D. Henry was not disposed to aid the vindictiveness of D. Ferdinand against the King of Aragon. In despair, D. Ferdinand wished to confederate with the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, Charles V., in order to make the greatly desired war in Aragon. Diplomatic negotiations were commenced, and envoys were sent on both sides, but it appears that no records exist of this war.

Before D. Henry departed from Portugal, the marriage was

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celebrated in Santarem of his brother D. Sancho with D. Beatriz. Another marriage was arranged at the time, but not realised, owing to the youth of the intended bride, that of D. Alfonso, illegitimate son of D. Henry II., with D. Isabel, a daughter of D. Ferdinand previous to his marriage with D. Leonor Telles. The King of Castille took back to his Court the infantile bride to be educated until she should be of an age to be married. It appears D. Henry feared lest the inconstancy of D. Fernando might frustrate the projected unions.

As we have seen, directly after the treaty of Santarem, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to form an alliance with England against the King of Castille, but as the desire to revenge himself upon the King of Aragon was greater than that of avenging the nation for the injuries sustained on the occasion of the Castillian invasion, D. Henry acceded to the demands against the King of England. But Edward III. was dead, and had been succeeded by Richard II., who allowed himself to be dominated by his uncles, two of whom were the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke of Lancaster. The latter judged it was an opportune time for renewing his pretensions to the crown of Castille, and obtain the alliance of D. Ferdinand against the Castillian King. Meanwhile D. Ferdinand was playing a double game, since he on one hand was leaguing with the King of England against the Castillian monarch through the intermediary of Juan Fernandes Andeiro, a Castillian nobleman who had been expelled from Portugal in virtue of the treaty of Santarem, while on the other he was in treaty with the Duke of Anjou to form an alliance against the King of Aragon.

It mattered nothing to D. Ferdinand that he had recently arranged the marriage of his daughter D. Beatriz with the King of Castille. Treaties, in his regard, especially those relating to marriages, were of small moment to him, and he would make them and break them at will. Hence, being in Santander, D. Ferdinand ordered a council to be held, and informed them that he projected making war with Castille in order to avenge the affronts which Portugal had received from the King D. Henry. The Ministers who formed the council, believing that the monarch consulted them, pleaded for three days' time to consider the question, and at the end of this short term pronounced an adverse opinion, as would naturally be supposed, against the war. D. Ferdinand smiled and cynically told them that he did not desire to hear what they had to say against or in favour of the war, because he declared to them

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that the affair was fully decided in his own mind, and that he simply wished to confer with them on the best manner of carrying the war out with the greatest results.

It appears Juan Fernandes Andeiro had secret interviews with the King and Queen, and from these diplomatic interviews a warm attachment sprung up between the Castillian nobleman and the Queen.

The report of the new war which was contemplated spread rapidly through Portugal, and crossing the frontier, reached the ears of D. Juan of Castille. He soon learnt of the alliance which had been entered into by the English and the Portuguese with the object of supporting, by force of arms, the pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster to the throne of Castille.

This report was not long before it was confirmed by the fact of D. Ferdinand ordering the galleys to be fitted out, and appointed border governors for the Alemtejo. Finally, war was declared publicly between Portugal and Castille in May, 1381. And while the three armies of Portugal, Castille, and England were preparing to enter into the campaign, let us retrace our steps and see what were the conditions of the negotiations entered into between Juan Fernandes Andeiro and D. Ferdinand. Let us hear what the Viscount of Santarem tells us in this respect:—

"Five years had elapsed since the violation of the London treaty, and no diplomatic transaction had passed with England, as we may judge from the absence of documents and the silence of historians, until 23rd May, 1380, when Richard II. gave credentials to the celebrated Juan Fernandes Andeiro to adjust an alliance and treaty of mutual aid between England and the King D. Ferdinand and the Queen D. Leonor, in conformity with the stipulations contained in the former letters and conventions with the said king. And in effect, the celebrated Minister obtained from the King D. Ferdinand and D. Leonor the confirmation of the treaties adjusted with Edward III., and which he himself had witnessed and signed as plenipotentiary of Portugal. And by another letters patent of the 15th he ratified the alliances made with the Duke of Lancaster and with his wife, D. Constancia, *as King and Queen of Castille!* Lastly, Ferdinand promised that, on the Duke of Cambridge arriving at Portugal with 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers, he would receive the Duke and his troops as friends, and as soon as he appeared he would *open the*

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*war against Castille* in aid of the Duke of Lancaster and his wife, to whom he gave the titles of King and Queen!

"But he did not confine himself to these obligations alone, but even promised that, should the said Duke of Cambridge be accompanied by his son, the King D. Ferdinand *would give him in marriage his own daughter D. Beatriz, and would have him proclaimed and acknowledged King of Portugal after his death, as had been promised in his name by Juan Fernandes Andeiro,* while he directly made the same declarations to the Duke of Cambridge in a letter dated on 15th July, and likewise signed by the Queen D. Leonor.

"Notwithstanding that England was at that epoch engaged in war with France and Scotland, the King of England and his Council judged it expedient to send troops to the King D. Ferdinand to continue the war with Castille. But this decision displeased the English, because the King of Portugal intended this war to be one of extermination against the King of Castille, in which he had been hitherto unsuccessful, and it was these losses experienced by D. Ferdinand which had induced him to exact from the English alliance aids for continuing this very war. On the other hand, it was not an easy matter for England to send out troops when she had to defend her own sea-coasts. The influence of the Duke of Lancaster was, however, very great in the Council, and therefore it was resolved to send troops to the King D. Ferdinand, taking as a pretext for so doing that the King of Castille was a deadly enemy to England, while in this solely prevailed the private interest of the Duke. The latter assumed the title of King of Castille by reason of the rights of his wife, who was the daughter of D. Pedro of Castille. After obtaining the approbation of Parliament, the troops were organised and the command given to his brother, the Duke of Cambridge. At this moment the amnesty or truce made with Scotland had nearly expired, and it was resolved in Council that, owing to the above-mentioned circumstance, a proposal be made to the King of Scotland to prolong the term of amnesty, in order to enable troops to be sent to Portugal. For this object the Council appointed and sent ambassadors to the frontiers, where they joined those sent to Scotland."

In truth, it is a difficult matter to adjust these rapid changes in the policy of D. Ferdinand to a criticism which will satisfy the spirit of the reader. The caprices of the King were such that no possible explanation can be given otherwise than that his policy proceeded

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from a morbid state peculiar to his organisation. The historian Schœffer leads us to infer that the alliance with England was moved by the Queen D. Leonor, to whom the treaty concluded with Castille was displeasing, because her own influence would thereby be diminished after the demise of the King. But Fernam Lopes asserts that D. Leonor desired that her daughter should marry in Castille, in order that she should be regent in the event of the death of the King D. Ferdinand, as was agreed upon in the treaties with the Duke de Benavente, and in this way she would freely take possession of the kingdom. And, in truth, what appears most expedient to D. Leonor was that her daughter should marry in Castille either the King or his successor, because by this means there was a probability of becoming regent of Portugal. Facts tend to demonstrate that she was bent on dissolving the contract of marriage of D. Beatriz with the Duke of Benavente, who was not heir to the throne of Castille, and in signing a new contract for the marriage of the Infanta with D. Henry, successor to the throne. The marriage of D. Beatriz with any foreign prince who was not a reigning one would bring to D. Leonor the evil of having to call him to the throne of Portugal, and thus be herself despoiled of power. Therefore we fail to see the advantage which would accrue to D. Leonor in the alliance with England, furthermore in the marriage of her daughter with the Duke of Cambridge under condition of being proclaimed and acknowledged King of Portugal, because by this means, not having other throne, he would occupy that of Portugal, leaving D. Leonor to play a secondary part.

But whatever be the motive, the King D. Juan of Castille prepared for war, and entered into an alliance with Charles VI., King of France, renewing former leagues and confederation, while arranging at the same time what should be done in the event that the Duke of Lancaster, his eldest born, heirs, or any other member of royal blood be taken prisoners.

In this treaty the King of Castille, D. Juan, already assumed the title of King of Portugal. It was the Castillians who broke hostilities. The Master of Santiago of Castille entered into Portugal through Elvas, and effected an incursion over the area now belonging to the district of Portalegre, capturing all the peasants and cattle on the way, and setting fire to some towns. The resistance on the Portuguese side would have been but small, had not D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, Count de Arrayolos, who was the governor of the frontier of Elvas, assisted in a brilliant

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manner by the brave knight, Gil Fernandes, come out and pursued the Castillians, who were vigorously repulsed on the frontier.

Notwithstanding that D. Ferdinand had declared, without any reasonable foundation, a grave war, the consequences of which might prove disastrous for the kingdom and for himself, he remained quietly in his paradise of delights, Santarem. It was in Santarem that he learnt that the Master of Santiago was daringly entering into Portugal, and this filled him with indignation. What were his frontier governors doing? inquired D. Ferdinand. Oh, they were doing similar to himself. They were calmly resting. While the Master of Santiago, before entering, mocked the Portuguese frontier governors, he nevertheless apprised them beforehand of the day he intended to cross the frontier. The governors would meet to combine what best to do, and meanwhile that they were discussing the affair, the Master of Santiago would enter in.

D. Ferdinand then sent his prime minister, Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, to the Alemtejo, to bid the frontier governors join together and oppose the Castillians. Many of these captains understood that he sent his favourite minister in the capacity of captain-general whom all were to obey, and they deeply resented this, says Fernam Lopes. But at length they met at Villa Viçosa, with their people, and were joined by the knight D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, whom the King had summoned to the Court. D. Nuno was at the time between Douro and Minho, and the King, when writing to him, apprised him that he had appointed him governor of the frontier of Entre Tejo e Guadiana. The knight at once hastened to Portugal, where he had an interview with his brothers, one of whom was Pedro Alvares, the Prior of Crato.

We must here interrupt our narrative in order to give a brief sketch of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, one of the most notable and heroic characters of the history of Portugal during its chivalrous cycle.

D. Gonçalo Pereira, Archbishop of Braga, had a son by D. Theresa Peres Villarinho, called D. Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, who was ordained and became the Prior of Crato. The son of the archbishop, in his turn, had thirty-two children: one of these sons, by a lady of Elvas, called Iria Gonçalves do Carvalho, was D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Achilles of Portugal.

When the Prior, D. Alvaro, came to the Court, he besought the King D. Ferdinand to allow him to be his subject. The King assented, and

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D. Nuno was actually sent to the Court in the company of a maternal uncle, called Martim Gonçalves do Carvalhedo, who also remained in the Court as tutor to his nephew. When D. Henry of Castille entered into Portugal at the time when D. Ferdinand was in Santarem, the youthful D. Nuno and his brother Diogo Alvares, on hearing that the Castillians were near Santarem marching into Lisbon, quickly mounted their steeds, and, accompanied by a few men, proceeded to reconnoitre the strength of the forces which they brought. These young men, however, did not meet the Castillians, and returned to the castle, where the King and Queen interrogated them. Although they had seen nothing of the invading army, yet the Queen D. Leonor was greatly charmed at the manner in which D. Nuno, a lad of thirteen, so intelligently answered all the questions put to him, and she expressed a wish to appoint Nuno Alvares her shield-bearer: this was not only assented to by the King, but he appointed his brother Diogo Alvares as his own shield-bearer (escudero). It is a notable fact that at the hour when the Castillian army was crossing the heights of Santarem, D. Ferdinand and the Queen were spending their time in these chivalrous amusements, as we know that D. Leonor was so fired with enthusiasm that she declared the lad should be knighted by her own hands. Then she sent for a coat of mail that would fit him, but all that were brought to her were too large, until she remembered that the Master of Aviz still retained the one he wore when a child, and this was sent for. D. Juan at once sent it to the Queen, and it was a strange coincidence that the same suit of armour was vested by the two individuals who were destined at a future time to become leagued in a common cause.

When D. Nuno was about sixteen years of age, his father desired him to marry a widow lady, by name Leonor d'Alvim, who had inherited from her husband a large fortune. At first he refused, but at length consented, and the marriage took place.

By this marriage three children were born: two died in infancy, and the third, D. Beatriz, later on married the illegitimate son of D. João I., and became the stem of the house of Braganza.

At the death of the father of D. Nuno, he was succeeded in his appointment by another of his many sons, Pedro Alvares.

This was briefly the history of the early years of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, but his biography, his glorious poem, only became developed side by side with the greatest political events of the epoch. Legendary art, as generally happens in the chronicles of heroes, blended itself in

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his biography, and invested many deeds with touches of the marvellous. In this way tradition tells us that the father of Nuno heard from the mouth of an astrologer, during the infancy of his son, that he was born predestined to effect great warlike deeds. Prophecies are inseparable from legends of that epoch; witness the traditions of the Cutler of Santarem and the predictions of Master Guedelha respecting D. Duarte.

It was in Portalegre where D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, when summoned by D. Ferdinand to serve on the frontier, had an interview with his brothers, and probably his mother also, because she resided in a house in the Largo do Corro, which at the present time is incorporated to the Palace of the Fonseca Achaioli. At this meeting of the Pereiras with all the frontier governors of Alemtejo, it was resolved upon effecting a raid as far as Elvas. The imagination of D. Nuno, excited and swayed by the ardour of youth, already conjured up triumphs which he was impatient to realise. When they were marching upon Elvas, D. Nuno wended his way amid a wood, perchance dreaming of warlike deeds, and beheld in the distance, on the brow of a hill, a multitude of people. The sun, which was breaking through the horizon in the east, glinted on the polished steels, and threw out dazzling gleams. D. Nuno at once hastened back to his companions to apprise them that he had sighted the enemy, and that they were indeed going to war. But his disappointment was very great when they perceived that what D. Nuno had seen in the far distance was a train of war preceding the advance guard of the Portuguese, which was accompanied by foot-soldiers armed with the lances which he had beheld gleaming in the sunrise.

On arriving to Elvas, they stopped to deliberate upon what was best to be done. A report was then spread that D. João, the assassin of D. Maria Telles, was coming with a large body of foot-soldiers and cavalry to aid the Master of Santiago. It was therefore resolved that the frontier governors should return to their respective posts; but this resolution greatly grieved D. Nuno, who ardently desired to enter into war.

And in effect the Infante D. João arrived to Elvas with a numerous army, and laid siege to the place. But D. Nuno was impatient, and formed the daring resolution of sending a challenge to the son of the Master of Santiago for him and nine other Castillians to come forward and meet ten Portuguese, one of whom would be D. Nuno. The son of

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the Master of Santiago accepted the challenge, and D. Nuno easily found nine Portuguese to volunteer to accompany him. All things were ready, when his brother, the Prior, informed D. Nuno that he had received a letter from the King, who had heard of the challenge, and was adverse to its being carried out, because the King bade the Prior repair to the Court and bring his brother with him.

The displeasure and annoyance felt by D. Nuno may be easily imagined when he had to journey to Lisbon. On the arrival of the brothers to the Court, D. Fernando requested an explanation from D. Nuno for sending this challenge. He gave the following reasons—first, he wished to grieve the Master of Santiago, who was greatly attached to his son, should D. Nuno slay him in the combat; secondly, he wished to serve the King to whom he owed so many favours, and die honourably in his service, in case he should fall the victim. D. Ferdinand at once opposed this project, and bade D. Nuno not to precipitately risk his life and court death, which he held in such esteem, because he, the King, expected from him higher services. D. Nuno was thus foiled, and had no option but to obey his king.

D. Juan ordered seventeen galleys to be equipped in Seville, and D. Ferdinand twenty-one in Lisbon, adding a galliot and four war-ships. João Alfonso Telles was appointed admiral, and took the command of the Portuguese fleet, and Captain Fernam Sanches de Tovar that of Castille. But how did D. Ferdinand muster together nearly six thousand seamen to man this numerous squadron, in view that the war was displeasing to the whole kingdom, because the people judged it senseless and of no advantage? By capturing the working men and labourers, and forcing all able-bodied men to enter the galleys. It no longer mattered to D. Ferdinand what became of the agriculture of the country. What had become of the agricultural laws so lately promulgated? He tore them asunder. By these laws he compelled all sons of agriculturists and farmers who did not hold any official position or were possessed of a rental of five hundred pounds, to become farmers, even if for doing so they had to hire lands. Yet now he compels all these labourers to become soldiers and improvising combatants, and forces them violently to serve in the galleys; and it is to these men who are totally inexperienced in the art of warfare that he entrusts the defence of the fleet! Under these circumstances, the least he could expect was to be vanquished, and this proved the case; and Portugal was deprived of the two greatest means of recovering herself available

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to fallen nations—agriculture and industry—because both one and the other had been bereft of workers. But let us follow the Portuguese squadron which unfurls its sails and proceeds in the direction of Algarve.

The Castillians feared, and with reason, the numerical superiority of Portugal in the naval engagements which they were about to enter into. But this first impression very quickly disappeared on beholding the senseless acts of the Portuguese, and more than once recalled the celebrated sentence of Homer, which became converted into a Latin proverb: "*Quos vult perdere Jupiter, dementat prius*," and that Racine paraphrased in two lines of verse, which has an opportune application at this moment:—

"... cet esprit de vertige et d'erreur,
De la chute des rois funeste avant-coureur!"

When the galleys reached the Algarve they were already short of water! But being apprised that the Castillian fleet had left Seville, D. João Alfonso Tello, the inexpert admiral, would not delay to take water; and, contemning the wise counsels of Alfonso Annes, did not combine on their plan of attack, but proceeded to meet the Castillian armada, in the greatest disorganisation, by sending twelve galleys ahead, and at a great distance from the rest of the fleet.

The Castillian squadron was anchored off the port of Saltes when it sighted the Portuguese advancing. The Castillians, who, as we said, feared the numerical superiority of the Portuguese, were well satisfied at beholding only twelve galleys approaching, which completely turned the tables, and gave them the superiority of numbers. Therefore the Admiral Fernam Sanches, who was a consummate military strategist, arranged his galleys in battle array, and, stepping into the centre ship, ordered the fleet to proceed to meet the Portuguese. Running foul of the ships, victory smiled on the Castillians from the first moment of the encounter. The rest of the fleet, which had remained behind, now attempted to come to the relief of those engaged in the combat, but it was too late, because the twelve ships had been captured. Nevertheless, they fought, and met with a similar fate, with the exception of the ship commanded by Gil Lourenço of Oporto, who, under the circumstances, judged it more in reason to retreat, and fled to Lisbon.

The Portuguese wounded were very numerous, and the prisoners were all conducted in the Portuguese galleys to Seville, where the whole population came out to witness the arrival of both fleets, the

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Portuguese flag being carried dragged down on the water in sign of defeat.

Alas! poor standard of Portugal, thou that wast so gloriously unfurled in Ourique, in Santarem and Lisbon, in Silves and in Alcacer do Sal; thou which, even on those very waters of Algarve where thou art so humbled, didst see fleeing before thee, thou sacred banner, the ships of the Moors, which departed never more to return; thou who madest thyself respected and feared by that very Spanish nation which now humbles thee, when, to aid her, thou didst unfurl in Tarifa; thou, poor, despised standard, art bowed down, more by the weight of the hand of a mad king than by the power of Castille! Thou goest draggling down over the waters of the ocean as though thou wert unworthy to float above it; nevertheless, kiss those noble waves of the Atlantic, because these very waters will raise thee up—these very waters will ennoble thee, proclaiming the glory of thy name on its waves, and carrying thy renown to the Indian seas!

The Portuguese prisoners were incarcerated in the arsenal of Seville, with the exception of the imprudent admiral and Gonçalo Tenreiro, the captain of the fleet, who were detained in the palace of the King of Castille.

The galley of Gil Lourenço, which had retreated, entered the Tagus and laid at Cacilhas, but as he dared not hoist the national flag, there were doubts in Lisbon whether she was Castillian or Portuguese. But when it became known that nearly six thousand Portuguese prisoners were confined in Seville, the grief and dismay of the inhabitants were very great.

D. Ferdinand, who was in Santarem, was deeply saddened at the news, and felt profoundly remorseful at his own senseless acts and misdeeds. D. Leonor Telles, in place of encouraging him with words of comfort, told him with inopportune candour that since he manned his ships with peasants who knew nothing of warfare, he could not expect any other result. These words of the Queen, while they revealed her intention of casting the blame on the crews of the fleet, which, nevertheless, entirely fell on her brother the admiral, clearly shows that she was adverse to the new war.

Meanwhile the King of Castille, D. Juan, had entered into Portugal and laid siege to Almeida, and the Infante D. João, son of Iñez de Castro, attacked Portugal along the district of Riba-Guadiana.

When the King of Castille learnt in Almeida the news of the defeat

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of the Portuguese squadron, he greatly rejoiced, because he supposed that in view of these results the English would not dare to defend Portugal; and the Infante D. João, as soon as he knew of it, proceeded to interview the King in Almeida, beseeching him to be allowed to proceed to Seville to induce some of the Portuguese prisoners who were more partial to him, to proceed to attack Lisbon by sea, by promises of ransom and great favours. Supremest degradation to which the soul of a prince can descend!

D. John of Castille assented to this request, and the Infante departed to Seville; but, contrary to his expectations, the Portuguese refused to accede to enter his bribed service. But the Infante did not hesitate in choosing a means, as we have seen, and compelled them to embark by force. But when Lisbon beheld the galley of Castille approaching her ports, she energetically combated them, and the Infante had to retire to Seville, taking with him the Portuguese he had brought, with the sole exception of one, Alfonso Eannes, who availed himself of a stratagem to escape. This Alfonso Eannes feigned great sea-sickness, and when the galley approached Outra Banda, besought permission to land to breathe the air of his native land. The desired permission was granted him on condition of being watched by a sentinel. But on stepping on shore he promised his guard to give him his sister in marriage, this marriage placing him above want, should he consent to escape with him. This he promised to do.

The sad impression caused by the loss of the Portuguese fleet was, up to a certain point, counteracted by the news that the English fleet was approaching to Lisbon. This event took place in July, 1381. When D. Ferdinand was apprised that the fleet, composed of forty-eight ships and crafts, was nearing Buarcos, he quitted Santarem, and proceeded down the river to meet the fleet. He stepped on board the vessel which conveyed the royal party—the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess D. Isabel, and their son Edward, a child of six years of age. Many English knights composed the suite, and also some of the Portuguese, who by the former treaty of Santarem had been expelled from the country, among these being Juan Fernandes Andeiro. The English army numbered some three thousand of *handsome forms, well disciplined and ready to fight*, as Fernam Lopes tells us.

The landing of the Duke of Cambridge and party was effected with marked solemnity. The whole of the personal suite of both the English and Portuguese Courts attended, and brilliantly accompanied them from

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the fleet to the landing-place of Ribeira, where they disembarked and proceeded on horseback to the monastery of St. Domingo, D. Fernando leading the reins of the mule upon which rode the Countess Elizabeth. The Duke and Duchess were lodged in the monastery, and the suite distributed in various houses of the city.

D. Ferdinand was full of joy at the arrival of the English. A few days later the Queen and her daughter arrived to Lisbon. The English Court went out to receive her with every demonstration of joy. Feasts were held, and the King of Portugal, after a banquet given in the palace, presented the Duke and English noblemen with valuable pieces of silk richly embroidered in gold; and the Queen D. Leonor presented to the Duchess and ladies of the Court jewels and stuffs. Visits were exchanged, and brilliant cavalcades filled the streets of Lisbon.

The English rode magnificent mules and horses, which D. Ferdinand had pledged himself to furnish under conditions of being deducted from the pay. There is no doubt that on all sides horses were sought for to supply the English, taking them from those who possessed them under promise that they should be paid for; but it is nevertheless true that the English never paid for them, and that the King, imitating the English, never paid for them either. D. Fernando presented to the Duchess of Cambridge with twelve mules splendidly caparisoned, the best he could find, and the Duke with twelve beautiful horses, among the number was one which had been sent to him by the King of Castille. It was a strange coincidence that this horse should have been given to the Duke of Cambridge, who was coming to make war to the son of the very monarch who had sent it to D. Ferdinand. The English at last possessed so many horses that Fernam Lopes assures us that each Englishman took away with him between twenty and thirty.

The espousals of D. Beatriz, daughter of D. Ferdinand, with Edward, the infant son of the Duke of Cambridge, took place according to the English ritual, the King of Portugal stipulating the condition that should he die without leaving male issue, Edward and his bride would be the heirs to the Portuguese throne.

As soon as the English arrived to Lisbon, D. Ferdinand apprised the Count D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, who was besieged by his own nephew, D. João, governor of Elvas. The Count was very pleased at the event, and the news soon spread throughout the Castillian camp. The siege of Elvas was raised, and the Infante D. João joined the King of Castille in Almeida.

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Meanwhile the conduct of the English soldiers in Lisbon was most reprehensible. Throughout the city and suburbs they proceeded to devastate the gardens, and slaying people who opposed them, taking all the cattle and goods which were brought in for the supply of Lisbon, and violated the women. At first the people bore these outrages uncomplainingly, but at length they laid their complaints before D. Ferdinand, and he in his turn complained to the Duke of Cambridge, but no redress was obtained.

The only measure taken by the Duke was to counsel the proprietors of houses and estates in Lisbon and its suburbs to hoist over their properties the flag of the Duke, with the device of a white falcon on red ground, in order that the English soldiers should respect all properties over which fluttered his flag. The peasants who brought goods for sale to the city resorted to the same expedient. But the English, not content with robbing the proprietors and retail dealers who did not carry the device of the Duke, attacked likewise the property of the King himself, since they took on one occasion all the beasts employed to take water to the palace, on the plea that as they were not paid their salaries they would take these beasts in pledge for what was owing to them, and they furthermore practised the greatest atrocities, some of which are described by Fernam Lopes.

When the English sacked the towns on the suburbs they decimated the inhabitants. D. Ferdinand appealed to the Duke, and after listening to the appeal, he took no further notice, and affairs continued in the same state. D. Ferdinand at last decided upon sending the greater portion of the English to the frontier. The English, however, instead of effecting incursions into Castille and robbing that kingdom, would devastate and pillage like so many highwaymen the fields and districts of Ribatejo and Alemtejo, and instead of fighting the Castillians, combated the Portuguese and took their towns, sacking Villa Viçosa, Borba, Monsaraz, Redondo, Aviz, and even attempted to scale Evora-Monte, but were unable to do so. When the dwellers refused to tell them where provisions were concealed, they put them to death. It was an enormous devastation which weighed on the Portuguese people meanwhile that D. Ferdinand was chivalrously leading the mule upon which rode the Duchess of Cambridge through the streets of Lisbon, and João Fernandes Andeiro was fanning the flame of love in the heart of D. Leonor Telles.

But the spirit of the Portuguese people, which daily yearned more

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and more for emancipation, at length, wearied out with bearing the yoke of absolute power, was casting itself into the arms of liberty, for which it thirsted. The people fully comprehended that it ought to govern itself, because it could always do so with greater advantage than by D. Ferdinand. The people then resolved to hold the English in the light of veritable enemies, and commenced in their turn to decimate them so energetically that the chronicler assures us that only barely two-thirds of the English returned to their own country.

Meantime the English squadron was lying at anchor on the waters of the Tagus, awaiting the appearance of the galleys of Castille. And in effect the news arrived that the Castillian admiral was steering towards Lisbon, leading the very same fleet which had captured the Portuguese squadron in the Algarve. As soon as this became known the English and Portuguese ships were ranged in battle array opposite Sacavem. On entering the mouth of the Tagus, the admiral, Tovar, was astonished to see the river undefended as far as the city. He was informed that the fleets were in Sacavem, and he then proceeded to meet them; but when he sighted them, and saw that the ships were so splendidly fitted, he judged more prudent to retire to Seville.

It was affirmed at the time that the armada of Castille would not return, and that the Castillians had resolved upon only resorting to pitched battles; and with an improvidence which cannot be explained, the English squadron likewise retired loaded with merchandise, and left the port of Lisbon totally undefended!

Scarcely had the English weighed anchor than D. Ferdinand and the Duke of Cambridge left Lisbon and proceeded to Santarem. No plans were arranged or any method followed in this war. Lisbon was abandoned, and every attention was directed to the Alemtejo, without remembering that the Castillians returning into the waters of the Tagus might drive the Portuguese to the frontier, and both they and the English be pushed on either side.

From Santarem the King ordered a bridge of ships to be made across the Tagus, to enable the Portuguese and English to cross over to Alemtejo, and proceed to Evora, where fresh preparations for war were being carried on. This was at the beginning of the year 1382. The English were then distributed along Borba, Estremoz, Evora-Monte, and Villa Viçosa, where the Duke of Cambridge had taken his residence in the Monastery of Saint Augustin.

Meanwhile, as the Tagus was free, some eighty Castillian war-ships,

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which had been furnished in Biscay and other seaports, were quietly entering the Tagus. Lisbon closed the gates of its new boundary walls, and therefore, as the Castillians met with no opposition, they sailed on as far as the city, and proceeded to effect a landing opposite the Monastery of Santa Clara. The inhabitants of Lisbon wished to come out and prevent their landing and fight them, but the Governor of Lisbon, Gonçalo Mendes, would not allow this, because the king's orders were that he should guard the city; but notwithstanding this advice, a number of Portuguese rushed out to attack the Castillians, resulting in the death of some of the Portuguese, among them Gomes Lourenço Fariseu, Judge of Lisbon. After this affair he ordered the gates to be closed, and Lisbon seemed to relapse into tranquillity within its walls.

The Castillians essayed a fresh landing in the suburbs of Santos. As no one came forth to prevent them, they boldly completed the work of devastation commenced by the English around Lisbon. They tore along the harvest-fields, robbed and destroyed the castle, and set fire to the royal palaces of Xabregas, Friellas, and Villa Nova da Rainha, and proceeded along the shores of Ribatejo, taking possession of all they found, then crossed the Tagus, and sacked and set fire to the outskirts of Almada and Palmella.

When D. Ferdinand heard of all these ravages, he was very wrath with the Governor of Lisbon, who only defended the city wherein he judged himself safe, and allowed the outskirts to be destroyed. He was dismissed, and appointed Pedro Alvares, the Prior of Crato, in his place, and together with the youthful D. Nuno, his brothers, and other brave knights, such as the renowned Gonçalo Annes de Castello de Vide, he entrusted the defence of Lisbon—in all, some two hundred lances; but the warrior band of the Alvares did not need a further number.

When this band came into Lisbon, they learnt that the Castillians were in Cintra, robbing the herds. They at once proceeded towards Cintra, and on the road they lay in ambush, awaiting the Castillians to pass, and when they did so, fell on them, casting down many and taking all their goods from them.

This small adventure enkindled enthusiasm in the spirit of our brave D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, and at length he had come to blows with the Castillians. On arriving in Lisbon, they were joyously received; but Nuno, perceiving that the Castillians kept back, not daring to come

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so frequently to the front, resolved to seek adventures, since adventures did not seek him. Without a word to his brother, Pedro Alvares, he arranged with his brother-in-law, Pedro Alfonso do Casal, to effect a sortie. The Castillians used to sally out to the suburbs to rob cattle and fruit. D. Nuno learnt that for some days previously they had commenced to devastate the vineyards of Alcantara, and therefore it was to that spot that he directed his attention. He departed with a small party and hid themselves to await the Castillians. They approached, and the Portuguese suddenly dismounted and fell upon them just as the Castillians were ascending a hill upon the top of which grew the finest grapes. The Portuguese pursued them, and the Castillians fled so precipitately before the Portuguese that on reaching the sea-shore were driven on all sides and were forced to cast themselves into the waters. From the height of a neighbouring hill, opposite the monastery of Santos, D. Nuno witnessed the flight of the Castillians and their efforts to swim to the ships, but he very quickly noticed that the officers of the fleet were preparing to come to land to avenge the fugitives. Nuno was delighted at the prospect of a fresh skirmish, and exhorted his party to fight boldly, yet the Portuguese party were full of fear owing to the greater number of the Castillians, nevertheless D. Nuno did not shrink.

Like the Black Knight in the "Eurico" of Alexandre Herculano, who passed across the hosts of the enemy brandishing his powerful weapon and cutting down all before him, D. Nuno embodied the ideal of Herculano in the suburbs of Lisbon. Noticing that his own party vacillated, he cast himself upon the group of Castillians lance in hand, and when his lance was split in two, he brandished his sword; while the stones hurled upon him and the arrows shot rebounded from his coat of mail; and the blows, says Fernam Lopes, macerated the body, but effected no injury. The horse he rode fell wounded, and a buckle in the coat of mail caught the harness of the fallen horse, thus rendering our brave knight quite helpless and his life at stake; but the Portuguese, gaining courage, rushed to his rescue, and a priest quickly severed the strap which held him down. D. Nuno rose up, and hurriedly grasping a lance which lay on the ground, fired by the thirst for warfare, his strength appeared to redouble, while his brothers, who now became aware that he had sallied out unknown to them, on hearing the uproar on the side of Alcantara, ran out to his relief. The party now strengthened fell on the Castillians, who, unable to withstand the attack,

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fled precipitately back to the ships, and in their terror many fell into the waters. Others who had been wounded were taken prisoners and conducted to Lisbon in triumph, where the Prior received the conquerors with every demonstration of joy.

Although the description given in the narrative of Fernam Lopes may have been somewhat exaggerated, this feat of arms is, nevertheless, one of the most brilliant which ennobles the military history of the nation. To behold the courage of D. Nuno when, on witnessing the landing in great numbers of the Castillians, he awaits them on shore with the serenity of a hero, and invests the grandeur of the fact with the romance of an epic poem. But more than this, he was the first to advance his glorious lance in hand when his own party hesitated through fear.

The English, it appears, decided upon continuing the war, and proposed to effect an entry through Castille, and the Master of Aviz was invited to accompany them. A meeting for this object was held in Arronches of English officers and the Master of Aviz with his people, and Vasco Peres de Camões with his own. They decide to advance to the frontier and combat the Castillians. The result was the taking of two castles by their force, and in one of these the Castillians actually besought mercy through the mediation of the priests, who, robed in their vestments, showed an image of Christ from the heights of the walls to the allied armies, the revenge of the English being especially incited by their having wounded a knight who was the natural son of the King of England.

D. Ferdinand, who was urged rather by secret plans than by the presence of the English, resolved upon approaching the camp, and proceeded with the Queen to Elvas, where he awaited the arrival of the Duke of Cambridge. It was then that two new appointments were created in imitation of the English, that of Constable and Marshal. D. Alvaro Peres de Castro was created Constable, and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, Marshal.

As it was evident that a great battle was imminent, since D. Ferdinand was already encamping in Elvas and the King of Castille was marching upon Badajoz, the Prior of Crato, Governor of Lisbon, manifested a desire to follow the fate of arms; but the King enjoined him that on account of the Castillian fleet being still anchored in the Tagus, he should summon all the fighting men of Estremadura and hold them ready for orders, not permitting any to wander outside the walls, in

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order to prevent them from proceeding to the frontier and abandon the city itself.

When this order was issued, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira was rendered perfectly desperate. Was he, whose spirit was formed to exercise a grand liberty of action, to remain imprisoned within the narrow circle of the walls of Lisbon! He besought his brother, the Prior, to allow him to depart and proceed to Alemtejo, because it was there where the battle was to take place, and furthermore, because he had already won the right of combating whithersoever he wished. The Prior replied that the order was a general one, and that he would punish with equal severity every transgressor, be whom he may. D. Nuno made no reply, but he secretly endeavoured to gather together horses and arms to organise an expedition. But the secret transpired and came to the knowledge of his brother. In order to defeat the projects of D. Nuno, the Prior ordered the guards on the ramparts to be redoubled, as well as the sentinels at the gates; and by this means preventing his brother from getting people to join him in the sortie he planned.

A biographer of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira tells us that he saw the scheme, and that to all appearances he manifested himself repentant for what he had done, but this was only a blind to another project of his. He spoke disparagingly of his late attempt at campaigning, was zealous for the defence of the city, and repairing the breaches made, encouraged the soldiers to defend the place, and acted in such a manner that they believed his words of self-condemnation, with the exception of the Governor himself, whose experience of life was such that he doubted, or rather did not believe in the sudden change of ideas of a strong-minded man. Some days elapsed, until, believing that vigilance had been relaxed, he proceeded one morning at daydawn with five companions to seek the gates of Saint Vicente de Fora, where he met with greater resistance from the guards to whom they were entrusted. He attempted to respectfully overcome their resistance, but as the laws of Mars holds a higher place in valour than courtesy, fearing less death than punishment, they opposed him persistently, until from words they proceeded to blows, and a cruel strife was started, to which others joined on hearing the uproar, and for a length of time held the place until they were forced to yield. Forcing a passage, D. Nuno marched upon Elvas, and sped on with the four pages who accompanied him, and proceeded in the obscurity of night towards the frontier. On

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arriving to Elvas, D. Nuno described to the King how, impelled by the desire of combating, he had quitted Lisbon without permission, and had forced his way. As was natural, the King forgave him, and this exploit of D. Nuno was much applauded by those very ones who had not the courage to act like him.

Nuno was burning with desires to enter into battle, and quite hoped that now his desires would be realised, because D. Juan of Castille had arrived at Badajoz, collecting together at that place his army, which consisted of five thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand five hundred horsemen, besides a great number of archers and knights; while D. Ferdinand and the Duke of Cambridge with six thousand lancers and many archers and foot-soldiers were ready at Elvas. Moreover, on one occasion the Anglo-Lusitanian army had actually been ranged in battle array on the shores of the Caia, the English Duke with his army occupying the front, and D. Ferdinand with the Portuguese following in the rear. All these preparations and this appearance of an imminent encounter inflamed the warrior instincts of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira; but did D. Ferdinand really intend to make war to the Castillians, or was all these preparations and attempts no more than a comedy, in which the Duke of Cambridge in good faith was acting his part? We shall further on unravel this tangled web.

While the Anglo-Lusitanian army was thus ranged, the ensign of the Duke of Lancaster, who had been sent to Portugal, unfurled the flag he carried, and all the English cried out, "Castille and Leon for the King D. Juan of Castille, son of the King Edward of England!" But the English grew hoarse with shouting and declaring for the rights of the brother of the Duke of Cambridge to the throne of Castille, and became weary of supporting from early morn until midday the fiery sun of Alemtejo, without finding a response from the Castillians, who never stirred.

Meanwhile D. Ferdinand, whilst allowing his army and that of his allies to fruitlessly await the assault of the Castillians, amused himself by investing some English and Portuguese gentlemen with the order of knighthood. It appears that in the midst of this farcical playing at warfare, some one reminded D. Ferdinand that he had no authority to confer the order of knighthood upon any one, since he himself was not a knight. This remark, made in the presence of the English, would have been a great offence, but the King was accustomed to rude remarks, as his own courtiers had scorned him in Santarem when D. Henry of

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Castille came unresistingly upon Lisbon, and he had not manifested his indignation, and now that he was more advanced in years, and his energies spent, he cared not for the lessons which his own subjects gave him. "Ah! am I not a knight?" he replied. "Well, then, I will soon be one." He then asked the Duke of Cambridge to solemnly invest him. After this parody, he turned and conferred anew the order of knighthood upon those he had previously called to that honour.

But was all this, and all the preparations of war against D. Juan of Castille, no more than a simple comedy on the part of D. Ferdinand? Every night two emissaries of D. Ferdinand would quit the camp of Elvas on foot, and, unknown to the English, stealthily proceed to the Castillian side to arrange peace terms with the King of Castille. These emissaries were Count de Arrayolos (D. Alvaro Peres de Castro) and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo. What motives could have impelled him to act thus treacherously towards the English? Was it from weakness of spirit proceeding from the bodily ailments which daily increased? Was it through hatred at having for his allies the English, who had devastated the kingdom as though they were enemies and not allies? Or was it because he had reconsidered the inconvenience of persisting in a war which had been so inopportunely declared?

The reason for this new peace treaty we can only ascribe to the indecision of character peculiar to D. Ferdinand. What is certain is, however, that the conditions of peace proposed by Portugal were as follows: 1. That the Infanta D. Beatriz, daughter of D. Ferdinand, wed D. Ferdinand, second son of D. Juan of Castille, and thus breaking off as a consequence the betrothal of that same Infanta with the son of the Duke of Cambridge. 2. The King of Castille to deliver up to D. Ferdinand the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda. 3. To restore all the galleys taken in Saltes, with all arms and furniture. 4. To release D. João Alfonso Tello, brother of the Queen, and Admiral of Portugal, and all others captured with the fleet. 5. The King of Castille to furnish as many ships of his fleet anchored on the Tagus as should be needed to conduct the Duke of Cambridge and his people to England free of any expense. 6. Securities to be exchanged on both sides as pledges of the treaty.

But why did D. Ferdinand propose the marriage of his daughter with the second son of the King of Castille, instead of confirming the betrothal with his eldest born which had been arranged before the war? Fernam Lopes tells us, "because as D. Ferdinand was the second

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son, he would become King of Portugal through his marriage with D. Beatriz, and thus the kingdom would not be joined with Castille." It appears to us this could not be the reason, but that this condition was either proposed by the King of Castille, impelled by the ambition that his two sons should eventually be at the head of both kingdoms; or else it was proposed by D. Ferdinand, against the will of D. Leonor, in order more easily to obtain peace, and thus flatter the sentiments of ambition he supposed were fostered by the King of Castille.

Yet another question arises: Which of the two Kings first proposed peace? Senhor Pinheiro Chagas inclines to the opinion that peace was proposed by the King of Castille, through fear of the English, who had already defeated his father in the battle of Najera. Other authors believe that it was first thought of by D. Ferdinand, considering the falseness of his character, and his manner of effecting it, the mystery which surrounded the departure at night of the emissaries from the camp of Elvas, it would be turning the tables on the King of Castille, whom he would only be too glad to boast had besought peace, and the fact of D. Juan I. having refused to fight; or that should the war be continued, would afford a great moral force to the English and Portuguese, since hitherto all the advantage was on the side of the Castillians. The recollection of Najera would rather be an incentive for vengeance than a motive for fearing war. Yet the King of Castille not only, says Sr. Pinheiro Chagas, pledges to deliver up the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda, but likewise to restitute the galleys and prisoners, and to furnish the ships for the conveyance of the English. All this is true; nevertheless, in view of the concession of the whole kingdom of Portugal, which, at the death of D. Ferdinand, would pass on to the reigning family of Castille, and to the Infante D. Fernando, what mattered the small value attached to the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda? Besides this, we must remember that the King of Portugal was in ill-health, wearied, and could not exist any great length of time. As regards the galleys and prisoners, and the ships which were to be furnished for the transport of the English, we are told that when the Portuguese envoys took to the Castillian camp the minutes of the conditions of peace, the King of Castille did not even peruse them, but was *eager to make public the peace proposed by D. Ferdinand*, and caused a trumpet to be sounded to collect together all the people, and after having had the treaty read out, he refused to accede to the condition of restoring the galleys and

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prisoners, and to furnish ships for the transport of the English. It was then that the Master of Santiago came forward and said, "Is it on account of four-and-twenty rotten crafts which are worthless, and the loan of four or five ships, that your majesty refuses to sign the treaty?" Then taking the hand of the King, he laughingly laid it on the conditions as though to express that all these were nothing in comparison to the exchange of a kingdom. The King at length comprehended, and smiling, took the pen and signed the treaty.

But it was D. Leonor Telles who by no means agreed to the contract of marriage between her daughter and the second son of the Castillian king, who would come, at the death of D. Ferdinand, to take possession of the kingdom of Portugal; and she tried every effort to undo this new marriage.

When the English knew of these negotiations for peace, they were highly indignant, and the Duke of Cambridge openly declared that had he the English army on the same footing as when he reached Portugal, he would make war to Castille on his own responsibility to defend the interests of his brother, notwithstanding that D. Ferdinand had agreed to peace. But the English were detested, and the smallest hostile movement would have been met by the Portuguese with vengeance. Hence they were obliged to resign themselves, embark in Castillian ships in Lisbon, and depart for England, leaving behind a sad idea of the courtesy and affability of their nation, but likewise carrying away with them a no less dismal opinion of Portuguese royalty if they estimated it by the actions of the King D. Ferdinand. The resentment of the English was certainly great and justifiable when later on D. Ferdinand had the audacity to send an ambassador to England, Ruy Cravo by name, to notify the marriage of his daughter with D. John I. of Castille, and confirm his former alliance and friendship with that nation. Richard II. scornfully received the messenger, and refused to take cognisance of the embassage; while the youthful son of the Duke of Cambridge, who scarcely numbered seven years, actually refused to see the ambassador.

The King of Portugal, who was at one time all English, now turned to acknowledge Clement VII. as Pope, at the request of Cardinal D. Pedro de Luna, against the opinion of the most learned doctors of the kingdom, among them being Doctor João das Regras, who had just returned from concluding his studies in Bologna. But now D. Ferdinand was all for Castille. Meanwhile events appeared to favour D. Leonor

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Telles. As the wife of the King D. John of Castille had just died in childbed, and D. Leonor suddenly beheld her desires crowned, it was her scheme to see her daughter wedded to the widowed king. She would thus remain Queen-Regent in the name of the kings of Castille, and on her side would behold her beloved Count of Ourem seated on the throne at the death of D. Ferdinand. She at once sent the said Count to Castille to make the offer, which D. John accepted joyfully, since it gave him hopes of thus joining together the two crowns of Castille and Portugal, and sent to Lisbon the Archbishop of Santiago to betrothe the Infanta in his name and arrange the conditions of the marriage. The poor little bride, although she had not yet seen ten summers, had already changed bridegrooms for the fifth time!

D. Ferdinand was already in very failing health, and was unable to accompany the Queen, who went as far as the frontier with D. Beatriz to deliver her up to her intended husband. The Queen, on reaching Elvas, was received with great feasts and pomp, and delivered up her daughter to the King of Castille, receiving in return as security the Infante D. Frederic, as was agreed upon in the marriage treaty, because the Infanta of Portugal was about to reside in the Court of her husband before she should definitely become Queen of Portugal, which she could not be until she became of a marriageable age.

After the conclusion of the feasts and receiving the infant prince, who was barely two years of age, D. Leonor Telles returned, accompanied by her brilliant suite, to Santarem, where she had left her husband, but he had already departed.

Feeling that his life was ebbing away, he quitted Santarem and proceeded to Almada. But the change of air did not afford him the desired relief, and he quitted Almada for Lisbon. The autumn of 1383 had commenced, and the season of falling leaves was telling its work on the emaciated form, or rather dying one of the King of Portugal, and no one who now gazed on that dying face would suppose that D. Ferdinand had been one of the most handsome men of his time. Feeling that death was approaching, he asked that the last sacraments be administered to him, and in the very act of receiving them confessed the sins of his life with many and bitter tears. The agony of D. Ferdinand was truly fearful, and his miserable want of fortitude in view of the grave and of the mystery of eternity. It was the deathbed of a criminal who feared death; he wept, he confessed his sins, he implored the mercy of God and the pardon of his sins. Those who around his

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bed witnessed his despair, the consciousness of his crimes, and the inevitable presence of death, felt pity for the expiring King, and wept at the sight. Wishful to afford every proof of his repentance and his humility in that last supreme hour, he asked to be clothed in the humble habit of Saint Francis, and thus robed received the Holy Viaticum. On the night of October 22nd, 1383, the King of Portugal, D. Ferdinand, surnamed the Beautiful, expired in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. His last hours were not assuaged by the loving care of D. Leonor Telles, that woman for whom he had felt so ardent a passion, and to please whom he had so deeply sinned. She shed no tear, not even of remorse, over his death.

On the following day the body of the deceased King was conducted to the monastery of Saint Francis in Santarem. It was for the last time he was proceeding to his favourite spot. Few people accompanied the *cortège;* were it not for the presence of the monks, we might well say all had forsaken him, and no sorrow was expressed. The Queen did not take the trouble to accompany the body. The people murmured at this further proof of her ingratitude. These signs of dissatisfaction reached the ears of D. Leonor, and she understood the risk of her position, and that it was not expedient, therefore, to contemn popular indignation. Hence she commenced to simulate great grief; she cried, she lamented her loss in loud cries, but nevertheless she smiled within herself. The people, says the chronicler, did not forget the evil fame which she had acquired during the lifetime of her husband. Continuing her system of hypocrisy, D. Leonor Telles at once thought of ordering funeral obsequies, and masses for the repose of the soul of her husband, in order to diminish somewhat the bad effect produced in the nation on account of the poverty and desertion of the funeral of the King.

Fernam Lopes tells us that the sepulchre of the remains of D. Ferdinand was as simple as had been his funeral. It also appears that the King was deposited in the sarcophagus of his mother, and afterwards translated to his own tomb, which is at the present day in the Archæological Museum of Carmo, to which it was removed from the Church of Saint Francis of Santarem.

We have endeavoured to sketch the political history of Portugal until the end of the reign of D. Ferdinand, and afforded some idea of what Portugal was in those remote, obscure times. We are now about to enter into another phase of its existence; we are to behold our brave ancestors engaged in an intrepid wrestling with the Castillians, with

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the object of maintaining its autonomy; we are going to assist at those grand scenes in the streets, the palace, the courts, and the wide battle-fields; and after traversing through these periods of storms, wherein the nation's spirit becomes tempered as in a sublime crucible, after witnessing our independence consolidated, we shall see Portugal entering, with proud mien, the path of discoveries, lending the highest services to the civilisation of the world which any nation bestowed, extending its empire to the very confines of the East, and finally raising the flights of its daring deeds to such a height that not even the Roman eagles, spreading their imposing wings, could follow them as they soared to sublime regions which the sun of history illumines.

END OF FOURTH BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE FIFTH.

1383—1385.

### FROM THE DEATH OF D. FERDINAND TO THE ACCLAMATION OF D. JOHN I.

**D. Leonor Telles assumes the Regency of the Kingdom—The Third State gains ground—National independence—Grand wrestling of democracy—Influence of the Master of Aviz—Assistance lent to him by the popular classes—Is acclaimed Regent and Defender of the Kingdom—Political and administrative skill of the Regent—Nuno Alvares follows the party of the Master—Democratic revolution spreads—Important adhesions—Diplomatic negotiations with England—Financial measures adopted by the Master of Aviz—Entry of the King of Castille into Portugal—Resistance offered by Coimbra—Discords arise between D. Leonor Telles and her son-in-law—Plan and ill-success of a conspiracy—Last political act of the widow of D. Ferdinand—Approach of the King of Castille to Lisbon—Nuno Alvares Pereira—Battle of the Atoleiros—Deeds performed by the Portuguese—Heroic defence of Almada—Death of João Lourenço da Cunha—Reasons for raising the siege of Lisbon—Cortes of Coimbra—Acclamation of D. João I. of Portugal.**

After the death of D. Ferdinand, D. Leonor Telles took possession of the kingdom as Regent without meeting any resistance. This had been combined in the treaties with the King of Castille; and, despite the small sympathy and goodwill which the people offered her, she took her place as Regent without finding any opposition. This position of affairs had been expected, and, as a consequence, they accepted it.

In order to somewhat counteract the ill-will against her which had been produced by her non-appearance at the funeral obsequies of her late husband, she simulated, in her retirement within the Palace of San Martinho, all the grief of an affectionate widow. Concealing herself from the public gaze, D. Leonor only allowed her most intimate

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friends to enter, to whom she manifested a most poignant grief. Perchance these tears were sincere, and proceeded from remorse when dwelling upon that man who had lavished so much love upon her, and whom she had so basely repaid by staining his name and shortening his days. Her absolute retirement was, however, broken by a deputation of the men of Lisbon, to propose certain affairs relative to the welfare of the State. The Queen-Regent received them affably, and acceded to their request, which was to elect a governing council wherein should enter some of the citizens of the principal lands of the kingdom—not to change constantly of residence, but to inhabit alternately Lisbon, Coimbra, and Santarem; to intervene in the question of the possessions of noblemen, which continued with the same daring, notwithstanding the laws of D. Ferdinand; and, lastly, not to allow the Jews to exercise public charges or hold palace appointments.

Satisfied with the reply obtained to their petitions, the deputation retired, and nothing seemed to disturb the harmony between the Regent and her people until the King of Castille, on learning the death of D. Ferdinand, addressed, in his name and that of his wife, a letter, desiring her to acknowledge them, in conformity with the treaties made, as King and Queen of Portugal. Faithful to her engagements, D. Leonor ordered that D. Beatriz be proclaimed Queen, and the Count de Côa, D. Henry Manuel, the chief Alcaide of Cintra, proceeded to announce publicly in the streets the fact, by waving a flag, and in a loud voice shouting, "*Vive* the Queen D. Beatriz of Portugal!"

The people of Lisbon, believing that the result of the ascension of D. Beatriz to the throne would be the union of Castille to the nation, murmured and revolted, causing grave fears to D. Henry himself. Some of the fidalgos who accompanied him joined in the cry in favour of D. Beatriz, but in their countenances and manners manifested their dislike, while D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, among others, openly declared that the throne belonged by right to their nephew, the Infante D. John, and not to the wife of the King of Castille.

In Santarem the revolt was more serious. The Alcaide who proclaimed the news met with no response, and the people even drew their swords to slay the Alcaide, who had to set spurs to his horse, and take refuge in the castle. The people rushed about and endeavoured to enter into the castle, but the gates were closed upon the populace, who had to content themselves with shouting all day throughout the

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streets, "Long live the Infante D. João!" In Elvas similar scenes were repeated, and with greater significance, because the people raised another banner, with shouts of "Long live Portugal!" and, in a menacing attitude, surrounded the castle and attacked it, destroying a part of the walls and burning the gate. Aid was sought from Badajoz, which, however, was unable to effect any result. The whole of the nation was in a state of disturbance at the mere idea of seeing the King of Castille assume the royal power. The nobility which had gathered together in Lisbon to attend the exequies of D. Ferdinand, a month after his decease, manifested themselves almost unanimously in favour of the pretensions of D. Beatriz and her husband D. John; but the populace were commencing to make their voice heard, and were manifesting a determination not to allow their fate to be easily disposed of without having a vote in Council.

But the person who was more greatly the object of the fury of the people, and of the odium of the nobility, was Count João Fernandes Andeiro, the acknowledged lover of the Queen-Regent. The people accused him not only of being the accomplice of the Queen, but of likewise being the principal factor in the work of delivering over Portugal into the hands of the Castillians, because it was he who had negotiated the affair. The nobility, wearied out by the insolence of this obscure nobleman and foreigner, who had obtained through the love of the Queen for him such a high position, signal honours and power, feared lest, after the death of D. Ferdinand, he should be raised still higher, and therefore they seriously thought of disencumbering the kingdom of this intrusive Castillian.

It was not the first time that the dagger of the irritated nobles had been pointed to the breast of the Queen's lover. When Count D. Juan Alfonso, the brother of Leonor Telles, returned to Castille after his imprisonment for having lost the naval battle of Saltes, and he became aware of the relations which existed between the Queen and Juan Fernandes Andeiro, he wished to avenge the honour of his family, but D. Leonor, who knew well how to appease her brother, gave him large gifts, and through that magic prism D. João Alfonso beheld the fame of his sister fair and stainless. Time passed, and Juan Fernandes Andeiro was sent as ambassador to Castille. The odium of the fidalgos was not diminished, and the Count of Barcellos, D. João Alfonso, whose purse was getting empty, began to see, in proportion as funds became

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scarce, some clouds dimming the fair fame of D. Leonor. This terrible brother once more came forward, dagger in hand, and receiving the assent of the Master of Aviz and some noblemen of the highest rank, resolved upon putting the Count of Ourem to death. Their victim was to return from Castille, and, as they thought, by the road of Leiria. Hence they proceeded to meet him, armed with deadly weapons. But Providence seemed to watch over that man's life, as though to reserve his punishment for the solemn day when that very chastisement should be a signal for the awakening for a nation's individuality. The Count took a different road.

Fernam Lopes tells us that often was the dagger lifted over his head, and once the order of death came from the lips of the offended husband. Wearied of suffering in silence, indignant at the offences offered to him, and wounded by the deepest odium against the man who dishonoured him, he, when death was already approaching, actually wrote a letter from Almada to the Master of Aviz, bidding him slay Count Andeiro. This letter, however, he tore asunder before sending it. To do this, to confide this mission into the hands of the Master of Aviz was to increase in a formidable manner the popularity which, already large, surrounded him; and, moreover, death was so near. Who could insure that the crown would encircle the brow of his daughter, unless the struggle between the rival ambitions became mutually neutralised? Who would save from the vengeance of the people that hapless being whom he had loved and still loved? These thoughts followed each other rapidly in the imagination of the stricken monarch, and the flame of odium became put out as with a trembling hand he tore the parchment deed, and delivered into the hands of Providence the cause of his revenge. Once more the Count Andeiro was saved.

At length occurred the death of the King, and when all was sadness and grief at the palace, and ere scarcely the last sigh had passed the lips of D. Ferdinand, Count Andeiro, fearing what might take place, stealthily fled, and proceeded to his county of Ourem to await and watch the course of events. At first nothing justified his fears: the regency of D. Leonor had been peacefully acknowledged, and the Count, as though ashamed of fearing people who were so gentle, fearlessly took the road to Lisbon.

But meantime the country was becoming agitated, the acknowledgment of D. Beatriz was meeting a passive as well as a violent resistance. Then reports reached D. Leonor from Castille which alarmed her. It

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was said that the King had arrested the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro, whom the people here were already acclaiming as its legitimate king, and his natural brother, Count de Alfonso de Gijon, being the husband of an illegitimate daughter of D. Ferdinand, might allege pretensions to the Portuguese crown. It was also reported that D. John I. was preparing to enter into Portugal, and this did not suit the Queen, because she would then lose the regency, and her object was to retain the jurisdiction agreed upon by the marriage treaty. In order, therefore, to withdraw the Master of Aviz, whose concurrence she feared, from the Court, she appointed him Frontier Governor of Riba-Guadiana. Therefore the Master of Aviz had to depart for his new appointment. But the people were more or less disquieted, and the prudent portion of the Portuguese foresaw that it was necessary to have a chief who should not be leagued with those of Castille, and this chief all agreed must be the Master of Aviz. As yet no one had thought of dispossessing D. Leonor from the regency; but by her side stood Count Andeiro, and so long as he, from behind the curtain, directed the affairs of the realm, the Master of Aviz could not obtain the position desired by all. Hence two ideas were linked together in the spirit of all Portuguese patriots: the defence of the kingdom confided to the Master of Aviz, and the death of Count Andeiro.

Such was likewise the thought of Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had come from the Minho to Lisbon in order to attend the obsequies of D. Ferdinand. He conferred with his uncle, Ruy Pereira, whom he found of the same opinion. The Master of Aviz was spoken to on the subject, and he appeared decided on the course to be taken, but subsequently changed his mind, because he judged that the people were still too peacefully inclined for the death of the Count to have the beneficial results which his partisans expected. This was conveyed to Nuno Alvares, and, to the regret of this enthusiastic youth, once again did Count Andeiro escape his fatal destiny.

It was at this juncture of affairs that D. Leonor appointed the Master of Aviz Frontier Governor of the Guadiana, as his presence was odious to her.

One instant of hesitation and all would be lost. The Master of Aviz was on the eve of departing; the people, left without a leader, would only spend themselves in noisy manifestations which the Queen well knew how to smother in blood; and the power of the Count of Ourem would be established for good, and his adultery find a reward

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instead of punishment. There was at the time an influential individual of the city who had been appointed Chancellor by the late king, and by especial decree had a vote in all municipal decisions. This individual was Alvaro Paes. As the Master of Aviz had the greatest respect and deference for this gentleman, whose popularity he could not gainsay as a dictator of public opinion—if this phrase can be applicable to the fourteenth century—he resolved, before departing for the frontier, to confer with the former Chancellor. Alvaro Paes at once entered into the question, and counselled D. John to deliver the country from this insolent foreigner, who had abused all things—the confidence of the King, the condescension of the nobles, and the patience of the people. He said more—he pledged solemnly that should the people rise up, he would do so also. The Master of Aviz seemed decided, and conferred with the Chancellor various times, accompanied by the brother of the Queen, the Count de Barcellos, who was in the conspiracy. All things were combined: the death of the Count, and at the same time the departure of one of the pages of D. John, who was to remain at the palace gates, and as soon as he had notice of the event, to run throughout the city declaring that they sought to murder the Master of Aviz. The people would then rise up *en masse* and sally out to defend him, and finding the Count punished, would prevent the Queen from avenging the death of her lover, and thus afford the Master of Aviz some force to impose upon her his conditions.

Nevertheless, the Master hesitated, and, somewhat dispirited at beholding some of his people retiring as the decisive instant approached, he resolved to depart to the frontier, leaving the Count alive. But he proceeded with unwilling feet, and as he withdrew from the city he thought of the brilliant future which the stroke of a dagger would open to him—of what the other conspirators would think of him, were he to shirk what lay before him after so many solemn promises made; the risk he was placing them and himself, should the conspiracy be discovered, as it would most probably be. Pensive, he drew the reins of his horse, and stood still for some moments in silence, his countenance pale but resolute; he then turned towards a knight of his Order, called Fernão Alvares de Almeida, who was chamberlain of his household, and said to him, "Return to sleep at Lisbon, and early in the morning issue orders for dinner, and tell the Queen that I intend to return, because it appears to me that I am not sufficiently reinforced."

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The rubicon had been passed, and fate was now to decide between Portugal and Castille.

It was late at night when the messenger entered into Lisbon. The city was wrapped in a tranquil sleep, little dreaming that the dawn, which was already commencing to lift the shades of night, was to be the dawn of one of those grand days wherein a nation's independence and popular liberty were to be so splendidly manifested.

On the following day, 6th December, 1383, the Master of Aviz entered into the capital, accompanied by many partisans, and proceeded, to the number of twenty, to the palace, where he was informed that the Queen was in her chamber. The porter allowed him to enter, but refused to permit the retinue of knights to enter without first asking leave of the Queen, who was in her private apartments. The Master of Aviz bade them come in, not heeding the porter's words.

At the moment of entering the Queen's apartment she was surrounded by her ladies and several knights, and the Count Andeiro was on his knees at her feet, conversing in a low tone. Her brother, the Count of Barcellos, was also present. D. Leonor Telles was considerably alarmed at this intrusion, but endeavoured to disguise her fears, and, with a placid countenance, bade her cousin take a seat and explain what was passing.

The Master of Aviz had invented a pretext, and explained to her that the district between the Tagus and the Guadiana was very vast, and that it was necessary to have a larger force to guard and defend it. The Queen replied that she would accede to his request and send more men, and bade her secretary summon together all subjects of that district who were able to serve.

Meanwhile, Count Andeiro, who saw all the escort of the Master of Aviz fully armed, became suspicious, and ordered his own to arm themselves, and meanwhile invited very pressingly the Master of Aviz to dine with him. Probably João Fernandes Andeiro had, at that moment, thoughts of slaying the Master of Aviz, and thus put an end to the man whom he and the Queen so greatly feared. Notwithstanding the explanation offered to the Queen, she continued feeling vague apprehensions, more particularly as she noticed that the Master's followers were all armed, and she even went so far as to remark that she admired the customs of the English in respect to soldiers and knights not wearing arms in times of peace. The Master replied that should the

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Portuguese not become familiarised in time of peace to the use of arms, they would not know how to bear them in time of war.

Perchance, still nourishing the secret plan of putting to death the Master of Aviz, or else endeavouring to win him over by a false courtesy, Count Andeiro urged him to dine with him. D. João declined, and taking the arm of the Count, after bidding adieu to the Queen, he led him out of the chamber, and entered a large apartment, where the two approached a window. The suite of the Master followed in. A few words in a low tone were exchanged, and the Master of Aviz quickly drew a long cutlass, and struck a blow at the head of Count Andeiro, who, finding himself wounded, endeavoured to rush to the Queen's apartment. One of the Master's suite then stepped forward, Ruy Pereira by name, and with a narrow sword pierced him through, and he fell dead. The palace resounded with cries and uproar, and the Master ordered the doors to be closed, and bade the page, Fernam Alvares, to run out through the streets, as had been arranged, and cry out that in the palace they were endeavouring to kill the Master.

The crowds rushed towards S. Martinho, and the news spread from mouth to mouth, and Lisbon, which had been so peaceful and calm, rose up in revolt, and assumed a threatening aspect. Meantime, within the palace all was terror, and even the intrepid heart of the Queen became stricken with fear Scarcely was the death known, but all fled in terror, even throwing themselves from the windows. The Queen, pale, and judging she was lost, demanded of the Master of Aviz whether she herself was to be put to death; but the Master replied reassuring her that he had only come to *slay that man who had so greatly deserved death.*

The Queen then regained her self-possession, and as was proper to her dignity, ordered the Master of Aviz to leave the palace at once. But all things announced that her reign could only be of short duration. Her courtiers, who gathered around her, told her so, and the tumult and cries of the populace as they hastened to the palace, armed and carrying faggots and wood to set fire to the palace, fully justified her apprehensions.

At the summons of the page who shouted that the Master of Aviz was in danger, the populace rose to save him, and were preparing to effect an entry through the windows of the palace, when he, judging that the moment had come to show himself, rushed to a balcony, and at the top of his voice cried, "Friends, here I am safe and sound, thank

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God!" At first he was not recognised by the people, but when all doubts had been dissipated, one enormous cry of joy rose up.

Had not the Master closed the doors of the palace, or rather had he not manifested himself at the window so quickly, the populace would most certainly have entered in and murdered the Queen and set fire to the palace. But the Master had shown himself, and counselled by his party, he descended to the street, and leaping on horseback, rode through the streets, followed by the people. His presence was indeed hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, and it was a true triumphal march, which reminded them of the Roman conquerors. On all sides he was cheered and blessed. D. Leonor Telles then felt that she was indeed conquered. What could she do, even possessed as she was with the courage of a lioness and the craft of a panther, against that man who could arouse and appease at one time that lion still more terrible, the people, and that panther still more bloodthirsty, revolution?

The Master proceeded to the residence of the Admiral D. João Alfonso. The brother of the Queen was passing over to the enemy's side, because in his vile heart he could forgive his sister her criminal life and shame, but not her reverses.

But the people ran about free and disorderly through the streets of Lisbon. Wild with joy, they must needs manifest their feelings by imbruing their hands in blood. The Bishop of Lisbon, D. Martinho, was a Castillian. This sufficed, and the people sought him in order to put him to death. The Bishop took refuge in the cathedral, with the Prior of Guimarães and a notary of Silves, who were at dinner with him; but the populace broke down the doors, and hunted the poor objects of their wrath who had concealed themselves in the highest part of the tower, and they were cast headlong from that great height down below, the body of the Bishop being dragged about and so fearfully mangled that historians of the time tell us the dogs began to devour it. After this murder of the Bishop, the populace, to show their impartiality, turned to attack the Jews and make an end of them: these, however, appealed to the Master of Aviz, but he excused himself on the plea that it was to the Queen they should address themselves, to whom belonged the peaceful custody of the capital. The poor Jews, however, plainly told him that he was the only man who was respected by the people, and yielding to their representations, he proceeded to the Jewish quarter. It was not too soon: the people had already invaded the Hebrew suburb, and threatened to murder all,

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and pillage and burn their houses. The voice of the Master of Aviz was all-powerful, and the Jews were saved.

On the following day the Master of Aviz proceeded to the palace to reassure the Queen, pay her his homage, and ask pardon for what he had done. D. Leonor received him with haughty scorn, which was unheeded by D. João, but which irritated some of his companions. He then departed, the result of the interview being that animosity and hatred were enkindled more deadly than before, reconciliation being quite out of the question, despite that not a single word of actual hostility had passed between the two principal actors of this admirably represented scene.

It was at the moment of departure that D. Leonor beheld, as she followed them to the door of the room, the corpse of her lover stretched on the ground. She was exceedingly surprised that it had not been carried away, and indignantly bade them bury him, since he was as great a noble as they were. They heeded not her words, but departed, and the body was left there, barely covered with a green cloth, until the night, as no one would touch it—a sad example of the emptiness of ambitions, of the strifes and passions of men, since scarcely had death touched the heart than it became an object of indifference for those very ones to whom a moment earlier he had inspired love, odium, jealousy, or fear. At nightfall the Queen had the body stealthily buried in the Church of Saint Martin, and she herself closed the slab over the grave of the man whom she really loved.

Thus ended suddenly the brilliant career of the Count Andeiro. His death was the signal for a great contest. D. Leonor Telles, who had been hitherto adverse to the Castillians, because she saw them disposed to wrench the power from her, now turned to favour them, thus endeavouring to obtain at the same time vengeance and a refuge; since the Master of Aviz, now that all hesitation was ended, acclaimed by the people unanimously as the avenger of their injury and the hope of their nationality, had cast the dagger in their midst, and in conformity with the usages of that barbarous epoch, did not scruple to brandish the heroic sword whose polished steel was to glisten in the glorious sun of Aljubarrota. And in order to escape, perchance from the spectres which were beginning to crowd around her imagination, and from the ghastly sight of that murdered body, D. Leonor Telles fled that same night from the Palace of Saint Martin, and went to the Castle of Alcaçova, as it was then called. From the royal Palace of

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Alcaçova, the Queen watched the city, which descended almost to the very shores of the Tagus, and from thence she could distinguish the cries of the populace, which, grouped in knots here and there, gesticulated passionately, and seemed to be driven by fierce passions. Perceiving that they spoke of her, and discussed her proceedings and life, the Queen at once thought of counteracting the action of the people. The most prudent plan which occurred to her was this—to escape from the crater of the volcano, Lisbon.

It was Alemquer that D. Leonor Telles selected as the best place to fly to. Among the suite which accompanied her we shall mention two persons, the Admiral João Alfonso Tello, the individual who, a few days previously, had passed along the streets of Lisbon, riding by the side of the Master of Aviz, and the Chief Treasurer D. Judas, who went disguised as a page, in order to escape, being a Jew, from the wrath of the populace.

It was an episode worthy of the pen of Cervantes. Count de Barcellos was the Don Quixote of the Court, that Knight of La Mancha who, in order to repair the dishonour of his sister, did all in his power, even to accepting the tenancy which she offered him in Alemquer. D. Judas, the Sancho Panza of the committee, with cap on head and lance in hand, was the faithful fat page, who with one hand held the reins, and with the other stuffed and arranged the panniers, filled with the money robbed from the people.

The departure of D. Leonor Telles to Alemquer was an open declaration of war to the capital. All felt instinctively this to be the case. The Queen, on reaching the gates of Alemquer, turned towards Lisbon, and cursed the rebel city with wrathful words, desiring to see it razed to the ground and burnt. These words inspired fear and terror, and clearly manifested the fearful spirit of revenge which was brewing in the bosom of the widow of D. Ferdinand. Lisbon felt it was doomed; hence, disquieted by the flight of the Queen, and left to itself, and wishing to take shelter in the arms of some one who would befriend it, the inhabitants of Lisbon all turned their eyes with redoubled ardour towards the Master of Aviz. The latter took advantage of this to represent what we must really qualify as a comedy, but which had for its object to secure his popularity.

Scarcely had the Queen departed than all the people of Lisbon became disquieted, and anxiously asked one another what was to be done? A report was then spread that the Master of Aviz, judging that

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his life was in danger, intended to depart for England. In effect, a merchant ship, which was at the time anchored in the Tagus, was being fitted and prepared to receive on board a brilliant escort. The Master of Aviz actually bade his friends farewell, and announced his determination to save himself. This announcement filled the people of Lisbon with terror. Forsaken by the Queen, who did not disguise her hostile intentions, and left to themselves by the Master who was their only hope, they felt they were indeed lost. They foresaw the King of Castille, despite the treaties made and signed by himself, preparing to enter the kingdom and take possession; they beheld the Queen, irritated by the death of the Count of Ourem, resolved to favour the pretensions of her son-in-law, and they already saw themselves besieged by Castillian troops, invaded, sacked, unable to defend themselves, because they had no chief, because they had no flag, because they had no man around whom they might gather and who could guide them. All these considerations impelled the populace to do exactly what the Master desired—implore him not to depart, and offer him their arms, their fealty, and, in a word, deliver up to him the supreme power in return for his protection and security.

The Master of Aviz resisted not only the pleadings of the people, but even those of some fidalgos who had taken his part, and the reasons put forward by Alvaro Vasques de Goes to dissuade him from quitting the kingdom, until he was at length induced to accede by the intervention of Father João de Barroca, of inspired mind, and held as a saint by the people, who, by the influence of his powerful voice, turned the balance in favour of the people's wishes.

By this strategic act the Master of Aviz had the art of winning by popular acclamation the supreme power, which he so greatly coveted, in a manner which rendered the country grateful to the illustrious man who was resigning himself to be placed at the head of the destinies of the nation.

Hence, when the Master of Aviz decided upon remaining in Portugal, the citizens of Lisbon wished, even then, to convey words of conciliation to the Queen, and by this means prevent the anarchy which would be manifested in the kingdom. Yet the idea or scheme suggested by the people to effect this conciliation appears to us very strange. They wished to ask the Queen to marry the Master of Aviz, and beseech the Pope to dispense him from the vows which he had taken when invested with the habit of a monk-knight! They wished to offer

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the woman who so dearly had loved Count Andeiro the hand of the very one who had assassinated him!

Nevertheless, it is true that political considerations often smooth down what appear as insuperable difficulties, and very possibly some arrangement might have been effected, were it not for the profound hatred felt by D. Leonor towards D. John. In the bosom of the Queen rancour was a sentiment far more firmly rooted than even ambition, and oftentimes did the desire of vengeance frustrate the calculations of her subtle policy; even in the case which was now debated. D. Leonor had to bewail bitterly in the prisons of Tordesillas having sacrificed her true interests to the inextinguishable hatred which devoured her.

It is certain that the proposal was actually made, that it was taken to Alemquer by the aged Alvaro Paes, and Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, who became later on Prior of the Order of the Hospital. The Queen replied evasively, and the envoys retired at all speed, because they were secretly informed that it was intended to slay them, although they had been received with the greatest courtesy. Alvaro Paes was the one who was most unquiet, because it was he who was received with the greatest affability. This aged and experienced vassal well calculated the quantity of venom contained in each smile with which he was greeted, and departed at once to Lisbon, nor did he consider himself secure until he had crossed the gates of the capital.

Meanwhile Lisbon was daily more disquieted, and, apprised that the King of Castille was approaching the frontier, it was felt that a decision was urgent, and insisted that the Master should take the post and assume the title of Defender of the Kingdom. It was a provisional appointment which could alarm no one, and left the question of the succession to the crown undecided. The Master of Aviz declared that he accepted the mission which they desired to confide to him, but would only do so on the condition that the citizens should meet together with their aldermen in the church of St. Domingos, and be nominated by them officially. The meeting was held, and proved a stormy one. The mayors, and generally the wealthy burghers—who at all times were enemies to revolutions which disturbed commerce—trembled to thus affront the Queen D. Leonor, whom they knew too well.

The negotiations of Alemquer, if carried out, would conciliate all things, and there might be some chance of tranquillity. But the burghers, as always happens, the first promoters of the revolt, were

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set aside. The mob, nevertheless, were murmuring below, and disturbed with their sullen complaints the discussions of the burghers. At length a cooper, by name Affonso Eanes] Penedo, rose up, and with a fearless voice cried out—as on a former occasion had risen up the tailor, Fernão Vasques—to the burghers the following words: "What are you all doing? Are you going to authorise what you are told to do, or are you opposed? Because in the latter case I only risk this throat, and if any one here will not agree to the appeals, let him pay for it with neck ere he depart from this spot."

These words of the cooper were noisily applauded by the populace, and the mayors, in presence of this popular manifestation, closed the meeting, and the Master of Aviz was elected by acclamation defender and ruler of the kingdom. When Alvaro Paes and Gonçalves Camello returned from Alemquer, the Master of Aviz barely heeded them. What did it matter to him now what the reply was of D. Leonor? The power was now in his grasp, and his energetic hand convulsively held the hilt of the sword, and he declared, moreover, that he would not give it up easily.

Elevated to an important post, the Master of Aviz endeavoured to surround himself by his partisans, and organised his household in a regal manner. He appointed Chancellor the Doctor João das Regras, and with him formed his council of the Archbishop of Braga, D. Lourenço, and D. João Alfonso d'Azambuja, and the licentiate João Gil, and Lourenço Esteves and Martim da Maia. To the post of Treasurer—a charge held by the Hebrew D. Judas in the time of D. Ferdinand, and who accompanied D. Leonor in her flight, disguised as a page, was appointed an Englishman called Percival—the mayoralty of the city was given to a merchant called Lopo Martins, and João Domingues Tonado was named Almoxarife of houses and rents. It was then that the "Chamber or Corporation of Twenty-four" was instituted, composed of two men of each trade, which formed a species of council, without which the chamber could not decide upon any affair of importance. In the royal seal was then added the cross of Aviz to the arms of Portugal in the centre between two castles, and the title assumed by D. João was as follows: "Dom João, by the grace of God, son of the most noble King Dom Pedro, Master of the Knights of the Order of Aviz, Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve."

The Master of Aviz, like a good politician, now endeavoured to gather around him persons of legitimate standing, and as he perceived

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that the general opinion was in favour of recognising the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro, in preference to D. Beatriz, he sent an emissary to the Infante, who was imprisoned in Castille, to inform him that if he had assumed the title and charge of defender of the kingdom, it was solely to guard the kingdom against the attempts of foreigners, and deliver it up faithfully as soon as an opportune occasion should arise, because he only considered himself as holding the crown in trust. The Infante replied thanking him for his message, but strongly urged him to assume the royal title at least apparently, because coming forward as the defender of his legitimacy to the crown would most undoubtedly aggravate his own fate.

The emissary who had been entrusted with this secret mission to the Infante returned to Portugal with the reply, and passing through Toledo, met João Lourenço da Cunha, the first husband of Leonor Telles, who was coming to place himself at the service of the Master. The latter received him graciously, heard the reply of the Infante, and kept silence. Whether this step was inspired by the former friendship which intimately united the two brothers, or whether by calculations of a shrewd policy, we cannot decide, because the Master appears to have read the character of both these men who later on became the two supports of his throne. At times the soul of the Master of Aviz presents itself to us as deep and dissimulating as an abyss, or like the spirit of João das Regras; at other times it rises before us chivalrous and loyal as his sword, or as the soul of Nuno Alvares Pereira. It was at this juncture that the latter came to join him, and whose name is indissolubly united to his. We have already given a short sketch of this hero. We need not say that the Master of Aviz received joyfully Nuno Alvares on his arrival at Lisbon, since he was receiving the adhesion of a man who in his youthful days had already merited the name of hero. The mother of Nuno Alvares did not experience a similar joy, because every one around her told her that the cause which her son embraced was a lost one. She came from Portalegre to Lisbon solely to dissuade Nuno from following the cause of the Master of Aviz, but when she arrived and witnessed the enthusiasm of her son and of the inhabitants of Lisbon, she felt within her bosom sentiments of patriotism rising up, and instead of dissuading her son, she confirmed his resolves and promised, moreover, to send him his brother Fernão Pereira. The Master of Aviz being apprised of the motive for her journey to Lisbon, and fearing that she would

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deprive him of his best soldier, went in person to receive her, and overcame her objections and convinced her to side with him.

Hence the Master of Aviz had at length enlisted to his side that hero whose sword was to open an easy path to the throne, and place upon it the great man who bore in Portuguese history the name of D. João I. What could he not effect and aspire to, since he now had at his side João das Regras, the able diplomatist, and the brave general who was to wield the sword so gloriously, Nuno Alvares Pereira?

When the Master of Aviz proclaimed himself defender of the kingdom, D. Leonor Telles was ready to combat at all hazards the man she mortally hated. For this object she combined with the King of Castille to enter into Portugal; and moreover, in order to take possession of a stronghold which might open a path to Lisbon to her son-in-law, she quitted Alemquer, leaving as Alcaide of the castle Vasco Peres de Camões, and Martim Gonçalves de Athayde to guard the town, and proceeded to Santarem, whose Alcaide was a relative of hers, Vasques de Azevedo. Santarem was one of the first places to raise the cry of revolt against D. Beatriz, but, subjugated by the numerous nobility who surrounded D. Leonor, received her enthusiastically, or at least with submission. And in effect the nobility, a great portion of which had banded with the Master of Aviz when the assassination of Count Andeiro was projected, were now almost unanimously grouped around D. Leonor. They saw that by casting down the favourite of the Queen, they did no more than open the way for the supreme power to the favourite of the people, in which there was even more danger. Hence, guided by a vague instinct of class interests, and jealousy at beholding a man ascending one by one the steps of the throne who hitherto was no more than a peer, the Portuguese aristocracy easily renounced the national autonomy and took the part of the foreigner, in view that it was only by this means that they could satisfy their mean ambitions and odiums.

The Count of Barcellos, brother of the Queen, who had so greatly assisted the Master of Aviz, now placed himself beneath the shadow of the banner which he judged fortune would favour. He was the Alcaide of the Castle of Lisbon, and the Queen's colours were hoisted above its tower, and in the midst of the popular rejoicings the Master of Aviz could not but view with some perturbation the foreboding aspect of the Castle as it rose up before him dark and threatening. D. Leonor sent Alfonso Eanes to reinforce

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the garrison of the Castle, with all the partisans of the Count he could find. But these were already on the side of the Master, and Alfonso Eanes was forced to retire almost alone to the citadel. The Master of Aviz judged that, notwithstanding the difficulties which existed, he must take the Castle by sheer force. A rumour was then set afloat—by whom it is unknown—that the Master was in danger, and cries were raised everywhere, "Treachery! the Master's life is in danger!" The populace rushed to his residence, and found him safe and sound, but they were apprised that Alfonso Eanes had entered the Castle, followed by some twelve knights. This news certainly was not calculated to pacify the people. The Master took advantage of the popular excitement to attack the Castle by employing an engine of war called *gata*, and scaling the walls. The garrison was apprised beforehand that it was intended to place the women and children in this engine, and therefore the garrison would have to destroy their own families. This threat terrified the garrison, and an interview between Nuno Alvares and the Governor of the Castle decided them upon surrendering. In order to save military honour, they capitulated, however, under condition of delivering up the Castle should they not be relieved within forty hours. A messenger was sent by the Alcaide to the Queen with this news, and meanwhile the people of Lisbon prepared for the defence on the hypothesis that the aid besought would be sent. The message was received by the Count João Alfonso, and transmitted to the Queen, who replied that she had not any troops ready to send, as the term was too short to organise an expedition, and that whichever took the city would likewise take the Castle.

The news of the surrender of the Castle of Lisbon spread throughout the provinces, and produced a favourable impression on the people. The people of Beja, acquiring fresh vigour with the news received from Lisbon, proposed to take the Castle by setting fire to the doors. Moreover, learning that the Admiral Lançarote was inciting the people to acclaim the King of Castille, they fell upon him, and took him prisoner with his own men, pillaging all they possessed, and sent the plunder to the Master. Lançarote, who had escaped the fury of D. Pedro I., was now in the power of the people, who barbarously assassinated him.

The war between the nobility and the people was openly declared, and abuse was added to blows, the nobles calling the mob *the people of the Messias of Lisbon*, the ironical designation by which they

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scorned the redemption of Portuguese nationality projected by the Master of Aviz, while the people in their turn called the nobles *schismatical traitors*, in reference to the nobles having acknowledged, as partisans of Castille, the Pontificate of Avignon.

The whole of Alemtejo was up in arms. The Castle of Portalegre, despite that it was defended by the Prior of the Hospitallers, D. Pedro Alvaros, brother of Nuno, was taken in a few hours. Estremoz, excited by the example of the neighbouring towns, rose up with irresistible fury, and the Alcaide was compelled to capitulate, delivering up the Castle to an ensign appointed by the people—Martim Peres. In Evora the excitement was even greater, and the ferocity employed unexampled. As the Alcaide, Alvaro Mendes d'Oliveira, offered resistance, the people captured all the women and children belonging to the defenders of the Castle, and threatened to burn them alive, should the Castle not be delivered up. The Alcaide surrendered, but the populace thirsted for blood, and, seeing their fury frustrated by the capitulation, dispersed about the town, robbing and slaying all before them. A report was circulated that the Abbess of the Monastery of Saint Benedict was against the Master of Aviz, and that she had uttered some disparaging words against the citizens who were committing atrocities under the sacred banner of the nation. The mob would not stay to verify the truth, but rushed to the convent, insulted the lady, barbarously murdered her, and dragged her body, torn and bleeding, along the streets. It was the scenes of the 2nd of September, 1792, of the prisons of Paris, which were enacted in Evora four hundred years in anticipation.

In the north the Master was acclaimed with similar enthusiasm, which gave rise to many excesses. In Oporto the lower classes wished to compel Alvaro da Viega to carry the standard of the city through the streets, and proclaim the Master of Aviz, but as he refused to do so, they put him to death. The new defender of the kingdom, on receiving this news, was both joyed and saddened—joyed that the acclamation should be so unanimous, and saddened that the atrocities committed in the first impulse were opening an abyss between him and the upper classes, and were driving into the arms of the King of Castille nobles who might be disposed, perchance, to acknowledge his authority.

As an able statesman, the Master of Aviz perceived that it could not be solely with this undisciplined, inexperienced, yet heroic populace that he should be able to resist the army of the King of Castille, and

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therefore he strove to strengthen himself by entering into some alliance. The nation which was most favourable to form an alliance with was England, because she continued her strife with France; and as Castille maintained its alliance with France, it was natural that the English King, Richard II., should be willing to favour any power which could effect a useful diversion in the Peninsula.

Hence, in furtherance of his plan, D. João sent ambassadors to England, in the persons of Lourenço Annes Fogaça and the Master of the Order of Santiago, D. Fernando Alfonso de Albuquerque. Their mission was to beseech Richard II. to allow English volunteers to enlist in the service of Portugal, promising in return to be ever grateful for their service, and to assist the Duke of Lancaster in his pretensions to the Crown of Castille. The envoys were very well received, and returned with a favourable reply from Richard II., and they not only brought a few volunteers — few because the war still continued with France—but they actually effected a loan with some merchants of London, which certainly was a notable proof of confidence, in view of the critical circumstances in which the Master of Aviz was placed.

This part of the mission most pleased the Defender, because one of the greatest difficulties he had to contend against was the want of means. The treasury was exhausted; the taxes were difficult to collect in a kingdom that was divided and devastated by civil wars and foreign invasions.

But so widespread was the popularity of the government of the Master that he obtained voluntary gifts spontaneously offered by the church of Portugal, besides offers from merchants and even from the Jews, who were not in the habit of being generous, and was, moreover, able to carry out, without the least manifestation of discontent from the people, one of the measures most objected to by the populace—the alteration of the coinage.

The burghers of Lisbon presented him with a sum of £100,000; the Jews, besides their gifts, lent him seventy marks of silver, and many private individuals contributed with great goodwill to the loan asked by the Defender. The clergy likewise contributed to the endowment of the city by giving the sacred vessels not actually required for divine service. The Cathedral of Lisbon alone contributed eighty-seven marks of silver.

But as all the above was still insufficient, he had, as we said above,

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recourse to the alteration in the coinage. The gold and silver coins were reduced gradually; yet all these measures, although most odious, were nevertheless so well received, that there were people who even carried around their necks as a talisman the first reduced reis which the Defender had ordered to be coined. Another measure, disastrous under the economic and fiscal point of view, was the permission granted to the possessors of bar gold and silver to coin them without paying the smallest tax. Many by this means became wealthy, one of these being João das Regras, and it is true to say that even in those moments when generous feelings were most ardent, selfishness nevertheless prevailed—that vile metal which forms the alloy that binds together the pure gold of patriotism and abnegation.

The kingdom continued to declare in favour of the Master, and the towns and cities offered their allegiance and homage. D. João endeavoured to win especially to his side the lands and places adjoining the capital, in order to keep Lisbon vigilantly guarded. He went in person to Almada to receive the homage and allegiance of the citizens, who received him joyfully. Later on, as Alemquer continued to raise the standard of the Queen, D. João proceeded against this town, which in those days was well fortified, and laid siege to it. The town resisted: Vasco Peres de Camões, the Alcaide, continued unrelenting in the fortress.

It is needful now to turn to Castille and see what was taking place. D. John I., husband of D. Beatriz, did not inherit the skilful policy of his father, and all his acts since the death of D. Ferdinand manifest to us that he was not the man to conquer a kingdom by the loftiness of his genius and by wise condescensions, as his father D. Henry had twice effected. Nevertheless his affairs were excellently laid out: the treaty imprudently signed by D. Ferdinand delivered Portugal peacefully into his hands, were he patient enough to await the birth of a son to D. Beatriz, who would certainly be unanimously acclaimed King of Portugal; but, should this not take place, he could meantime allow the years to run on, winning the affection of the Portuguese by scrupulously respecting their liberties. In truth, the odium existing between Portugal and Castille was very great, but in the century which was about to dawn the growing tendency for the formation of great powers would necessarily conquer those former rivalries, and the scheme of the union of Spain might probably triumph over the instinctive repugnances of the people.

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But his impatience was his ruin. Through an act of inexcusable despotism he arrested his natural brother, Count D. Alfonso de Gijon, his sister-in-law D. Isabel, illegitimate daughter of D. Ferdinand, and the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro. These arrests announced intentions which were unfavourable to the independence of Portugal, and as a consequence alarmed the nation. He then celebrated in Toledo with great pomp the exequies of D. Ferdinand and afterwards proclaimed his wife Queen of Portugal, and assumed the title of King of Castille, Leon, and Portugal, &c. The first example of resistance was afforded by a Portuguese nobleman who accompanied D. Beatriz, by name Vasco Martins de Mello. He was appointed chief ensign, and bidden to traverse the streets of Toledo with the royal flag unfurled, whereupon the arms of Portugal were added to those of Castille. Vasco, however, coldly declined to carry out the orders and appointment assigned to him. D. John was wrathful at this, and delivered the banner to a Castillian, who unfurled it, crying, "*Vive the King D. John of Castille and Portugal!*" But fate had decreed the repetition of the scene of Santarem. The flagstaff broke down with the wind, and had to be carried trailing low. The Portuguese who were in Toledo were indignant at beholding the addition of the Castillian arms to those of Portugal. Vainly did D. John order that both scutcheons be joined together. Discontent was becoming general.

At this juncture the King of Castille assembled a council, and announced his intention of entering into Portugal. According to the accounts of Pero Lopes Ayala, First Chancellor of Castille, who was a witness to the facts in his *Cronicas del Rey D. Joan el primero* (1383), many of his counsellors, and in particular Pero Fernandes de Velasco, Lord of Briviesca, who held the office of Lord Chamberlain, were of opinion to respect the treaties; while others, to flatter the King, or fascinated by the dazzling prospective of the immediate reunion of both crowns, counselled him to carry forward his intentions, and enter into Portugal before the Portuguese should have time to prepare any resistance. It was this advice that the King followed as being more in harmony with his secret intentions. He was confirmed in this scheme by the servilism of the Bishop of Guarda, Alfonso Correia, who promised to deliver up this city wherein he was supreme master. This same bishop who lost everything later on when the Master of Aviz triumphed, and whom in compensation D. John I. of Castille nominated Bishop of Segovia, received orders to prepare all things for the promised

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surrender, the King of Castille apprising him that he would quickly follow with his army.

But Portugal was wrestling against an indescribable confusion. The Queen, irritated by this severance of treaties, prepared to resist, and the people and nobles around her were ready to second her. The assassination of Count Andeiro, the election of the Master of Aviz, as defender of the kingdom, completely altered the aspect of events. D. Leonor Telles, in the letters addressed to the councils when she retired from Lisbon to Alemquer, bitterly complained of the Master of Aviz and the affronts received from him, but declared at the same time that she would counsel her son-in-law to abstain from entering into Portugal. Four factions were at the time ravaging our hapless country—one actuated by instinctive patriotism, which impelled it to penetrate the abyss of all these intrigues definitely separated from the Queen, and grouped itself around the Master of Aviz. The populace constituted the principal power of this party; the greater portion of the nobility, jealous of the Master of Aviz, but still preserving in their inmost soul a vestige of that vivid sentiment of nationality which rendered their ancestors so strong in their wrestling with Leon, manifested a disposition to defend the pretensions of D. Leonor Telles, and likewise repel the invasion of foreigners. Others more demonstrative, followed the example of the Bishop of Guarda; others, again, watched, protected and enclosed from the heights of their strong castles, and, sword in hand, awaited the political horizon to be cleared of the clouds which obscured it, to decide which political party to follow.

At length the Queen, when passing from Alemquer to Santarem, flung off the mask, and wrote to her son-in-law, bidding him enter into Portugal and come to her aid to protect and avenge her. That letter reached him when he was already on this side of the frontier. Nevertheless, affairs were not in such an easy state as the King expected, because, notwithstanding the orders of the Queen, the nobility hesitated. Moreover, D. João did nothing to win their sympathies: unbending and ungenerous, he knew not how to conquer hearts by words, ambitions by promises, or covetousness by gifts. He certainly met with little resistance, but found no adhesion. The Bishop of Guarda opened the gates of the city to him, but the Alcaide, Alvaro Gil, preserved the doors of the Castle closed, with vigilant sentinels and archers at their posts. Neither promises, threats, nor reasonings moved him to

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deliver up the stronghold, yet he was not on the side of the Master of Aviz. Vasco Martims de Mello, who had refused in Toledo to accept the post of first ensign, accompanied the King of Castille, but was the first to reprove harshly the proceeding of his brother, who offered allegiance and homage to the foreign monarch in the Castles of Celorico and Linhares; the Alcaide of Trancoso and Lamego, Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, abstained from taking any measures, and closed the doors of their Castles, while the relatives of the Queen acted in the same manner, D. Gonçalo, the brother to D. Leonor, not allowing the King of Castille to enter into the city of Coimbra. In Thomar, the Master of the Order of Christ, Lopo de Sousa, son of the hapless D. Maria Telles, absented himself from the town in order not to be placed in a false position, and in his absence the doors were closed upon the King D. John; and even in the suburbs skirmishes took place between the Portuguese and Castillians, which cost the lives of more than 500 men.

D. John, silently devouring his wrath, continued his journey to Santarem, pondering how to make D. Leonor pay dearly for the affronts he had received. When close to Santarem a great number of Portuguese fidalgos came out to receive him with every demonstration of respect.

The immediate influence of D. Leonor was beginning to be felt. The widow of D. Ferdinand came to meet her son-in-law with affectionate greetings. Hence the feeling of the Portuguese nobility was such that, had D. Leonor become reconciled to the Master of Aviz, the kingdom could have been saved, and at the same time she would have secured the regency for herself. But the desire of revenge dimmed her intelligence, otherwise so bright and penetrative, and she actually supposed that the King of Castille would undertake to avenge her injuries and return placidly to his own kingdom, leaving her in possession of the royal power! It was a line of thought perfectly inexcusable in a woman who on other occasions had manifested herself such a profound politician, but her whole dreams were now those of revenge. It was principally against Lisbon, whose inhabitants had so often affronted her, that she directed all her vials of bitter wrath.

So greatly did this thought take possession of her spirit that she was going to sell, in exchange for a promise of vengeance, not only Portuguese autonomy, but likewise the power which she had so greatly coveted, and which she had purchased at the price of so many crimes! She willed to break in twain the selfsame sword which was ready to

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defend her, in order to deliver herself up powerlessly into the hands of the King of Castille, who would punish her for her imprudence, and moreover scorn her for her folly.

We had left the Master of Aviz besieging Alemquer. Scarcely had he received news of the approach of the King of Castille than he raised the siege and returned to Lisbon. The ever-dauntless Nuno Alvares desired that war should be at once declared to the invader before returning to the capital, but the Master of Aviz convinced him that he had insufficient forces to oppose the enemy on the battlefield. This prudence on the part of the Captain, possessing true military instincts, was not due to any hesitation in following a plan which he had laid out. He at once prepared to offer a powerful resistance and at any cost. The war of independence was declared.

Meanwhile D. Leonor Telles was taking upon herself, through her insatiable thirst for revenge, to level for her son-in-law the first difficulties he should have to fight against, and was falling foolishly into the snare laid by the King of Castille.

An interview took place between D. Leonor Telles and her son-in-law, in which the latter, by employing an affectionate violence, induced her to withdraw from the influence of her counsellors, and actually persuaded her that, in order to carry out her revenge, it was necessary the power should not be divided, that in the kingdom there should be only one to command, and that ruler must be himself, since it was needful to combat.

Incredible as it may seem, D. Leonor actually abdicated in the most formal manner, a renouncement made in presence of the public notary, thus placing the regency in the hands of the King of Castille, and, moreover, bidding all the nobles to obey him! Vainly did her partisans, and those most deeply attached to her cause, represent to her that this was a violation of the treaties, a violation of the respect due to the last wishes of D. Ferdinand, and that, moreover, as the regency had been authorised by the Cortes, it was only by the consent of the Cortes likewise that it could be transferred to another individual. D. Leonor Telles replied that since the King and his wife were the legitimate sovereigns of the kingdom, it was of small moment whether they obeyed them sooner or later.

D. John of Castille at once began to exercise all the acts of a sovereign: he ordered money to be coined, he demanded from the First Chancellor of the Queen D. Leonor, by name Lourenço Fogaça,

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the royal seals, in order to engrave upon them the arms of Castille entwined with those of Portugal, promising that these seals would be returned, as he desired they should be kept in his custody. But Lourenço Fogaça did not expect the seals to be returned, therefore he, with his secretary, Gonçalo Peres, went over at once to the party of the Master of Aviz, who sent him as ambassador to England. Some others followed his example, and some even refused their pay, not wishing to serve the King of Castille; but the greater part of the nobility separated from the Master of Aviz by the principle of popular election, which then formed the bases of their power.

Hence, notwithstanding that the King of Castille had not the tact to win the sympathies of his new subjects, going to the extreme of appointing Castillian noblemen to the most important posts. And despite the covert captivity into which he had placed D. Leonor as soon as he had induced her to abdicate, a great number of the nobility of the kingdom came forward to offer their homage, because the imprudent act of the Queen left them no option; and, unless they wished to plunge the kingdom into a profound anarchy, unfavourable to their own interests, it was necessary that they should choose one of the two only powers legally constituted in Portugal, either the King of Castille or the Master of Aviz. They elected to side for the former.

Some of the highest noblemen grouped themselves around the husband of D. Beatriz and formed his Court. Although the people were almost unanimously on the side of the Master, nevertheless they could not effect a complete triumph over the adverse nobility in every place, as they had done in Lisbon, Oporto, Evora, and other parts. In Braga, for instance, a nobleman called Lopo Gomes de Lira, brother to the Alcaide of the Castle, succeeded in effecting the entry into the city of the Archbishop of Santiago, accompanied by Castillian troops, against the will of the Mayor and Council and people, and compelled Braga to acknowledge D. John and D. Beatriz as their legitimate masters. This occurred also in other places. The unexpected cession made by D. Leonor Telles of the regency to her son-in-law gave him a great moral force that increased by the presence of his army, which was daily being reinforced. The people became intimidated, and the nobility gathering courage, half the kingdom yielded to pressure and acknowledged the foreign government. The principal places which

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hoisted the banners of united Castille and Portugal were as follows: In Estremadura, Santarem, Torres Novas, Ourem, Montemor-o-Velho, Leiria, Castello da Feira, Penella, Obidos, Torres Vedras, Alemquer, and Cintra; in the provinces of Entre Douro and Minho, Lanhoso, Braga, Guimarães, Melgaço, Valença, Ponte de Lima, Villanova da Cerveira, Caminha, Vianna, Castello de Neiva. In Alemtejo, Arronches, Alegrete, Castello de Vide, Crato, Ameira, Montforte, Campo Maior, Olivença, Villa Viçosa, Portel, Moura, and Mertola; in Traz-os-Montes, Bragança, Vinhaes, Chaves, Montforte de Rio Livre, Montalegre, Mongadouro, Mirandella, Alfandega, Lamas d'Orelhão, Villa Real de Panoyas. In Beira, Castel Rodrigo, Almeida, Sabugal, Monsanto, Linhares, Celorico, Penamacôr, Guarda, and Covilhã. A large portion of the Algarve also obeyed the King of Castille.

The position, therefore, was becoming somewhat critical for the Master of Aviz, and it needed all the skill and energy he possessed in order not to succumb in the strife. The kingdom also required to summon together all its forces, so as not to become crushed in this enormous division. The burning faggot of civil war was diffusing over the kingdom its sinister gleams. The Alcaides, who sided for Castille, were entering with drawn swords into the lands which held the national independence as their motto and device; these, on their side, attempted reprisals, while odiums divided families, and brothers rose up against one another.

A city, however, continued undecided as to which party to take: this was Coimbra, wherein dwelt the Count Gonçalo, brother to the Queen, and her uncle, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos. At the request of the King of Castille, D. Leonor desired them to acknowledge the authority of D. John and D. Beatriz, but ere the reply arrived events occurred in Santarem which completely altered the state of affairs.

When the Master of Aviz saw D. John advancing towards Santarem with his army, which was daily becoming reinforced either by contingents from Castille or by the lances of the Portuguese nobles, he foresaw that he would very shortly have to defend Lisbon against the enemy. Nuno Alvares was desirous to proceed to Santarem and commence the war, because the Castillians were practising unheard-of atrocities, and many of the inhabitants had sent letters to the Master beseeching him to come and deliver them, promising in return to assist him in his war. The Master refused to quit Lisbon, as he

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suspected that these letters might be a stratagem on the part of the Castillians to enveigle him into a snare. Moreover, the forces at command might prove sufficient with the aid of the citizens of Lisbon to defend the capital, but would certainly be insufficient to meet on the open field a numerous and well-disciplined army, besides the danger of risking the destinies of the country to the fate of a doubtful issue. Hence he resolved to await within the walls of the good city of Lisbon the assaults of the Castillian King, and provision the capital in the event of a blockade.

Meanwhile the news of the atrocities committed by the Castillians in Santarem served to strengthen the Master in his projects of provisioning the capital, because the inhabitants of the suburbs of Lisbon were flocking into the city, bringing all they possessed and loaded with provisions. For days nought else was seen but peasants bending down beneath the weight of the goods they brought, accompanied by their women and children. All things presaged war, and the inhabitants of Lisbon, who had suffered so bitterly, must now have felt terror at the future before them; but terror soon passed away, and they drew thoughts of encouragement, since they beheld themselves more strongly surrounded by the new rampart, with its turreted forts, and the presence among them of their beloved, heroic, and clever chieftain. Fate had driven into the Tagus some merchant ships loaded with fish from Gallicia, either from stress of weather or believing that doubtless the Castillian fleet had already arrived and were in possession. These ships were easily taken by the Master, and offered a great quantity of provisions; but still he was solicitous to gather every possible resource to save the city from the horrors of famine, and sent Nuno Alvares to the suburbs of Cintra to bring to Lisbon all the provisions he could obtain.

Cintra, as we know, was on the side of the Castillians; nevertheless, not a single soldier of the garrison sallied out to disturb the raid of Nuno Alvares, who returned to Lisbon safely, and successfully discharged the mission entrusted to him, to the satisfaction of the Master.

Meanwhile the Castillians opened the campaign, and, approaching Lisbon, pitched their camp in Lumiar. The Master of Santiago, Pedro Fernandes Velasco, and Pedro Sarmiento, of Gallicia, commanded the expedition of exploration—armies which destroyed and robbed the suburbs of Lisbon. Some forces, commanded by João Fernandes Moreira, departed from the city to oppose them, but the Castillians

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vanquished these, and the Master, with Nuno Alvares, quickly rushed out, with some three hundred lances, to take advantage of the routing to attack the Castillians, but the latter, on beholding the reinforcement led by the Master, turned back and placed themselves in security.

The Master felt that he ought not to allow a simple vanguard to approach and assail the suburbs of the capital, and, despite the illwill of D. Alvaro Peres de Castro and others, he resolved upon seeking out the Castillians in their camp. He secretly quitted the city, and carried out the expedition so adroitly that the Castillians, surprised by the sudden assault, had only time to fly, leaving the food they were preparing on the fire. The Portuguese did not stand upon any ceremony, and notwithstanding that they were not invited, they ate up the enemy's dinner, which no doubt they found doubly palatable.

Meanwhile discord reigned in the camp of Agramante. It was impossible that any good understanding should exist for any length of time between D. Leonor and her son-in-law, for never had more opposite dispositions come together. D. Leonor was talkative, amiable, and somewhat volatile. D. John was cold, severe, silent, and had commenced to set the Court an example of that Castillian etiquette which was destined to become, later on, so celebrated and rigorous. D. John especially respected decorum; D. Leonor was playful and smiling in her intercourse with the fidalgos, and, according to the opinion of the King of Castille, was unbecoming in a widow, and from thence arose an instinctive antipathy which followed the first expressions of regard; besides which, the thirst for vengeance which filled D. Leonor became cooled down, and after her paroxysms of wrath supervened the pangs of remorse. The clouds which resentment had gathered over her spirit became dispelled, and she then saw the error she had committed, and the munificent gift she had given her son-in-law she would wish to recall; but as this was now impossible, she desired at least that D. John should manifest an extreme gratitude. But this she did not obtain. She was courteously treated, certainly, but she did not enjoy in the Court that predominance which she judged to be her right, and in truth it might well be said she was but a prisoner, because the Castillians who surrounded her, under the pretext of offering her homage, resembled rather the manners of guards with their captives than subjects towards their mistress.

A small occurrence, however, produced a ferment. In Castille the appointment of Chief Rabbi of the Jews of the kingdom was vacant,

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and a Hebrew deputation waited upon the King in Santarem to acquaint him of this vacancy and be allowed to have one elected by his mother. D. Leonor greatly patronised D. Judas, as he had been treasurer to her husband, and therefore besought the post for him. D. John coldly refused her petition in order to give the appointment to one David Negro, who had insinuated himself in the good graces of D. Beatriz. This refusal, which she took as an insult, exasperated to the highest degree D. Leonor. "What!" she exclaimed in an excited tone of voice to the Portuguese nobles who surrounded her, "am I giving him a kingdom, and he refuses an insignificant favour, the first that I have asked! See what we may expect from this ungrateful man. I tell you truly, it were better if you served the Master of Aviz, and this is what I advise you to do."

It is a positive fact that many nobles followed her advice, and went on to Lisbon. But D. Leonor did not stop here. From the moment that her adventuresome spirit yielded to any impulse, produced by passion, or reason, or caprice, she heeded no obstacles, but followed her course with the greatest impetuosity. In her absorbing activity she allowed herself no time to mature a plan, but at once set the whole machinery at work, intrigues, machinations, prevarications, to obtain her end. Decided upon making war to the King of Castille as ardently as she had previously befriended him, she at once wrote to the Alcaides of her party, informing them that they were not to consider legal the cession she had made of the supreme power, because it had been made under a moral pressure, which was now becoming daily a material imprisonment. She addressed her brother, D. Gonçalo, in Coimbra, to bid him not heed a letter which he had received, but to defend and guard the city against the King of Castille, even should she, his sister, again write to him to ask the surrender, because he might be quite certain that any words which she might employ to this effect, and contrary to the designs which she now communicated to him, would be extorted from her by violence.

Meanwhile the reply crossed the first letter, and in this letter D. Gonçalo stated that it was his intention to deliver up the city to the King of Castille, but that the people were all inclined to the contrary, therefore should D. John appear with his army to impose silence on the malcontents, he could easily take the city, but not otherwise. The King, well satisfied with this reply, marched with his army in the direction of the Mondego.

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The army ranged themselves around Coimbra, and although the King did not pass beyond the bridge, there was no show of hostility between the Portuguese and Castillians. Negotiations were commenced, and the King of Castille, through the mediation of the Count of Mallorca and other nobles who frequented Coimbra, promised great honours and favours to D. Gonçalo and D. Mendes de Vasconcellos should they deliver up the stronghold. Contrary to the expectations of the King, they persevered in their refusal, urging that whereas the cession of the power made by D. Leonor was illegal, because it was effected without the consent or the accord of the Cortes of the kingdom, they could not acknowledge the authority of the King of Castille. The latter impatient, although unwilling to break off the negotiations, could not desist from manifesting his discontent; but his army, which up to that time had maintained discipline, now became unruly, and engaged in some skirmishes with the citizens, yet with no definite results.

Meanwhile the Queen D. Leonor Telles was not idle. She employed all the means which feminine arts could devise to revenge herself on the man who had thus repaid her services. She induced one of her maids of honour to further her views. This lady was D. Beatriz de Castro, daughter of the Count de Arroyolos, and singularly beautiful. A cousin of the King of Castille, the son of D. Frederick, Master of the Order of Santiago, who was killed by D. Pedro the Cruel, fell in love with her. This lover was called D. Alfonso Henriques, and his brother was the Count of Trastamara. By orders of the Queen, D. Beatriz de Castro was induced to make use of her influence to gain her ends. She pleaded to her lover that it was a sad spectacle to behold her Queen, whom she so dearly loved, and to whom so much was due, thus disregarded by the King of Castille and treated as a captive, and she added that her love could only be bestowed upon the man who would deliver her Queen from that false position. She besought him to influence his brother in order that D. Leonor should regain her former power and honours, and that the best way to effect this would be for her to retire into the city, where she would have the protection of the Count de Nieva. D. Leonor Telles, speaking to her son-in-law, affirmed that she did not despair of convincing her brother to surrender if she could speak to him. D. John of Castille, although he distrusted D. Leonor, consented, nevertheless, to allow her to confer with the Count de Nieva, taking, however, certain precautions.

The intention of D. Leonor Telles with respect to this interview with her brother was, says Pinheiro Chagas, "not to communicate to

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him the secret of the conspiracy, but solely to assure herself of his co-operation and aid in any event which should arise." The result of this conference was all that could be desired by D. Leonor Telles; the Count D. Gonçalo persevering to manifest open hostility to the King of Castille, whom the Count ironically invited to dinner, *even should he have to be accompanied by a hundred lances.*

Being now confident of the assistance of her brother, D. Leonor Telles bade D. Pedro de Trastamara confer with the Count de Nieva upon the best means to adopt to carry out the plan she secretly nourished of escaping to the heart of the city; and in furtherance of this plan, instructed D. Pedro to follow her, alleging as his reason for departure, the fact of the preference shown by D. John I. of Castille to other nobles. But D. Pedro, however, concealed from Count de Gonçalo the second part of the plan agreed upon, which was that, as soon as they were once within the walls of Coimbra, D. Leonor Telles would marry the Count de Trastamara, who should put to death the King of Castille, and then proceed to acclaim themselves King and Queen of Portugal.

The plan of action was finally arranged between the Count de Trastamara and the Count de Nieva. They secured the intervention of a Franciscan friar, who would cause the bells to be rung within the city walls, and at that signal Count de Nieva would sally out and the Count de Trastamara simulate that he was coming forth with his forces and D. Leonor to encounter him, then the Count de Nieva would pretend to pursue them until he apparently drove them within the walls, and when once D. Leonor Telles should be safely within, close the gates.

This Franciscan friar, however, was very friendly with David Negro and his family, and fearing lest his life should be imperilled, secretly informed him of the plot. The Jew interrogated the friar, desiring further particulars, but this information the friar could not give him. But what he had heard was sufficient, and David Negro at once proceeded to acquaint the King of Castille of all he knew. The King was greatly astonished, especially at the news that D. Pedro was mixed up in the conspiracy, and at once hastened to inform the Queen of this strange revelation, but the Queen was not so surprised as he himself had been, and only replied, "I may tell you that I always suspected that man on account of the great affection he ever manifested to my mother and she for him, although I did not venture to say anything

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about it to your majesty." From this is seen that D. Beatriz, with the shrewd intuitive instincts of a woman, knew her mother better than D. John I.

Urgent steps were necessary to take to defeat the conspiracy, and the King of Castille summoned the Count of Mayorga to him, and it was arranged between them that the Count should watch with his people, and that as soon as Count D. Pedro ventured out with his forces, they should raise the cry of "*Treachery! towards D. Pedro!*" and then the conspirators be apprehended, or slain should they resist. Orders were given to redouble the guard upon D. Leonor Telles. It was the turn of D. Pedro to enter the palace on guard that night, but as he would be delayed, the Count de Mayorga promised to send 500 lances of his own. One of the *escudeiros* of the Count de Trastamara who was in the conspiracy, on seeing all these unusual preparations, hastened to apprise the Count that the secret had been divulged. D. Pedro was greatly alarmed, and he, his brothers, some of the conspirators, and their families endeavoured to fly. The fugitives crossed the bridge, and the Count in a few hurried words apprised Count de Nieva of all that had passed. D. Gonçalo advised them to fly to the suburbs, and D. Pedro with his people proceeded to Santarem.

Meantime the King of Castille awaited, fully armed in his chamber, the signal agreed upon. But as it seemed to him that it was delayed, he sent for D. Pedro, and was apprised that he had fled. He then became aware that his own secret had been discovered. Full of wrath, and knowing that he had fled to the suburbs, the King sent one thousand lances in pursuit. The Count D. Pedro, informed of the orders given in his respect, fled towards Oporto, where he recounted what was done in order that refuge should be granted him. At first, the people of Oporto suspected that all this might be only a stratagem of the Castillians, and their first impulse was to put him to death. But on second thoughts they judged it would be better to watch him, and inform the Master of Aviz of all that passed.

That same night D. John of Castille ordered D. Judas the Jew to be apprehended, being a favourite of D. Leonor Telles, and also her maid of honour, D. Maria Peres. Weary did that night appear to the King, who longed to sift the truth. As soon as it was morning he summoned to his presence the Jew and the maid of honour. There were also present, besides the King, the Queen D. Beatriz, the

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Infante of Navarre, the informer David Negro, and a notary, who was to take the depositions.

As soon as the culprits were brought in, the King ordered them to be stripped and placed under torture. D. Judas hastened to say that in his case it would not be needed, as he was ready to reveal everything, and he at once disclosed the whole plot. The maid of honour made a similar declaration, all of which the notary took down. The King then demanded whether they would ratify all they had said in the presence of D. Leonor Telles. They replied in the affirmative. Then D. Leonor was desired to come in, attended by the knight who was guarding her.

Although D. Leonor came in custody and knew full well what was passing, she nevertheless appeared insensible to the imminence of danger. She was calm and self-possessed. When her eyes fell on the informing Jew, she scornfully and disdainfully said, "You here, D. David? And do you wish to see me?" Then D. John of Castille replied to her questions, "It is more in reason that he should be here, to whom I owe my life, than those who plot my death." He then bade the scrivener read the auto. When D. Leonor had heard the depositions of D. Judas, she exclaimed, "Thou dog of a traitor, dost thou say this of me?" "Yes," replied D. Judas. "I say this is true, and actually took place." Then D. Leonor replied, "You lie like a dog of a traitor, and if this did take place, it was you who counselled me."

D. Leonor had descended from her high pedestal of haughty majesty upon which she had placed herself at first, and lowered herself so far as to use in her wrath the lowest language. The character of D. Leonor was always marked by these contrarities.

D. Beatriz behaved throughout with a noble dignity. She interrupted the altercation between her mother and D. Judas, and turning to her, she said, "Oh, mother, my lady! within a year you would wish to see me a widow, orphaned and forsaken!" It were impossible to be more eloquent, nor more dignified in a few words. Her accusation has the gentle tone of reproof; in her queenly words is felt the feelings of a daughter.

At this juncture D. John of Castille interfered, saying, "I wish to hear no more. I will not put you to death, through the love I bear your daughter, although you would well deserve such a fate, nor is it becoming that you should be any longer in my society, or I in yours, but I will send you to a convent of Castille, where royal widows and

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daughters of kings have dwelt, and I shall order every provision to be made for your welfare."

D. Leonor Telles replied in a tone of haughty disdain, "This you might do with a sister, if you had one whom you wished to make a nun of but not to me, nor will I go. In truth, this is a fit reward that you offer me! I yielded up my position as regent of this kingdom, and gave you a large portion of Portugal, yet now, at the word of a dog of a Jew, who through fear would deny that there was a God, you accuse me of being false, because you do not wish to give me what you promised, and pledged to do after receiving Holy Communion in Santarem."

Ever skilful, even when she beheld her crime discovered and her treachery unmasked, D. Leonor, instead of defending herself, boldly assumed the defensive, and from being the accused became the accuser, making imputations which were certainly true. The King of Castille, perceiving that in this duel of words he would be the loser preferred being silent, and ordered that a council be convened to decide upon what should be done to the widow of D. Ferdinand. The opinions of the council were divided, but at length it was decided to follow out the first idea. The King of Castille ordered Diogo Lopes de Estunhiga to accompany D. Leonor to Castille. Desisting from taking Coimbra, in view of the resistance of the people, D. John retired to Santarem, and from this latter place D. Leonor Telles, before departing, wrote to Martim Annes de Barbuda and to Gonçalo Eannes, of the Castello de Vide, to come and rescue her on the road. This last venture was unsuccessful, owingto these letters reaching their destination after she had already crossed the frontier.

It is not possible for the historian to penetrate into the abyss of this vast and unscrupulous spirit, to learn what remorse agitated her, what recollections assailed her when the heavy doors of the convent were closed, excluding her from the world she had once ruled. We can, however, imagine that during the silence of her sleepless nights many sanguinary spectres must have risen around her; and when the long shadows of evening fell on the lands of Tordesillas, on beholding herself thus forsaken by all the courtiers of her fortunes, forgotten by her daughter, despised as a useless instrument, she who had formerly scorned Providence must have seen the sinister reflections of the awful words, "*Justice of God*," written in letters of fire upon the walls of her cell.

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In the beautiful romance, "Arrhas por foro de Hespanha," Alexandre Herculano says: "The marriage of D. Leonor Telles, and the consequences which resulted from it, formed the first act of the terrible drama in the *Illiada scelerum* of her political life. It was this first act which enabled us to sketch the scene of this historic romance. The whole of the drama under this artistic form would form a terrible record. From this event, until she was dragged in irons to Castille by the hands of the very ones whom she had summoned to desolate her own country, this Portuguese Lucretia Borgia becomes in our history a species of diabolic phantom, which appears wherever there is a deed of treachery, of blood, or of atrocity. Perchance, later on, some man of genius may work out this which we in part have attempted. Then will Portugal possess a romance to equal 'Ivanhoe' or 'Notre Dame.'"*

It was thus that the curtain descended upon the great drama which she was called upon to act in the political scene of Portugal.

But D. John of Castille did not stay to philosophise respecting the feelings of his mother-in-law and the contrasts of fate when once he was rid of her. He turned to torture the maid of honour, Maria Peres, in order that she should reveal the place where D. Leonor Telles had concealed her treasures. The sight of the rack horrified her, and she at once declared that the jewels were kept in the house of a citizen of Santarem. Satisfied that these jewels were perfectly out of place for her use in a convent, D. John of Castille kept them for himself

Now that D. Leonor was withdrawn from the political scene, D. John I. endeavoured to place *hors de combat* his more powerful adversary, the Master of Aviz. By apprehending D. Leonor Telles, he had certainly taken the best means to secure his own safety in the camp, without fear of internal treachery; but at the same time he alienated from him many fidalgos and lands which had been faithful to D. Leonor, and who had obeyed her when she bade them acknowledge the authority of D. John, but who now felt that they were dispensed from following that command on beholding the manner the King of Castille had treated the Queen.

Hence Alemquer, which was one of the lands appertaining to the appanage of D. Leonor and which had firmly resisted the Master when he besieged it, sent messengers as soon as the arrest of the Queen

* "Panorama," vol. vi., p. 56.



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became known, to inform him that if he agreed to restore the land to D. Leonor so as to continue forming part of her appanage when it would be free of the Castillians, the inhabitants were ready to acknowledge his authority. The Master replied assuring them of his constant respect for the Queen, and that he was ready to restore the whole appanage to D. Leonor as soon as she should be in a position to receive it, under the condition that she should not enter into any treaty with the foreigner. Alemquer therefore acknowledged the Master, for a short time, it is true; and the King of Castille, when moving towards the siege of Lisbon, received homage from the Alcaide Vasco Peres de Camões.

All the efforts of D. John of Castille were now especially directed against the Master of Aviz. He decided upon proceeding towards the south, and the march of his army was marked by every species of devastation. In Arruda a great number of the inhabitants had taken refuge in a cave at the approach of the invaders, and the Castillians, finding out the place of concealment, enkindled a huge fire at the entrance and suffocated all the people. In the King's chamber two men fully armed were discovered concealed under the bed, and as their intention was evident they were put to death without mercy.

Whether the audacity of these men revealed the temper of the people, or the advice of his council induced him to desist, we know not, but it is certain that D. John abandoned the scheme of taking Lisbon by sheer force until he should have gathered together before the city all his means of action. He therefore resolved upon waiting for his fleet to arrive on the Tagus in order to complete the blockade, and while the fleet did not appear he remained quietly encamped on the outskirts of the city. Meanwhile he instructed his Admiral, Fernan Sanches de Tovar, to the effect that as soon as he should lead the Spanish fleet into the port of Lisbon, to depart for Castille and place himself at the head of all the forces he could collect together. Then joining theCount of Niebla, D. Alfonso Peres de Guzman, and the Master of Alcantara, to enter the Alemtejo, and in combination with the troops of the Prior of the Portuguese Hospitallers and other fidalgos who had sided for Castille, to proceed to destroy or take all strongholds and places of the Alemtejo which acknowledged the Master of Aviz as their lord and master, and afterwards join the royal army opposite Lisbon in order to strengthen the siege.

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He likewise wrote to Castille asking for direct reinforcements, and commanding the Marquis of Villena, the Archbishop of Toledo, and Pero Gonzales de Mendoza to bring him at least a thousand lances. The whole power of Castille was being brought out in order to crush that small handful of intrepid men which were gathered around the Master of Aviz.

Whilst all this huge mass of forces were preparing to gather around Lisbon, the Master of Aviz was compelled, instead of concentrating his army, to deprive the defence of the capital of a portion of his forces, and of a chief who was in himself equal to a hundred lances. The cities of Alemtejo, which had expelled the Alcaides, attacked the castles, and sided for the Master of Aviz, had sent to Lisbon their adhesion to the new government, and information of the preparations which were being made in Castille to reduce them to obedience, and the approaching arrival of the Master of Alcantara and of the Admiral Fernan Sanches. These cities of the Alemtejo did not demand any other aid from the Master but officers to command the people, who were resolved upon combating the foreigner, but who needed some one to lead them. The King chose Nuno Alvares Pereira, and proposed him to the council. João das Regras opposed this election. For some time past there had existed a latent animosity between the two favourites of the Defender, a feeling which subsisted during the whole reign of D. John I. The characters of the two friends of the Master were almost irreconcilable: one was all ardour, the other all coldness; one was daring, the other prudent; one gentle, subtle, and self-willed, the other loyal and firm; one preferring to brandish the sword, the other wielding the pen as a weapon, at times far more terrible. One absorbed in the perusal of books and in studying the glossaries of Bartholo, the other never at home, but breathing the atmosphere of the battlefield, and poring over the exciting romances of chivalry wherein he found his favourite models; in a word, one a diplomatist, the other a knight; one a man of deep thought, the other a man of action.

João das Regras therefore made war against his colleague, Nuno Alvares, and strove to prove to the Master that for the important post of Frontier Governor of Alemtejo it was needful to have not so much a brave warrior, as he acknowledged Nuno Alvares to be, but a more experienced general, adding that in the Castillian army his brothers had enlisted, and fate was conducting him to the Alemtejo, where he would

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be placed in a difficult position, although he did not imply that this circumstance might induce the youthful soldier to betray his duty and trust. But these objections were of no avail. The Master of Aviz, who generally yielded to the enlightened advice of his councillor, when, however, Nuno Alvares was concerned, towards whom he bore a sincere love, all his words fell unheeded. This circumstance was always a thorn in the heart of the shrewd student of the University of Bologna, and was felt throughout his life. Hence Nuno Alvares was appointed Governor of Alemtejo. Let us now follow him to his campaign, wherein he is to win immortal glory.

The Master of Aviz was unable to withdraw a large portion of his army from the defence of Lisbon, but in consideration of the importance of the operation Nuno had to carry out, he allowed him forty knights and *escudeiros*, who had taken his part, among them, those of Alemtejo, who had fled from the Castillian invasion. These *fidalgos*, with their respective men, did not number above two hundred lances. In order to supply the deficiency, he gave Nuno Alvares full powers as his representative, and all necessary authorisation to punish or reward, as he should deem useful or necessary to the national cause, meanwhile ordered that all his partisans of the threatened province obey him as though he himself were at their head. The Master went so far in his esteem as to accompany Nuno to Almada, where he bade him an affectionate farewell, feeling a heaviness of heart at parting from this loyal, brave youth, who so spontaneously had embraced his cause, and who was so well able to defend it.

Nuno Alvares proceeded towards Setubal. His small force marched beneath the flag which he himself had devised in accordance with the religious ideas of the epoch—white ground quartered by a red cross; in the first quarter was the crucified Christ, with the Virgin Mary and the evangelist Saint John at the foot of the cross. On the second quarter, the Virgin and Child; and in the others were Santiago, the Apostle of Spain, armed as a warrior in accordance with the military character attributed to him by the Spaniards; and Saint George, the cultus of this latter having been introduced into Portugal by the English. Thus protected by the flag which was a species of *Flos Sanctorum* waving in the air, Nuno Alvares, as we said, marched to Setubal, but in that place the images of these saints did not produce the same effect as the trumpets of the Israelites did in Jericho, for the town closed its gates upon them, and it is not proved that a single stone fell upon them from

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the walls. Nuno Alvares withdrew most wrathful, vowing to make Setubal pay dearly for its daring resistance, and encamped in the suburbs, where, pondering on the responsibility of his commission, he judged it would be more prudent to prove the courage of his army.

Alleging that the Castillians might come along the shores of the Tagus during the night and surprise them, he ordered sentinels to be posted along the shore to the distance of a league close to the Castle of Palmella, at the same time secretly instructed Lourenço Fernandes of Beja to raise an alarm at dead of night that the Castillians were approaching. This was carried out. Lourenço Fernandes summoned Nuno Alvares, who gave the signal of alarm and called all the men together, not a single man failing to respond to the call. Quickly arming themselves, they formed together in order of battle, and led by Nuno Alvares, proceeded to the spot indicated by Fernandes. The attitude of the men was excellent, and Nuno was satisfied that he could count on his soldiers. It is needless to add that the Castillians did not put in an appearance, and that Lourenço Fernandes made some excuse that he had been misled by some fires.

After exhorting his men, he proceeded to Montemor-o-Novo, and from thence on to Evora. The youthful Nuno Alvares commenced to scour the Alemtejo, threatening the towns that had remained neutral in the contention, or which had proclaimed themselves for D. Beatriz, taking others, and inciting all to rise up against the Castillians. In Evora he decided to establish his seat of war or centre of operations, and from thence sent emissaries and issued proclamations calling upon all to come and combat for the nation.

The newly appointed Master of the Order of Alcantara, Diogo Gomes or Martins Barroso, who had remained in Badajoz to govern and watch the frontier, now judged necessary to arrest immediately the raids of Nuno, and joining himself to the Count of Niebla, the Admiral Tovar, and other Knights of Andalusia, entered into Portuguese territory with a body numbering a thousand horsemen and some foot-soldiers. It was this that occasioned the first formal encounter of war, which the Portuguese styled *batalha de Atoleiros*.

When Nuno Alvares Pereira was informed of the entry of the Castillians, and that they were marching to the town of Fronteira, he resolved to come out to encounter them from Evora with the men he had at command, consisting of 300 or 400 horse and 1,000 infantry, archers, and others, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's ranks

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in number and quality, for in the Castillian forces there were many Castillian and some Portuguese nobles, such as his own brother, Pedro Alvares. His companions in arms opposed this resolve as being a foolhardy undertaking, but he succeeded in taking them a distance of four leagues, and encamped in a place called *Atoleiros*, a short distance from Fronteira. The Castillians came in this direction, but were rather staggered at the proximity of the enemy, and sent forward a parliamentary to advise them to surrender, but being scornfully dismissed, prepared to punish them.

Nuno Alvares ranged his soldiers before him, and bidding the horsemen to dismount, unfurled the banner, and kneeling down before the effigies of Our Lady and Saint George, as was the custom of those times, prayed silently for a few moments, then rising up, drew the visor over his face, and grasping his lance, energetically exhorted his men to await the attack. The Castillians approached, and likewise dismounted, to combat on foot, but on perceiving that the Portuguese were on foot, judged it would be advantageous to make use of their cavalry, and leaped on their steeds, in full confidence of breaking down the enemy's ranks at the first encounter. Then they rushed on, to the war-cry of "*Castille and Saint James!*" their adversaries responding with the cry of "*Portugal and Saint George!*" and presenting their lances, immovably resisted the charge, many horses falling either dead or wounded from lance thrusts and darts. This so disconcerted and disturbed the Castillians that many leaped from their horses, which caused such confusion and disorder among the ranks that they were fain to retreat, leaving the slain on the field.

Nuno Alvares, who saw that the Castillians were disheartened, attacked them with a sudden, vigorous impulse ere they had time to recover; and although some attempted to resist, nevertheless disorder prevailed, a panic ensued, and they fled, some to the Crato, or towards Montforte and other towns who were for Castille, leaving dead on the battle-field the Master of Alcantara, the *Claveiro** of the same Order, the *Adelantado* of Andalusia, and some Portuguese knights who espoused the cause of D. Beatriz; the loss being insignificant in the conquerors, who still pursued the fugitives for more than a league.

Nuno Alvares at once presented himself in Montforte, which he

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* *Claveiro.* In the Order of Christ in Portugal, he who held the keys of the convent when the knights of that Order lived together.

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was unable to take on account of deficiency of means of attack, and from thence moved on to Arronches, Alegrete, and other places, which surrendered to him; but he was obliged to interrupt his operations, as he received orders to proceed to Coimbra and Oporto in order to reinforce the ships which were being prepared to relieve Lisbon.

The Portuguese fleet being now completely furnished, weighed anchor on the 14th of May, under the command of Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, and moved to Oporto, to receive reinforcements of men and provisions, and return together with the galleys ready in the Douro. This was effected without meeting any difficulties, as the Castillian fleet had not yet arrived.

The squadron of Castille was sighted on the 28th of May, and the King moved his camp upon the city, vainly sending a parliamentary to treat of surrender before he should strengthen the siege. A sharp skirmish or attempt at attack followed, in which the stronghold was assailed by the door of Saint Catherine, and there was the risk of its being forced, the Master of Aviz combating in person; but at length the Castillians were repulsed, leaving the Alcaide of the Donceles dead on the field. All things were favourable to the cause of the Master, and he only awaited the return of the Portuguese fleet to the Tagus, reinforced with the galleys of Oporto. The people of Oporto endeavoured to equip them, but an unexpected difficulty arose up. The Archbishop of Santiago, D. Garcia Manrique, had entered into the province of Entre Douro and Minho with a host, composed of Portuguese and Castillians, who prevented them from collecting provisions by severing all communication with the suburbs. Moreover, Fernando Alfonso de Samora was also harassing the people of Oporto, although they soon rid themselves of the latter. The Count of Trastamara advised them to repulse vigorously the Castillians, and we know that Samora was captured. This enemy being vanquished, it remained to dispose of the Archbishop. The inhabitants of Oporto, by joining the sailors and crews of the galleys of Lisbon, formed an army of five thousand men and marched against the warrior prelate of Santiago, who, after some skirmishes in the suburbs, retired. The galleys then swept along the coasts of Galicia, effecting reprisals, and returned to Oporto, from whence they departed to Lisbon with the expected reinforcement.

D. Nuno Alvares Pereira had been summoned to Lisbon by the Master because his presence in Alemtejo was no longer needed. It was, in truth, in Lisbon where really the war was localised. D. Nuno, who

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longed to be wherever there was danger, at once departed with his hosts to Oporto, but when he arrived the fleet had already weighed anchor, on account, it appears, of the unworthy sentiments of Ruy Pereira, who, through jealousy, would not bring in his company Nuno Alvares, lest he should dim his glory.

Annoyed at this, Nuno Alvares retreated, and in Coimbra very nearly fell into a snare laid by the Countess of Ceia, who wished to revenge herself for the devastations effected by Nuno in Cintra, of which the Count was Alcaide; but, happily, Nuno was informed in time. The forces of Nuno were entirely deficient of means, and he was forced in Coimbra not only to sell all valuables, but appeal to the generosity of the citizens. The Alcaide of the castle, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, on beholding the state of the soldiers, was forced to exclaim, "I am truly astonished that such men should defend this kingdom against the King of Castille, who is so powerful a lord, unless indeed God Himself leads them as their Captain."

Unable to enter Lisbon excepting by sea, Nuno Alvares decided to return to his post in the district of Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana. Being in Constança, he was apprised that bands of Castillians infested the roads, pillaging all they could find, and on a certain day, when a band came from Santarem, he laid in wait and fell upon them, routed them, and took all their goods—gold, silver, and other pillage. Being thus better furnished, thanks to this providential encounter, he raised the camp, and, crossing the Tagus, proceeded to Evora.

Meanwhile the Portuguese squadron, quitting Oporto, was entering the bar of Lisbon.

D. John I. of Castille was a prey to deepest anxiety. He feared lest, in virtue of the diplomatic negotiations started by the Master of Aviz with England, some powerful aid might come from that nation. But he was somewhat reassured on knowing that England was compelled to suspend the preparations of this auxiliary division in order to attend to Scotland, which had renewed war with France. The King of Castille also judged that the fleet expected from Oporto would be a more important one, and he was troubled at the thought that Nuno Alvares Pereira should come with it, bringing valuable reinforcements from the Alemtejo.

On Sunday, 17th July, 1385, D. John I. of Castille received intelligence that the Portuguese squadron was in view of Cascaes. Two Castillian galleys were sent out to observe the Portuguese fleet, and on

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the following morning all the other ships weighed anchor, and ranged themselves in battle array close to the right shore of the Tagus, opposite Rastello, their prows towards Almada, in such a way as to attack the flank of the enemy's squadron. During the night, the Portuguese sent João Ramalho, a merchant of Oporto, to the Master to apprise him that the fleet would enter on the following day. The whole of that night fearful anxiety reigned in the Portuguese camp, because it was felt that the loss of the Portuguese squadron would be equivalent to the loss of the cause of the Master of Aviz. Vows were made, and religious processions took place.

At nine in the morning of the 19th, the Portuguese squadron, composed of seventeen ships and seventeen galleys, entered the bar. The captain of the fleet was Ruy Pereira, the admiral Count D. Gonçalo, brother to D. Leonor Telles. The burghers of Oporto had reminded the Master that it would be convenient to invite the Count de Nieva D. Gonçalo, the Alcaide of Coimbra, to take the supreme command of the fleet, because by his adhesion to the cause would be secured the possession of Coimbra, and the Portuguese would be freed from the anxiety of having so important a stronghold as Coimbra undecided as to what side to espouse. The Master concurred in the proposal, and at once sent an envoy to the Count D. Gonçalo to offer the command. He consented on condition that he should receive in return the lands which had constituted the appanage of his sister, D. Leonor. In truth, ambition was the reigning passion of that family. But these lands had been already promised to Nuno Alvares Pereira. What was to be done?

Nuno Alvares, who was still in the Alemtejo, on learning what passed, at once wrote to the Master desiring him to freely yield up the lands, because it was a pleasure to him to contribute towards acquiring one more partisan, and who, moreover, was considered an important one. This explains the reason why we find the Count D. Gonçalo leading the Portuguese squadron.

Let us now watch the entry within the bar of Lisbon.

The first leading ship, called *Milheira*, was furnished with sixty men and soldiers and forty archers, commanded by Ruy Pereira. This was followed by four ships, and behind these came seventeen galleys, the remaining twelve bringing up the rear. The wind was favourable as they entered the bar, and the Castillians allowed the ships of Ruy Pereira and the galleys to pass, then the Castillians closed upon

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them, quickly cutting off the entry of the others behind. The galleys would have been lost but for the heroic resolution of Ruy Pereira. But the first ships were already on the side of Almada. The whole population of Lisbon had gathered on the walls, watching anxiously, and following every movement, and when this manœuvre of the Castillian fleet took place there was a moment of terror. The Portuguese squadron was about to be crushed by the Castillians. Every craft available was quickly prepared, and the Master of Aviz himself hastened to enter, with four hundred men, one of the Genoese ships which had been previously captured, and afford some relief to our fleet, but the winds, which blew contrary, and the confusion which reigned compelled him to retreat. But Ruy Pereira was there to save skilfully the Portuguese squadron. Seeing the manœuvre of the Castillian, he suddenly turned the leading ship, the four others followed with a similar movement, and with terrible daring ran against the forty Castillian ships and fiercely attacked them. The squadron of Castille, compelled to respond to the attack, was unable to prevent the passage of the Portuguese galleys, and the twelve ships which had remained behind now came to assist Ruy Pereira in the combat.

This feat cost Ruy Pereira his life, and his ship, with two others, was captured, but the Portuguese fleet had entered in. The besieged were wild with joy and excitement within the walls of Lisbon. On the termination of the battle, the Portuguese squadron proceeded to place itself under shelter of the city walls along the beach from the Tercenas to the Porta do Mar. There it remained during the rest of the siege, paralysed in its efforts, because, besides losing three ships, the Castillian squadron became reinforced by an addition of twenty-one ships and four galleys, which, with the three captured from the Portuguese, numbered sixty-four ships and seventeen galleys. Yet despite the immense superiority of fifty ships, they were unable to take the Portuguese ships, as they were protected by the fortifications of the city.

But the blockade was as strong as ever, and there were no hopes of raising it. Meanwhile the King of Castille resolved upon taking possession of Almada, and, reinforcing his troops there, strengthen the siege; but he obtained no results, all efforts were unavailing, either by sheer force or intimidation, and at length he resolved upon starving them out. It was then that the inhabitants of Almada afforded the kingdom an immortal example of heroism. It was not long before

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within the beleaguered city all the horrors of hunger and thirst began to be felt.

The Master of Aviz, unable to obtain any news from the other side of the Tagus, owing to communications being intercepted by the Castillian squadron, was a prey to the greatest anxiety. He only knew that Almada would not surrender, and could only imagine the sufferings of the defenders, and lament his powerlessness to afford relief. At length a native of Almada, who had come in the squadron from Oporto, offered to swim across the Tagus, and learn what passed. He departed at night, communicated with the inhabitants of the town, and returned before the morning. The Master of Aviz, on hearing the deplorable accounts brought, besought the man to return to Almada three days later, and advise the people to surrender, as he was unable to succour them, and as they had heroically endured as far as they could do so, it was not in human endurance to do more, hence he advised them to surrender. This was done, but only after lengthened negotiations, because the King of Castille appeared determined upon putting them to the sword, but at length he was persuaded to grant them life and safety, yielding to the entreaties of D. Beatriz.

This heroic defence of the Almadenses filled the kingdom with enthusiasm, the heart of the Master with gratitude, and the enemy with astonishment.

D. John I. of Castille began to perceive what the Lord of Briviesca had constantly urged, that a nation capable of so many sacrifices and so much self-denial practised to sustain the national cause was not to be conquered. If it had taken six weeks to reduce a town such as Almada, where want of water had tried them from the first days of the siege, and the little they could get was stagnant, and to obtain even that little they had to purchase it at the price of blood, since it was only by fighting with the Castillians that they could obtain it, how would he be able to take Lisbon, where he had already spent two months and a half with no greater result than the taking of three ships, moreover he knew the garrison of the besieged stronghold had been reinforced and victualled by the ships which had escaped? These thoughts rose up to trouble the King of Castille, and to humble his pride; but the indignation of thus seeing himself humbled by an enemy he despised, and the mortification of having raised a powerful army and obtained no result, induced him to persevere. He resolved to resort to other means.

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He had obtained nothing by force or skill, perchance he might obtain something by employing treachery.

But it seemed that an invisible shield was held by Providence over the head of the Master of Aviz, against which all darts, whether poisoned or not, of the enemy fell harmless, or were broken in twain.

As we said, the Count D. Alvaro de Castro, although he had espoused the cause of the Master, never manifested himself very attached. He died during the siege, and left a son guarding one of the quadrangles of the walls, which the Master had confided to him, and also inherited the feelings of disaffection which he had manifested towards the Defender.

It was not difficult for the emissaries of the King of Castille to enter into communications with this individual, who was called D. Pedro D. Castro, and what is more strange, with João Lourenço da Cunha, the first husband of D. Leonor Telles, who, on passing to the side of D. Beatriz, was placing himself in an embarrassing position; but ambition explains many otherwise inexplicable affairs.

It is a certain fact that the time and signal to be given were already assigned for the men-at-arms of D. Pedro de Castro to deliver up to the Castillians the quadrangle they guarded, when a serious illness attacked João da Cunha, which was at once pronounced fatal. On seeing himself on the verge of the grave, João Lourenço experienced deep feelings of remorse, and confided to his confessor that he had entered into a conspiracy against the Master of Aviz. The confessor refused to give him absolution, excepting on condition of his revealing the whole plot to the Master himself. He acceded to the conditions and made known the plot. D. Pedro de Castro and his accomplices were apprehended, and the quadrangle, which extended from San André to the door of Saint Augustine, was occupied by other troops, who received orders to make the signal agreed upon.

When the Castillians approached confidently the walls, they were received, to their dismay, with a discharge of arrows, missiles, stones, and projectiles, which completely threw them into a state of disorder.

The people, excited by the news of this treachery, desired to put an end to the traitors, and it became necessary for the Master to interfere.

On seeing that this means had failed him, the King of Castille desired to attempt anew the fate of arms, and resolved upon taking the Portuguese galleys which were moored to the shore. For this

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end he ordered the squadron to endeavour to capture them, as they were undefended or only sparely equipped, meanwhile that the Count de Mayorga should on land effect an assault in order to divert the attention of the defenders. The project failed, thanks to the intrepidity of the Master and of many of his fidalgos, among them being distinguished João Rodrigues de Sa', later on known as *Sa' of the galleys*, who performed prodigious feats of valour, repelling alone with an *escudeiro* the Castillians from one of the galleys which the latter had already caught, receiving in this affray fifteen wounds. The Master also afforded to all an example of bravery and even of temerity. He was under the water for some time, owing to his horse being killed under him by the Castillians, and thrown down, but saved himself, thanks to his presence of mind.

Fernão Lopes gives us a most picturesque narrative of this encounter, one of those so characteristic of his chronicles: "At this time the battle became more vexed, and emulation arose as to who would show greater bravery, while the braying of trumpets, ringing of bells, and shouts of '*Portugal and Saint George!*' to which others responded, *Castille and Saint James!*' all mingled together to make a fearful uproar; the Master meanwhile issuing commands, but which the uproar prevented from being heard or obeyed, and he really seemed to be issuing orders to the winds."

On that occasion the Castillians were unable to capture any of the Portuguese ships, and, moreover, lost one of their own. This battle was fought on the 17th of August, and many other skirmishes and sorties took place, with varied result, which it is unnecessary to mention, but from all these no decisive action resulted. Nevertheless, both sides were wishful that this state of things should end—the besieged because the provisions were getting scarce, the besiegers by reason that pestilence was already working fearful inroads in the camp. The epidemic at length assumed such proportions, attacking both fidalgos and soldiers, that the King of Castille decided to enter into negotiations with the Master. The latter was also desirous to come to terms, and thus peace was almost arranged, when a clause which the King insisted upon prevented the conclusion of the treaty. As a fact, the King yielded up to the Master the regency of the kingdom, and the Master of Aviz acknowledged the royal claims of D. Beatriz, and pledged himself to deliver up the government of the kingdom to the firstborn which she should have by the King of Castille, as soon as he attained his majority; but

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the King desired a Castillian nobleman to join the Master, and the Master alleged in opposition that the Portuguese would never consent to being governed by a foreigner. As neither contracting parties would yield, the negotiations fell to the ground, these negotiations being carried on by Pedro Fernandes de Velasco. A second attempt at an understanding, directed by the Prior of Crato, D. Pedro Alvares, likewise fell through. The latter, who boasted before the King of Castille that he would bring the Master to an accord, because he had been formerly a great friend of his, resolved, in revenge, to overcome him through his brother, Nuno Alvares. He wrote to the latter in Alemtejo, to the effect that the Master was negotiating with the King of Castille, and that in these negotiations not a word was said respecting the frontier governor of the Guadiana, a circumstance which greatly incensed him, as a brother and as a man, that the Master should forget the many services he had rendered him. But Nuno Alvares saw through the scheme, and replied at once "that if the Master entered into any compacts with the King, he knew full well it would always be those which were honourable and to the good of the whole nation."

Hence treacheries, intrigues, and combats all fell harmlessly on the impenetrable coats of mail of these men of iron temperament, on these heroes of Plutarch, these models of valour and of loyalty.

Seeing that he could obtain no result by negotiation, the Master summoned a council to resolve upon the best way of combating the King of Castille, because, should the siege be protracted a longer time, it would be impossible that Lisbon could support all the horrors of famine which were already beginning to be felt. After some discussion it was decided that the Master should instruct Nuno Alvares to attack the camp, meanwhile that those within the city walls sallied out, and by thus assailing the Castillian army simultaneously on both sides, compel them to raise the siege. The youthful commander was ready to obey those orders, but found his own men so remiss and opposed to carrying out so foolhardy an enterprise, that he was fain to apprise the Master of their reluctance, and the plan was given up.

On Saturday, 27th August, the Castillians resolved upon effecting a more formal attack than any previous ones, by land and by sea. The Count of Mayorga, at the head of a picked body of knights and archers, attacked the Portuguese at the gate, called of Santa Catharina. The defence of the Portuguese was energetic and obstinate. The Master of

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Aviz fought with them, and, after a sanguinary combat, the assailants retired. Both armies experienced great losses.

The enemy became disheartened, not only at witnessing the heroic defence of the Portuguese, but on account of the number of deaths which daily took place in the camp. In July the fever broke out among the Castillians, and quickly assumed a pernicious character until it culminated in a horrible epidemic. The soldiers and the peasants were the first to fall victims, but soon after it attacked the higher classes, and, among others, D. Pedro Fernandes de Velasco, who died from it.

An eclipse of the sun, which took place on 19th August, instilled a great superstitious fear into the Castillians, which was increased by the fact that the Portuguese were exempt from the terrible epidemic. They judged that this was a punishment from God. The number of victims was over two hundred daily, and among them the Master of Santiago, D. Pedro Fernandes Cabeza de Vaca; Ruy Gonsalves Mexia, who substituted him; Admiral Tovar; the two Marshals, Pedro Sarmento and Alvares de Toledo; the Chief Commander of Castella, D. Pedro de Sandoval; and D. Pedro Nunes de Lara, Count of Mayorga, whose death was profoundly felt. According to Ayala, 2,000 Castillians perished, while Froissart increases the number to 20,000.

The King, although in weak health, had not yet been attacked; nevertheless, he removed with the Queen and the Court to Almada, and was resolved upon continuing the siege, in spite of the counsels of his courtiers, especially of the Infante D. Carlos de Navarre, who bade him not tempt God. However, the Queen D. Beatriz sickened of the disease, and then D. John of Castille decided to raise the siege. In September the King and Queen crossed the Tagus. The Queen was conducted in a litter, as she was very ill; and when they reached Torres Vedras she was almost inanimate, the disease became aggravated, and the King now fell ill of the same epidemic. They hastened to quit Torres Vedras and proceed to Santarem.

In Lisbon the joy of the Portuguese on witnessing the retreat of the Castillians was very great. D. Nuno Alvares, in spite of the presence of the Castillian fleet on the Tagus, crossed the river and came to congratulate the Master of Aviz. A procession, headed by the Bishop of Lisbon, D. João Escudeiro, was formed, to receive him; a religious festival was held, Friar Rodrigo of Cintra preaching

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an eloquent sermon, and on all sides there were demonstrations of popular joy.

"Such was the siege of Lisbon," writes Sr. Sandoval, "that commenced by an imperfect blockade in the month of February, which did not assume any serious character until the end of May, and lasted barely four months—that is to say, from 6th May until 3rd September, when the siege was raised."

In Torres Vedras D. John of Castille summoned a council. The French captains were of opinion that the war should be continued, and the Castillians that it should be ended. We know for certain that the King left Torres Vedras to proceed to Santarem, where he remained until the end of September, in order to afford some rest to his army. His intention, when departing from Santarem, was to continue the war under more favourable conditions when the winter should be over—an intention he carried out. Leaving the Castle of Santarem fully garrisoned, as well as all others which were of the Castillian party, he went to Torres Novas, which surrendered to him.

Towards the middle of October the army continued its march. The vanguard was preceded by a long line of mules, laden with the coffins of the Castillian fidalgos that had perished in Portugal, these coffins being each escorted by the pages and shield-bearers of their respective masters. On the rear guard followed the King and the Court, accompanied by a strong escort. In their march to the frontier no one came forth to oppose the Castillian army. On reaching the frontier, the King granted leave of absence temporarily to the army, which dispersed to their respective provinces; the King and Queen then departed on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving for the preservation of their lives, to the renowned sanctuary of Guadaloupe. The Court continued to reside in that city until the month of January, 1385, when it was removed to Seville.

After the first burst of joy, the Master of Aviz set about taking possession of the places and castles which had remained faithful to Castille. The Master fell upon Cintra, but owing to a great storm, was compelled to retreat. He then went to Almada, which the King of Castille had left undefended, although carrying as hostages some children of the place. Notwithstanding risking the lives of their children, the Almadenses at once opened the gates to the Master, and repulsed the Castillians of the fleet who had come to victual on the shores of the Tagus before departing.

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As the Cortes were to meet in Coimbra, the Master of Aviz took that direction, hoping to conquer on his way some of the towns and castles. Alemquer, which had formerly offered itself to the Master, now bravely opposed him, and was defended by the Alcaide Vasco Peres de Camões. But in the end he had to capitulate, saving nevertheless the rights of D. Leonor Telles.

From Alemquer the Master proceeded to Torres Vedras, where he met with a vigorous resistance. During the siege of this place the Castillians retained as prisoners the new Prior of Crato, Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, and the son of D. Maria Telles, D. Lopo de Sousa, Master of the Order of Christ.

After raising the siege of Torres Vedras, D. John proceeded to Coimbra, where, as we said, the Cortes were to be held, under the pretext that it was needful to take some definite measures to raise the country from its depressed state. But the people were well aware that the principal motive for the convocation of the Cortes was the official recognition of the rights of the Master to the throne of Portugal. Hence, if the voice of the people enthusiastically approved this question as soon as presented, there were sufficient reasons for mistrusting the intentions of the nobility.

When the Cortes were opened in Coimbra, the Chancellor, João das Regras, was the first to speak, because it was to him that the difficult task of placing *hors de combat* the other candidates to the throne of Portugal, to the advantage of the Master of Aviz, had been secretly entrusted. The first point he touched upon was the candidature of D. Beatriz. This he combated by saying that the Queen of Castille was an illegitimate daughter of D. Leonor Telles, because she was born during the lifetime of João Lourenço da Cunha; that, moreover, D. Ferdinand and Leonor Telles were related by a degree of consanguinity which did not admit dispensation by reason that D. Ferdinand, as well as João da Cunha, were great-grandsons of D. Alfonso III.; and lastly, that there was no certainty that D. Beatriz was the daughter of the King D. Ferdinand.

Furthermore, in order to deliver the spirit of the fidalgos, who were bound by oath to the cause of D. Beatriz, from any scruple on that score, he reminded them of the violation of the treaties on the part of the King of Castille, and that this sovereign was outside the pale of the Church, having acknowledged the Pope of Avignon, whereas the government of the Master had recognised the Holy Father Urban as



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the true Pope. His audience allowed themselves to be carried away by the burning words of the gifted Chancellor, and applause greeted him on all sides of the house, more particularly when he appealed to their feelings of patriotism, which should induce all good Portuguese to oppose the candidature of D. Beatriz. Effecting a triumph in the first difficulty, he proceeded to speak of the two sons of Iñez de Castro.

This attack was a far more difficult one, not only because the legitimate party was very numerous, as because the Master of Aviz himself had acknowledged the right of the Infante D. João, the eldest son of Iñez de Castro. But João das Regras, with that skilfulness which characterised him, endeavoured to attack the question by the root, and at once placed in doubt the legitimacy of the marriage of D. Pedro with D. Iñez de Castro. He drew attention to the contrarities of character which were untenable in a resolute temper as that of D. Pedro and his alleged fear of declaring during the lifetime of his father that D. Iñez was his legitimate wife, observing that it was absolutely incredible that all the persons who were said to have assisted at the marriage should have forgotten or lost the date, month, and year when it took place, with a sole exception of Stephen Lobato, whose declaration ought to have revived the memory of the others who were present, and he was surprised that D. Pedro should have only made such a declaration four years after the death of his father.

"And for what reason was this done?" argued João das Regras. "Because neither during the lifetime of his father nor up to that time had he ever been able to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for the legitimation of his children; then he made this publication, as you have seen, to show that they were legitimate, come what might." João das Regras had skilfully prepared his discourse, and as he proceeded from point to point with telling effect, he rejoiced to see that his arguments were working the desired result.

Moreover, he drew attention to the fact that even should D. Pedro be actually married to D. Iñez, the marriage would be an illegitimate one by reason that D. Pedro was nearly related to the father of D. Iñez de Castro, and also because D. Iñez was sponsor to the Infante de Luiz, son of D. Pedro and D. Constança, which alone would constitute a grave impediment. Hence D. Beatriz of Castille and the sons of D. Iñez de Castro were *hors de combat*, who, besides the illegitimacy of their origin, had been unfaithful to their country to favour Castille.

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Therefore, it only remained to them to elect the Master of Aviz, who was not only of royal blood, but had defended heroically the country under most difficult circumstances.

Nevertheless the victory achieved by João das Regras was not yet a decisive one, because the assembly was divided into two factions—one which favoured the cause of the Infante D. João, and was led by Martim Vasques da Cunha; the other, which advocated the cause of the Master, whose exponent was João das Regras and the *leader*, Nuno Alvares Pereira.

A resolution had not yet been taken, and the future appeared vague and threatening, which induced Nuno Alvares to disencumber himself violently of Martim Vasques. But João das Regras continued calm, whilst Nuno Alvares was all impatience. It was because João das Regras had yet in reserve a terrible blow which he would level at the last with triumphant success. And in effect, at a new session of the Cortes, João das Regras set in action his whole reserve artillery, and prepared to read some documents which *he would rather hush up.*

The first document which was read was a letter from the King D. Alfonso to the Archbishop of Braga, beseeching his interference in order that the Pope should deny to his son, D. Pedro, who *was intoxicated with love,* the dispensation he would solicit for his marriage with D. Iñez de Castro.

João das Regras then proceeded to read a letter of D. Pedro to the Pope, in which he declared having married D. Iñez de Castro despite the parentage existing between them, and begged of him to confirm the marriage in such a manner *that the boys should be legitimate.*

After stating to the assembly the great efforts which were employed by the ambassadors of D. Pedro to the Holy See to obtain the papal confirmation, João das Regras opened a third roll of parchment, which he commenced to read. It was the Pope's reply to the solicitations of D. Pedro. This document, as well as the above quoted, are found stamped in the chronicles of Fernam Lopes. But in order not to tediously lengthen this narrative, we shall limit ourselves simply to state that Pope Innocent VI. categorically refused to legitimise the marriage and the offsprings.

In view of these proofs, which carried with them a great value especially if we bear in mind the epoch and the times, the group which defended the legitimacy of the eldest son of Iñez de Castro threw

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aside their scruples, and made common cause with the defenders of the candidature of the Master of Aviz.

Then the prelates, the fidalgos, and the representatives of the Councils proceeded to offer to the Master the crown of Portugal. It might be well supposed that he would receive the crown joyfully without endeavouring to further strengthen his ground. But the Master of Aviz knew likewise how to prepare effects, and he alleged that *there were also embarrassments in the defects of his own birth, as in the profession he had made in the Order of Aviz*, principally that it would be inconvenient that, being king, he should be conquered by Castille, a fact which would neither be humiliating to him nor to the kingdom so long as he was no more than a simple knight. Lastly, that they could always reckon upon his goodwill and assistance whenever the defence of the country was concerned.

To this speech the prelates, fidalgos, and representatives of Councils replied by urging him to accept the crown, because otherwise Portugal would run the great risk of falling into the hands of the enemies, *principally schismatics and enemies to the Holy Church.*

The Master of Aviz, who could not be accused of ambition, because he had offered difficulties to the acceptance of the crown, at length yielded to the general wish, and at once prepared for the solemn act of acclamation, appointing Nuno Alvares Pereira to direct all the preparations for the event.

In effect, the Master of Aviz was acclaimed King of Portugal on 6th April, 1385, being twenty-seven years of age.

At length the work commenced by the people became crowned by the clergy and the nobility. A king at last ascended the throne of Portugal chosen by the popular will, and whose candidature had triumphed, thanks to their persevering efforts. Most certainly three elements had contributed to the success of the undertaking—the firm will of the people, the brave sword of Nuno Alvares Pereira, and the experienced skill of the Doctor of Laws, João das Regras.

The Master of Aviz, the bastard son of D. Pedro I. and of D. Thereza Lourenço, ascended the throne of D. Alfonso Henry, under the title of D. John I.

END OF FIFTH BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE SIXTH.

1385—1433.

**First acts of D. João I.—Exigencies of the Cortes—Battle of Trancoso—Events which took place before the decisive battle of Aljubarrota—The strength of both armies—Seat of war—Movements of the Castillians and the Portuguese—The battle—Victory of the Portuguese—Losses and spoils of the enemy—Remuneration for services—Valverde—Influences of this battle—The King in Tras-os-Montes—The pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster are renewed—His arrival in Portugal—Marriage of D. João I.—He is attacked by a grave illness—Internal and external administration—Negotiations for peace—The family of D. João I.—Spirit of chivalry in his sons—An expedition to Ceuta is first projected—The King maintains reserve on this subject—Illness and death of the Queen—Expedition to Ceuta—Last years of the reign and death of D. João I.**

THE first act of D. João I. on his elevation to the throne of Portugal was to recompense those whose signal services had contributed to his elevation, and to appoint the officers of his Court and household. Among those to whom he entrusted the most confidential charges were Nuno Alvares Pereira, Alvaro Pereira, Gil Vasques da Cunha, Affonso Furtado, Lourenço Annes Fogaça, and others, reserving to himself the office of Master of Aviz.

When the grave question of the election of the King had been resolved by the Cortes of Coimbra, the Parliament turned to arrange the affairs of State. The city of Lisbon claiming that to her was due the greater consideration, owing to her heroic defence of the cause of the Master of Aviz, besought the new King to admit, as a permanent right, the election of a citizen of Lisbon to the council; that the seat of the government be established in Lisbon, and that he should entrust the custody of the royal seal to a native of this city.

The representatives of the other councils desired the King not to admit in his Councils of State any persons who should have defended the cause of D. Leonor Telles; that the sovereign should not decide

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upon peace or war without a previous convocation of the Cortes; nor that any person be compelled to marry against his will, as had taken place during the former reign.

These exigencies demanded by the Cortes were only natural after having conferred the royal power on the Master of Aviz. This was its recompense, so to say, in view that the principal personages of the party of the Master had been already remunerated. Moreover, the people had always tended to growing elated at their own triumphs, exaggerating their power. This is truly the danger of democracy. It is this tendency which explains how in our days the French and Spanish Republics become transformed into hideous sinks of communism. It needs a great prudence and tact to appreciate duly these exigencies in those who have to resolve them. It is true to say, however, that in all the demands placed before D. João I. in the Cortes of Coimbra, there is a manifest fund of justice, of morality and reason. The King could not possibly refuse them, because they were in their nature reasonable; and, moreover, he could not disperse the popular element, which would become again necessary when continuing the campaign against Castille.

And in effect the King of Castille, who had withdrawn to Seville, had not abandoned his projects of war, and intended to take his revenge for the unsuccessfulness of his first campaign. New ships had been equipped and furnished in all the ports, in order to proceed to blockade Lisbon; two Castillian galleys had already entered the Tagus, and intercepted as far as they could the entry of provisions into the city. The new King of Portugal was likewise actively preparing, and his agents were anxiously working to obtain resources and means, people and alliances. The Cortes of Coimbra, although perchance somewhat exacting as regards their rights and privileges, were open-handed in assisting the Master to maintain the cause of independence.

Meanwhile, Lourenço Annes Fogaça, the ambassador in England, was entering into an alliance with Richard II., and prepared and outfitted archers and English soldiers, who departed for Portugal in three ships, one of which ported in Setubal and the others to Lisbon. These two latter ones encountered the Castillian galleys, which tried to capture them, but they defended themselves so bravely that, taking advantage of a favourable wind, they anchored opposite the city, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had prayerfully watched the unequal combat, and to the wrath of the Castillians, who thus saw escaping from their hands the prey they judged so easy to win.

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Other English ships proceeded to Oporto. D. João I. sent his Constable, Nuno Alvares Pereira, to Oporto, in order to organise a squadron which should be ready for any eventuality. But the burghers of Oporto made known to him the impoverished state they were in, and therefore he proceeded to the north, under pretext of making a pilgrimage to Santiago of Gallicia. Senhor Ximenez de Sandoval implies that this pilgrimage was only a pretext, but the Portuguese chronicles assure us that it was the principal object of the expedition of D. Nuno. These religious acts were certainly in the spirit of the times, and often did the pilgrims in those epochs proceed on their way to the sanctuaries battling, as took place on this occasion, because Nuno Alvares, as he proceeded towards the Alto Minho, captured on his way Nieva, Vianna, Monção, Caminha, and Villa Nova da Cerveira. Whether owing to the swollen state of the river Minho, or to the fact that the Constable had no other end in view but the taking of the places of the Alto Minho, Nuno Alvares stayed in a *very good village*, says Fernam Lopes, close to the river.

Meanwhile D. João I., in order probably to reanimate the spirits of the people of Oporto, who had shown themselves so faithful to his cause, departed from Coimbra to Oporto, where he had never been, and where he was received with great joy and many festivities, which his chronicler minutely describes. This portion of the chronicle of Fernam Lopes, although it may not possess a great importance in the history of the reign of D. João I., yet it is very interesting in an ethological point of view, because it affords us an insight into the manner in which the Portuguese people received their King in the Middle Ages. In passing, we shall only say that some of these festivities consisted of women singing along the streets songs in allusion to the event, in throwing balls up in the air, in feats of jumping and other acrobatic acts, and in ladies from the windows casting on the King, as he passed, flowers, millet, wheat, and other emblematic offerings.

We shall take the opportunity here of giving, in a few hasty sketches, the description of the city of Oporto as it was in that epoch. We will give this outline in the deep and correct lineaments which only the pen of Alexandre Herculano could afford us.

"Towards the end of the fourteenth century Oporto was far from the position which awaited her. The leaven of its future grandeur was latent in the character of its sons, in its situation, and in the political and industrial changes which, later on, took place in Portugal. Although

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noble, and remembered as the origin of the name of this Portuguese lineage, her destinies were humble in comparison to those of theocratic Braga, of chivalrous Coimbra, of courtly Santarem, with the Roman and monumental Evora, and to Lisbon, in its turbulent, warlike, and mercantile spirit. He who beheld Oporto crowned with her cathedral, semi-Arab, semi-Gothic, instead of the turreted Alcasar, with its plain belfries in place of its tower of homage, square and massive, so different from the belfries of other Christian towns, perchance because among us the Arab architects wished to leave the *almadenas* of their mosques stamped, as a sign of former bondage, on the face of the temple of the Nazarene. He who would view the episcopal *borough* clustered around the church, and defended rather by sacerdotal anathemas than by engines of war, would little think that from this submissive borough would rise up an emporium of commerce wherein for five centuries, more than in any other town of that class in the kingdom, called boroughs, possessed the consciousness of its strength and its rights, and would afford to the whole of Portugal examples of its steadfast love of independence and liberty.

"The populous and vast city of Oporto, which at the present day extends for more than a league from the Seminario to beyond the Miragaia, or rather up to Foz, on the right shore of the river, and extending widely inland, manifested even at the end of the fourteenth century the distinctive elements which composed it. On the east, the *borough of the Bishop*, built up along the brow of the Monte da Sé, ended in the market gardens which covered the whole valley, where at the present day stands the *praça de D. Pedro* and the streets called Das Flores and S. João, which separated it from the monasteries of S. Domingos and S. Francisco. On the west, the town of Miragaia, placed around the Hermitage of S. Pedro, overstepped the side of Olival, and met on the north the park of Cedofeita, and on the east with the town or episcopal borough. The Church, the Municipality, and the Monarchy all fought for ages within these limits their battles of predominance, until at length the Crown triumphed. Then did the line which divided the three populations disappear rapidly beneath the foundations of the temples and palaces. Oporto constituted itself an example of monarchical unity."

Having traced the Oporto of that epoch, let us state that in the ancient house of the *Almazem* (a building which for many years after served as the custom-house) our kings of the Middle Ages used to lodge

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when visiting Oporto. It was there in effect where D. João I. took up his residence, and it was in that house where he received D. Leonor d'Alvim, the wife of the Constable, whom he had never before seen.

From Oporto, D. João I. went secretly to Guimarães in combination with two knights of that place, in order to wrench it from the power of Castille and from the hands of the Alcaide Ayres Gomes da Silva. The Alcaide resisted and took refuge within the second circle of ramparts when the first had been invaded by the soldiers of D. João I. On both sides stood brave knights—among those of the King was the renowned Sa' of the Galleys, and among those of the Alcaide a Spaniard of consummate valour, called Alvaro Tordefumos; hence D. João I. had to send to Oporto for engines of war. But at length Ayres Gomes da Silva was forced to capitulate conditionally, should the King of Castille not send the aid besought within a stipulated term, when hostilities would recommence.

An emissary was sent to Cordova to deliver the message to the King of Castille. Meanwhile the Portuguese were impatient, and attacked the second line of walls, deriving some advantage. The reply of the King of Castille quickly arrived, to the effect that in so short a space of time it would be impossible to succour him; therefore the Alcaide was forced to deliver up the fortress. He did not long survive the defeat, being conducted out of the stronghold in the arms of his people, and died a few days after.

The taking of Guimarães excited the spirits of the people of Braga, who proclaimed D. João I., fought the garrison of the fortress, and besought the aid of their new king. The latter sent to them Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, and bade the Constable proceed likewise to Braga. Nuno Alvares rejoiced at this new order, which afforded him a legitimate pretext for not concluding the pilgrimage, and at once proceeded to the archiepiscopal city and took the command of the people of Braga, and directing towards the fortress all the engines of war and siege, continued the attack for two nights and a day, until the fortress was obliged to surrender.

D. João I. proceeded to Ponte do Lima, whose castle resisted heroically, and it was only when the fortress was in flames and nearly burnt down that the Alcaide and his men surrendered. They were taken prisoners and sent to Oporto, from whence they proceeded to Coimbra, subjected to much ill-treatment at the hands of the people. The King and Constable after all these victories departed to Guimarães,

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where, after a few days' rest, they proceeded to the south of the kingdom to continue the preparations for war.

Meanwhile the King of Castille was also preparing to renew the strife. He besought France to aid him by sending auxiliary companies, and from Talavera issued orders to his kingdoms and seigniorities for each to send a certain number of soldiers. He then went to Seville, and ordered a squadron to be fitted to run close to Lisbon, in order to prevent any foreign aid coming in. However, D. John of Castille was obliged to interrupt his labours, owing to a grave illness which assailed him, and it was not until the month of April that he was able to go to Cordova to continue his task. He ordered the Archbishop of Toledo to gather together, on the frontier, forces and provisions, while he concentrated other forces in Badajoz, to where he proceeded, accompanied by the Masters of Alcantara and Calatrava. On reaching Badajoz, D. John of Castille endeavoured to besiege the stronghold of Elvas, which obstinately resisted the siege of the Castillians.

"As this siege was prolonged," says Senhor Sandoval, "which seemed to be the commencement of the invasion through the Alemtejo, the King received news of a great defeat experienced by his own forces, which had penetrated as an incursion from Ciudad Rodrigo. For this reason, or because it was no longer expedient to work on that side, he raised the camp and transferred it to Alcantara, in order to march later on upon Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving in Badajoz some corps charged with watching and protecting the frontier and show hostilities to the enemy's country."

The defeat referred to by Senhor Sandoval at this period is that of the battle of Trancoso, which was very similar to that experienced by the Castillians on the previous year in the action of the *Atoleiros*. D. João I. of Portugal was greatly pleased when he received the news of this victory, but his joy was soon dimmed by the news that the port of Lisbon had been blockaded by a Castillian armada. Hence D. João hastened to depart from Guimarães with his Constable, and during his journey to the south of the kingdom received in Coimbra a proposal of alliance from the King of Navarre. When he arrived to Penella, which was on the side of Castille, he found the national flag already hoisted in the castle, which had been taken by the people. In Torres Novas, which resisted, the Portuguese had a skirmish with the Castillians, and defeated them. In Santarem likewise took place some skirmishes, the

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Portuguese winning. D. João continued his march towards the south, sending the Constable to Alemtejo to recruit troops, and assigning Abrantes as the point of reunion.

Nuno Alvares departed to carry out his mission, reaching Evora, which he found somewhat disheartened, owing to the garrison troops, on essaying to take provisions to succour the garrison of Arronches, being beaten by the Castillians on the road. But the Constable endeavoured to reanimate the spirit of the inhabitants of Evora, and enlisted two thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred archers, and with this corps went to Abrantes to join the King, who awaited him there with a reinforcement from Lisbon, which included a hundred English.

As for the King of Castille, rendered desperate by the ill-success of the affair of Trancoso, he crossed the frontier and besieged Elvas, which was defended by the renowned Gil Fernandes. However, learning that the Castillian fleet, composed of 12 galleys and 46 ships, had arrived n the Tagus, he resolved upon widening the field of operations, and for this object ordered all the troops to be gathered together in Ciudad Rodrigo. Before quitting Elvas the King of Castille practised fearful atrocities, which historians censure in vehement, indignant terms. He ordered some Portuguese prisoners to be mutilated, which gave rise to a retaliation in a similar manner by Gil Fernandes.

While impatiently awaiting to gather together his army in Ciudad Rodrigo and before the arrival of the forces commanded by D. Carlos of Navarre, he summoned a council, wherein, as usual, opinions differed. Some were of opinion that the kingdom should be invaded with the whole force of the army, because by this conquest the war would certainly end. Others said that, taking into consideration the defeats of the previous year, the recent reverse of Trancoso, and the present state of health of the King, he ought not to enter personally into the war, and judged it more expedient to make divided warfare, some troops making active incursions to the north, centre, and south of Portugal, meanwhile that the squadron should attack and reduce Lisbon and all the sea coast.

D. John I. of Castille had quite decided to continue the war, and with this idea had quitted Portugal and raised the siege of Lisbon, and therefore he crossed the frontier on the 8th of July, and marched through Almeida, Pinhel, Trancoso, and Celorico, where he stopped to take the castle and garrison it, and where, probably under a fatal presentiment, on beholding himself assailed by frequent maladies,

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he made and signed on the 21st of July the celebrated will and testament, which was to occasion such serious difficulties after his death.

During this march the King of Castille continued to practise cruelties which really appear incompatible with his naturally quiet, gentle character and to the words he used when defending Portuguese loyalty in Seville. Probably this conduct was due to the aggravation of his maladies and to the vain wrestlings he had sustained. In Trancoso, as though to revenge himself for the defeat experienced by his troops, he ordered the Hermitage of S. Marcos, which overlooked the battle-field, to be razed to the ground.

On the 31st of July, D. John of Castille marched on to Coimbra, he himself being conducted on a litter, on account of his weak state of health. His army encamped on the left margin of the Mondego, and troops were sent to Montemôr-o-Velho, Soure, and Aveiro to get provisions. The gates of the city continued closed, but the King of Castille did not attempt to force them. He burnt down some parts of the suburbs, and collected all provisions he was able. The army moved on to Soure, where a Portuguese shieldbearer appeared with a message from D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, to the effect that the King of Portugal did not wish to do him any injury, that he did not desire to destroy his lands, and under certain conditions an understanding might be arranged, otherwise it would have to be decided by war. The King of Castille replied affirming his rights to the crown of Portugal, and that should the Master of Aviz and his party desire to acknowledge these rights, he not only would pardon them, but would divide among them the *lands* and *important offices*, but if, to the contrary, they would not acknowledge such rights, he would appeal to the fate of arms.

The King continued his march to Pombal, and on to Leiria, and further on in the plains leading to Aljubarrota the troops pitched their camp.

Meanwhile the King of Portugal was in Abrantes anxious about this invasion, and hesitating as to the manner of repelling it. He summoned a council to discuss the question. Opinions were divided: some were for avoiding the risk of a battle in view of the superiority of the Castillian forces, and the Portuguese to penetrate along Andalusia into the enemy's territory, by this means compelling the Castillians to retreat to their country. Others, with D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, declared that it was absurd to make war in the distance when the enemy was so close at hand, and that if they quitted Portuguese

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territory it was equal to abandoning it, and concurred in the loss of the capital. This opinion raised up a certain opposition which annoyed the Constable, who quitted the council and marched upon Thomar with all the troops he had enlisted in the Alemtejo, saying that he was ready to vanquish or to die. When this action of his, so reprehensible under the point of view of military discipline, became known in the council, it caused a profound sensation, and the King, although accustomed to the ways of the Constable, was likewise astonished at his audacity. But as in his own heart he was resolved upon doing the same as Nuno Alvares had done spontaneously, he declared in council that he approved of the proceeding of the Constable, and was ready to risk a battle, that this battle would be the judgment of God, as he would call upon Him to decide the contention, and therefore it mattered little what their numbers might be if victory was to be on their side. The King then sent for the Constable to return, in order to incorporate the troops into one army. The Constable replied that he would not return, and that if the King desired to proceed to battle he would await him in Thomar, but that otherwise he should go alone, and he would on no account take a single retrograde step under any pretext whatsoever. It was from Thomar that Nuno Alvares sent the message above mentioned to the King of Castille, and it was here where D. João of Portugal joined him. The Portuguese proceeded forward on to Ourem, and from thence to Porto de Moz, and then to Aljubarrota, where the battle was fought.

When the King of Castille sighted the Portuguese, he sent some parliamentaries, in the persons of Diogo Alvares, brother to the Constable, and Pedro Lopes de Ayala, the Castillian chronicler of these events. Notwithstanding that they eloquently endeavoured to convince the Portuguese that they would surely be routed, owing to the numerical superiority of the Castillian army, their words were contemned. Vainly did the gifted Chancellor attempt to demonstrate to Nuno Alvares the madness of the combat projected; vainly did the brother of the Constable invoke the recollections of their infancy: Nuno Alvares was inflexible. He admitted that the Castillian army was superior in numbers and discipline, but he was defending a good cause, and one he would fight for, although all should be vanquished or slain. Two knights of Gascony had accompanied the Castillian envoys, carried by curiosity to behold closely that man who was so much talked of, and whose fame had already reached far distant

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countries, and stood contemplating with respect the form of the youthful hero, so simple-minded in his loyalty, so dignified in his constancy. As we perceive, the King of Castille vacillated, despite his superiority, because his health was broken, and because his counsellors were divided in their votes; but at length war was declared.

It was the 13th August, 1385. When night approached, both armies retired to rest, to prepare for the fatigues of the forthcoming day. The dark shades of night calmly spread over the sleeping hosts, which were to be torn to pieces in a cruel fight, until the horizon on the east became purpled with the dawn, and in the clear summer sky rose radiant the sun, which was to illumine the most glorious battle-field in our annals of warfare.

But before we assist at this heroic combat, wherein was to be decided the destinies of the Portuguese nationality, it is well that, guided by Fernam Lopes, we should take a glance at both contending armies, and compare their disproportionate forces.

The Portuguese army consisted of barely 1,700 lances, 800 archers, and 4,000 foot-soldiers. Among the archers were 100 renowned English, similarly as in the opposing army there were a large number of French knights.

The Castillian army was far superior, numbering 6,000 lances, 2,000 horsemen, 8,000 archers, and 15,000 foot-soldiers. Their baggage trains were enormous, including 700 waggons, 8,000 heads of cattle, with a retinue of drovers, pages, and orderlies. It is true that the Portuguese had no few baggage waggons and men, as Schœffer informs us, but nevertheless the Castillian army carried some war engines hitherto unknown in Portugal, and which no doubt produced among the Portuguese some dismay, although these engines did not influence the battle, owing to the inexperience of those who managed them, and the rudeness of their imperfect construction. We refer to the sixteen mortars, or pieces of ordnance, which were brought with the army of the King of Castille, and were the first the Portuguese had seen used in battle. It was in this combat that, for the first time, was used this weapon which later on was to effect a complete revolution in military science, but the first appearance of which only produced dismay, and not the results which the most far-seeing spirits of those times could possibly have anticipated.

Such were the forces which were prepared for the combat that was

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to take place on the following day by the two Kings, and which were ranged as follows.

The King of Portugal, as usual, entrusted the vanguard of 600 lances to the command of his Constable. The right wing, commanded by Mem Rodrigues and Ruy Mendes de Vasconcellos, consisted of 200 lances, and the left wing, led by Antão Vasques, was composed principally of foreigners, and formed a corps of 200 men. The rearguard, or, as we should express it at the present day, the reserve corps, was commanded by the King in person, and consisted of 700 lances. Supporting the two wings and the rearguard stood the archers and foot-soldiers. Behind all these came the baggage service, defended by a number of soldiers and archers.

The Castillian vanguard numbered 1,600 lances, and included the nobility of Castille and that of Portugal which had taken the side of Castille. The two wings, each formed of 700 lances, were commanded respectively by the Master of Alcantara and the Master of Calatrava (D. Pedro Alvares Pereira, brother to Nuno Alvares). The rearguard, governed by the Marshal of Castille, was a compact body of 3,000 lances. Much confusion reigned in the Spanish army, owing to disorganisation among the ranks. The King of Castille was too ill to command the forming of the troops, and such was the confidence he had in the superiority of numbers that no one was appointed his substitute in command.

Aljubarrota was a small town to the south-east of Leiria, between Alcobaça and Porto de Moz. Built on an eminence, it gloried in having been in former times the site of the Roman city of Arruncia. But the greater glory which it was to acquire as the result of the battle fought on 14th August, 1385, completely eclipsed the recollections of ancient splendour.

The Portuguese and Castillian armies had each converged to this field of battle, the first marching from the east to the west, the second from the north to the south. Our small host came from Abrantes, passing by Thomar, Ourem, and Porto de Moz; the army of the King of Castille descended from Coimbra to Leiria. The King of Portugal ordered his army to face Leiria; but the Castillians defiled before them and took up their position in Aljubarrota. The battle-field was level and flat, and the King and the Constable at once comprehended the manœuvre of the Castillians, and endeavoured to place their troops facing Aljubarrota. At dawn of day the trumpets sounded in the

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Portuguese camp. Mass was celebrated, and many knights received the Holy Communion. Enthusiasm reigned supreme. A knight called Gonçalo Eanes of Castelvide swore he would give the first blow, while Vasco Martins de Mello went further, and declared he would either capture the King of Castille, or at least strike him. Rash promises indeed, but which showed that in the Portuguese ranks there existed the desperate heroism of men who knew they must either vanquish or die; not impelled by personal ambition, but by a patriotic feeling of defending their native land, their families, their nationality—in a word, avenge Portuguese honour. The Constable, simply armed, traversed the lines, giving his last orders, and exhorting the soldiers to do their duty. On all sides, wherever he passed, he was received with acclamations and shouts of joy which presaged victory.

Over the right wing, called the *lovers' wing*, waved the green flag, a symbol of their loving hopes. All these youthful knights, thinking on their lady loves, their God, and the fatherland symbolised by the King, prepared to practise deeds similar to those of Gonçalo and Vasco. A sympathetic and brave army, which was to worthily fulfil its promises, and in compensation to be laid on the fields of Aljubarrota, which their own bravery had so signally illustrated!

The scene presented by the left wing was diverse. With true British phlegm, the English archers examined their bows and arrows, and prepared themselves for the coming battle by substantial refreshments, and calmly awaited the signal for the combat. There was none of the southern petulance of patriotic enthusiasm, but there was the lofty tranquillity of veteran warriors, many of whom had fought under the orders of the Black Prince, and were accustomed to seeing their flag victorious.

On the rearguard, the King was armed simply, in order not to be singled out, and also traversed the lines of soldiers, speaking to them encouraging words. At his side rode his chief ensign carrying the royal standard, the Marshal of the host, and various foreign knights, among them John of Montferrat. Wherever he passed he was received enthusiastically. Breathing this fiery atmosphere of war, his hand on the hilt of the sword, which he managed as skilfully as the sceptre, the adventuresome Soldier of Aviz communicated to others confidence and daring. "I have assisted at seven pitched battles," said John of Montferrat, "but I never saw soldiers with a more cheerful aspect,

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with a more resolute mien, in spite of their immense disproportion of numbers. I prophesy, senhor, victory."

"I already reward you for your good augury," replied the King. These words produced a vivid effect on the army, and cheers filled the air, and the Archbishop of Braga, D. Lourenço, the knight-prelate, raising aloft a silver cup, encouraged and exhorted the soldiers to fight for love of their country against the invaders, for their faith against the heretics, for the King of the faithful people against the King of a traitorous nobility. All were now anxiously awaiting the signal of war, as they stood intrepidly facing the ranks of the enemy.

The aspect of the Castillian army was very different. There was certainly over-much confidence, but there was wanting the animation inspired by the presence of the sovereign, and the unity of command.

The King, weak and in ill-health, rode a mule, but not at the head of his troops, and the nobles and knights rushed about without giving proper orders. All they were thinking about was how to divide the spoils of the enemy, which they were confident of obtaining, like the hunters in the fable of Lafontaine, who sold the bear's skin before it was dead. The Castillian horsemen cavalcaded around the Portuguese baggage, watching the moment to fall upon it. But vigilance was kept up, and this served to render more firm the spirit of the Portuguese, because some few foot-soldiers losing courage attempted to fly, but fell in with the Castillian horsemen, who slew every one of the fugitives. This proved a providential punishment, since it withdrew from the Portuguese all hopes of saving themselves by flight; hence they averred that if they must die, it was better to die like men fighting face to face with the enemy.

It was past midday when the Castillian army commenced to move towards the Portuguese. The vanguard of the Portuguese army, at the command of Nuno Alvares Pereira, then moved forward also, and slowly marched to meet the enemy. The shots from the bombards* produced a certain shock and hesitation in the ranks of the Portuguese army, and the first projectile shot two *escudeiros* dead. Great agitation ensued, and the fortune of arms vacillated and seemed to be against the Portuguese; but suddenly a voice rose up crying, "This is a punishment of

* *Bombard.* A piece of short, thick ordnance with a large mouth, formerly used, some of them carrying a ball of three hundred pounds weight. It is also called *basilisk*, and by the Dutch *donderbuss*, *thunder gun*. But the thing and the name are no longer in use.



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Heaven: these two slew a priest in the church some days ago. God protects us because He delivers us from the wicked." This speech sufficed to restore calmness and enthusiasm.

The Castillian vanguard, ranged in a long line, and reinforced by the foot-soldiers and archers, advanced, threatening to engulph in its immense columns the narrow line of the Portuguese. But this approach was made with small order and union. On perceiving that the Portuguese army were about to combat on foot—a thing they did not expect—the Castillians began to shorten their lances, in order to use them with greater effect. This operation, joined to the deficiency of order and the ruggedness of the ground, which offered considerable obstacles to their march, began to diminish the front ranks. The flanks of the army doubled upon the rearguard, and the line prolonged itself to the reserve body and formed with it a deep column. In this way they lost hopes of involving the whole Portuguese army, but at the same time they had the certainty of breaking asunder with this immense human bulwark, formed of over 20,000 men, the slender line composed of 600 lances commanded by Nuno Alvares, and with small reinforcements to back them.

The first encounter was a terrible one. The Portuguese under Nuno Alvares fought like lions; the flower of the Castillian and Portuguese nobility, banded with the King of Castille, combated bravely. On one side resounded the war-cry of "*Saint George and Portugal!*" responded to on the other by "*Castille and Saint James!*" The Castillians fought in a blind fury, but imprudently. Judging that the shortened lances were now of little use, they flung them away and took up their war hatchets and rapiers. These lances cast to the ground considerably impeded their movements, nevertheless a body of 20,000 men must necessarily annihilate a host of 600 men ranged in two lines. Thus it happened: after a fierce struggle the Castillians broke through the enemy's line like an irresistible torrent. Without a moment's hesitation the two Portuguese wings converged into the centre, and the unerring aim of the English archers told on that confused mass; but though they fought enthusiastically, and even effected a deep breach in the Castillian column, nevertheless the battle seemed lost to the Portuguese, when above that seething, tumultuous uproar of weapons rose the commanding voice of their brave King, leading the rearguard, the flower of his army—the reserve corps of lances—and fell like a hurricane upon the enemy. The King performed prodigies of valour, as Froissart

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tells us. Each of the combatants fought desperately, and although the wings were sadly broken, yet they returned to the charge to shed the last drop of their generous blood, the English archers steadfastly shooting their arrows like rain into the enemy's column. The Castillian troops after the first victory hesitated and retreated. Its immense extension, which had shown such a formidable front, now became paralysed, and drew back towards the rearguard, which had remained at a great distance from the actual scene of battle, and where the small Portuguese army had concentrated all its efforts.

But, it may be asked, what were the 7,000 men which composed the two wings, and the 12,000 light infantry doing meanwhile? These had been left with no orders, their action impeded by the ruggedness of the ground and by the heaps of lances which lay on the field. Many of the nobles who led them had cast themselves singly where the fight was fiercest. The horsemen persisted in attacking the baggage waggons, and were repulsed by the archers who defended them. That immense body of troops were left without direction, and without a commander to utilise their bravery or their numbers.

Finding itself thus forsaken, the vanguard of the column retreated. To retreat was to lose the victory. That formidable body on retreating fell on each other, tottered, and came into collision with the rearguard and baggage, until all was confusion and disorder. The men became completely dispirited, and the first to give the example was the King of Castille, who, alighting from his mule and leaping on a horse, brought to him by his head chamberlain, Gonzalez de Mendoza, fled at full speed along the road to Santarem. The brave knight gazed on the fugitive King with ill-disguised contempt.

"In vain," says Schœffer, "did the King urge him not to return to the combat; in vain did the fugitives inform him that all was lost. 'I wish,' said Mendoza, 'to die fighting, in order that the women of Guadalajara may never accuse me of having led to death their husbands and sons, and I myself returned safe and sound.'" He sped to enter the thickest of the battle, where he gloriously perished.

The battle was virtually lost. When hesitation became manifest in the attacking column, then only did the Master of Alcantara think of attacking the Portuguese foot-soldiers on the rearguard. It prevented them from fleeing, if such had been their wish, and the Constable, released by the King from the disaster which he had experienced, was able to run to aid the men and inspire firmness. Had this movement

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of the Master of Alcantara been effected earlier in the day, the fate of the battle would most probably have been otherwise decided.

Repulsed by the horsemen, the routing became complete. And in the same way as in the attack no order was kept, so also was it in their retreat; hence the two wings, which could most admirably have covered the retreat, fled as precipitately and broken up as the rest of the forces, and afforded the curious spectacle of beholding a numerous army pursued by a handful of men.

The battle was not altogether lost when the King of Castille fled at full speed down the road to Santarem. The flight was witnessed by Vasco Martins de Mello, and burning to fulfil the vow he had taken, ran at full gallop in pursuit, dashing fearlessly through the escort which accompanied the King. He was recognised a Portuguese by the cross of Saint George, and he was cut down and slain before he could fulfil his rash vow. Continuing his flight, the King reached Santarem at nightfall, and his escort cried out that the gates be opened to them, because the King of Castille was there. Those within the gates would not believe it until they recognised the voice of the monarch. Deeply astonished, they then opened the doors, and the King, with downcast head and despair visible in every feature of his countenance, entered into the Castle. Taking refuge in his apartments, he poured out his soul in cries and tears of rage and disappointment. This state of anguish and despair reached to such a height that those around him judged his conduct unbecoming in a king. They endeavoured to console him by reminding him that his father had suffered similar misfortunes, and even greater ones, and that he had never given way to despair. "My father," replied D. John, "was defeated by the Prince of Wales, the first captain of his time, a man so fortunate in warfare that he routed and took prisoner the King of France—was beaten by the English, who are the flower of the chivalry of Europe; but I suffer this shameful defeat at the hands of a Master of Aviz and of a handful of *Chamorros*."* And he continued his lamentations, and to strike his breast in anguish.

Judging that he was not secure in Santarem, on that same night he went on board a ship of the fleet, which lay on the Tagus, and from thence proceeded in a galley to Seville, which he entered by night,

* *Chamorros*—from the Spanish "bald"—a scornful name given to the Portuguese by the Castillians, on account of their custom of shaving their heads, or cutting the hair very close.

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because he did not wish to hear the cries of the hapless ones who had lost in Aljubarrota friends and relatives. But on the following day the lamentations which he so dreaded to hear resounded far and wide opposite the palace, and caused so painful an impression that he withdrew to Carmona. This sinister news flew throughout Castille, exciting on all sides grave astonishment, and reached Toledo, where dwelt the Queen D. Beatriz, who fell senseless to the ground on hearing it. She had bidden her ladies to pray day and night that the Castillians might gain the victory, when the news arrived, and all was tumult. The impression on the people was terrible. Furious at the affront and loss endured, and carried away by blind hatred for all that was Portuguese, they went so far as to desire to kill the Queen and all of her country who surrounded her—a design they would most assuredly have carried into execution had not the Archbishop of Toledo attained to calm them by gentle words. This surprise and pain were certainly justifiable, because independently of the sad moral effect which it produced, the battle of Aljubarrota was equivalent to a formidable disaster, since the flower of the nobility had fallen fighting valiantly. Of the Portuguese who had followed the standard of Castille few survived, because they fought always where the greatest danger existed, and also by reason that their own indignant countrymen would not nurse them when wounded. A brother of Nuno Alvares was taken prisoner and conducted to the King of Portugal, who entrusted him to the care of a fidalgo called Egas Coelho; but his protection was of no avail, and he was barbarously murdered.

Tired out after the combat, D. João of Portugal threw himself on a stone bench to rest. Antão Vasques de Almada then approached and covered his feet with the royal standard of Castille. The King smiled at this act, and he could scarcely credit that the Portuguese had won such a formidable battle. The King rose up, and taking a Castillian prisoner with him, proceeded to visit the camp, and learn the names of those who had been slain. It was indeed a terrible harvest which the Portuguese scythe had mown. On the battle-field lay dead D. Pedro, son of the Marquis de Villena; D. Tello, cousin to the King; D. Ferdinand, son of Count D. Sancho; the Prior of the Castillian Hospitallers, Count de Villalpando; Chief Admiral of Castille, Juan Fernandes de Tovar; the Mayordomo, Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza; the *Adelantado* and the Marshal of Castille; João Ramires de Arellano, Diogo Gomes Sarmiento, João Duque, and many others! Of the Portuguese

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who had fought beneath the standard of Castille, the Count de Mayorca, D. João Alfonso Tello, brother to the Queen D. Leonor; the Master of Calatrava, D. Pedro Vasques de Azevedo; Alvaro Gonçalves de Azevedo, his son, and many other distinguished nobles lay dead, and among the distinguished prisoners taken were D. Pedro de Castro, son of the Count de Arrayolos, and Vasco Peres de Camões, Alcaide of Alemquer, and the Castillian Pero Lopes de Ayala, the eloquent chronicler whom we have so often occasion to refer to.* On the Portuguese side, the fidalgos most distinguished who perished were Vasco Martins de Mello and the afore-mentioned brave Gascon knight John of Montferrat.

The total number of the slain is unknown, but it must have been enormous, judging from the consternation which this defeat caused in Castille, and to the fact that 2,500 knights lay dead on the battle-field, and the number of common soldiers much greater; moreover, as they fled in disorder in all directions, they were assaulted by the peasantry, who took revenge for their cruelties by slaying all they could. The tradition of the baker's wife of Aljubarrota, who, although not quoted by Fernam Lopes, is considered probable, is well known. Senhor Herculano has collected in a curious article all that is known concerning this woman, who, with an oven peel, slew seven soldiers. This tradition, whether true or fabulous, nevertheless has an historic value, since it is

* Pero Lopes de Ayala was born in 1332, and at the early age of 18 entered into public affairs. He followed the party of D. Henry de Trastamara, who appointed him his chief ensign. He assisted at the battle of Najera, where he was taken prisoner by the English, and spent in London his captivity. On returning to his native land he was made Chancellor, a post he held likewise in the service of D. John I. He fell into the hands of the Portuguese at the battle of Aljubarrota, but it appears that his captivity this time was not so prolonged or so cruel as his former one in London. He was ransomed at the enormous price of 30,000 doubles. On his return to Castille he resumed for some years his office of Chancellor, which extended to the reign of Henry III. He died in Calahorra in 1407 at the age of seventy-five. He was a distinguished poet and chronicler. He is the author of the Chronicles of D. Pedro I. of Castille, and of D. Henry III. up to the sixth year of his reign. He translated Titus Livius, Saint Gregory, and Boccio into Castillian He wrote several works, among them a didactic poem on the duties of kings and nobles, entitled *Rimado de Palacio*. He is a rival to the Portuguese chronicler, Fernam Lopes, whom he preceded chronologically, but is inferior in picturesqueness and poetry, though superior in skilfulness of appreciation. Concerning this writer, the reader may consult for further information Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature," first period, from its origin to Charles V., translation of Magnaba (Paris, 1864), cap. v., page 97, and cap. ix., page 167.

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a symbol, an expression vivid and general at that epoch, of the feeling of the Portuguese against foreign dominion, and the hatred and indomitable spirit of all classes to make war to whoever assumed to subject them. The force of this sentiment, which was deeply rooted in the Portuguese mind, owing, besides other circumstances, to the character of our primitive institutions, affords us the clue why, during the space of some centuries, this small territory, divided from the great Castillian monarchy, was able to resist that colossal power until its national spirit becoming corrupted by the greed of wealth, and by the vices of the reign of D. João III., when our brave kingdom of Portugal succumbed at the feet of her formidable rival, where, for the space of sixty years, she bore affronts and oppressions ere she rose again to her feet. Hence, if the story of the baker's wife of Aljubarrota is but a *myth*, a popular invention of the fifteenth century, we do not despise it, because a people which invests a woman with sufficient odium against foreign oppressors to slay seven enemies, symbolises its feeling in this respect, and its maintenance of national independence.

We shall not be the ones to cast into the world of phantoms the image of the famous Brites d'Almeida, the baker wife of Aljubarrota. We will leave to our readers to judge the reality or fiction of her existence, and we shall only add the historical notes which at various times have been made in this respect.

According to the testimony of Fr. Manuel dos Santos, the chief chronicler, Fr. Francisco Brandão in 1642 had a summary drawn up in the town of Aljubarrota of all testimonies concerning this fact, and in which the oldest inhabitants of that town declared on oath all that had been preserved in its integrity of the tradition of that event, the peel actually being preserved in the palace of the Council, which was of iron, with a modern handle of wood. In this summary it is said that Brites d'Almeida was surnamed the *Pisqueira*, and had her bakery in the high street of the town, close to the stores of the Friars of Alcobaça. This is the oldest written record remaining to us of the celebrated bakery of Aljubarrota. Furthermore, José Soares da Silva, in his third volume of "Memorias de D. João I." (chap. i., p. 260), tells us that it is certain this tradition was a true one, and in 1732 declared the spot where this shovel had been preserved, and held in such faith that it was always carried in the procession made on the 14th August. When this kingdom passed over into the dominion of Castille, the inhabitants of the town, fearing lest Philip II. might wish

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to eradicate this remembrance by destroying the shovel, one of the principal residents, called Manuel Pereira de Moura, concealed it in a wall of the actual palace or chamber of the Council, from whence it was taken out with great rejoicings on the occasion of the acclamation of the invincible monarch, D. John IV.

After remaining three days in the battle-field after the Constable had gone on a pilgrimage to Santa Maria d'Ourem, the King of Portugal raised the camp and proceeded towards Alcobaça. The fetid exhalations of the dead left unburied (because the barbarous usage of those days did not permit that enemies be buried) had commenced to taint the atmosphere, but the laws of warfare in the Middle Ages did not allow a general to proclaim himself a conqueror until after passing three nights on the battle-field. The army also proceeded to Alcobaça, and the Portuguese nobles, who had purchased that splendid victory at the price of their lives, were buried in the church. The officers and men were loaded with spoils, of which neither the King nor his Constable had retained any portion, with the exception of a relic of the Holy Cross, and a huge cauldron, which was given to the Convent of Alcobaça for the use of the Cistercian monks. This cauldron was the same which the courtiers of Philip II. advised him to melt down into a bell or a piece of artillery, in order to extinguish the remembrance of that shameful defeat of the Castillians. The reply of the monarch was characteristic, "If this cauldron speaks with such loud tones, how much louder would it sound were it transformed into a cannon or into a bell?"

When the news of the victory reached Lisbon, the rejoicings were very great. The Camara had promised that should the contention be decided in favour of the Portuguese, to promulgate and severely insist on the execution of a statute by which all witchcraft and immoralities which outraged good and moral customs should be put a stop to. In effect this promise was fulfilled, and the statute by which the Camara manifested its gratitude to God Who had given them the victory of Aljubarrota, is a most curious document, which we shall have occasion to speak of when treating on the popular superstitions of the Portuguese during the Middle Ages.

The joy of the inhabitants of Lisbon was further increased when the King D. João I. sent to the city the flags captured from the enemy: this he did not only because Lisbon was the capital of the kingdom, but because, in the strife for national independence, it was this city

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which had shown greater traits of heroism and constancy. The whole population came forth barefooted in procession to receive them, bearing the image of Saint George, whom they proclaimed as the winner of the victory. A splendid sermon was delivered by Fr. Pedro de S. Francisco, who took for his text, *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris,* and the city pledged to have three processions during the week to commemorate this signal victory—one to the Convent of the Trinity, another to the Church of Graça, and the third to the Church of Saint Francis—those following the procession to go barefooted. Besides these three processions, two others were established annually, one on the day of Saint Vincent, the patron of the city, and the other on the Feast of Saint George, as a mark of gratitude to that saint, whose invocation had instilled strength into the Portuguese on that memorable day.

While the whole of Portugal rejoiced, Castille moaned and grieved under the losses sustained, since all wept for the loss of relation or friend, for the nobility which had been decimated, the honour of its arms dimmed, and its own kingdom in danger, because the King of Portugal was about to change the war of defence into a war of invasion. The Duke of Lancaster, animated by the successes of his allies, was again projecting to renew his former pretensions to the throne of Castille, and the Castillian pride, humbled to the ground by that defeat, was unable for many centuries to heal its wounds.

Prescott, the American historian, when narrating the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, found in the contemporary writers of those two Catholic monarchs vestiges of the profound impression which the defeat of Aljubarrota had caused on the spirit of generations. The anniversary of the Battle of Aljubarrota ever remained a day of mourning for Castille, similarly as that of the Guadalete in respect to Arab Spain, of Salado for the Granadinos and Africans, of Fontenoy for England, that of Waterloo for France, and that of Alcacer Kibir for the Portuguese. The sorrowful resentment which this victory left on the spirit of our neighbours was not extinguished even by the sixty years of oppression which ages after they inflicted on the descendants of their heroic conquerors.

"The Battle of Aljubarrota," says Schœffer, "was the most memorable action which took place in the Peninsula between Christian armies. The incomparable superiority of the forces of the conquered side, the youthfulness of both victorious chiefs, in opposition to the many signal

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warriors and experienced soldiers of former campaigns, the short time which sufficed to decide the action (half an hour), the greatness of the disputed prize (no less than that of two kingdoms and the independence of Portugal), all these circumstances secure for the Battle of Aljubarrota the interest of posterity."

In truth, this battle was a veritable phenomenon, on account of the unusual circumstances attached to it. To what must we ascribe the unexpected result? To many things which together made the balance fall on the side of the Portuguese. In the first place, the Portuguese defended their country and fought for their national independence, and we all know how greatly this thought strengthens the arm, fires the heart, and exalts the courage of the combatants. Secondly—and this is the principal motive—in the Portuguese army, although small in numbers, there was unity of action. All those men who were grouped together to conquer or to die had but one only motive power which they obeyed, which guided them to battle, which would give them strength even against a defeat. In the Castillian army, on the contrary, there were diverse opinions, different odiums and rivalries. The Portuguese and Castillians disputed among themselves as to which should prove braver knights, and in their anxiety to demonstrate their prowess, instead of directing the movements of the different corps into which the army was divided, they all rushed to the vanguard in order to combat with daring, rash, and fruitless valour. There was wanting not only a special command, but a general one. There was no chief commander, there was no plan of action. Each fought as they listed, and, as a consequence, without union or harmony.

On the other side, what firmness of command and union and calmness of movement in the small Portuguese army! Their vanguard is broken into, yet the Portuguese are not dismayed. The two wings converge to the centre with all the regularity of manœuvre of a modern regiment; the rearguard at the voice of the King marches in good order upon the attacking column; the broken vanguard is reinforced quickly, and returns to the charge; and in a few minutes the whole force of the Portuguese army becomes concentrated upon one only point, and that point a decisive one.

The battle of Aljubarrota, therefore, is not only glorious for the Portuguese soldiers, whose valour shone with immortal brilliancy, but also for the chiefs, to whose skill was principally due its victory. In the Middle Ages, the epoch of brute force, in which brute force usually

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decided the issue of combats, the battle of Aljubarrota rises up in greatness equal to the battle of Poitiers, the battle of Najera, and others commanded by the Black Prince, and presaged an epoch wherein intelligence and science, rather than strength, would decide the fate of battles. Tactics, precision of movements, began to be unfolded and acknowledged as capable of vanquishing numerous battalions, and war of democracy often manifests its incontrovertible superiority. In Aljubarrota, as in Atoleiros and in Trancoso, the firm, compact masses of the infantry triumphantly resists the charge of the enemy.

Portugal has in truth descended low in the scale of nations; she has been the object of the derision of Europe, her decadence has been miserable and degrading, nevertheless we glory in being Portuguese when, turning over our old chronicles, we find rising resplendent, and as glorious as the names which Rome or France boasted, that name which of itself is worthy of a poem—Aljubarrota!

In all things D. John I. of Castille had given proofs of the want of spirit which characterised him, and which rendered him a man unfitted to conquer a crown. Deficient of military skill to avoid a defeat, with little personal bravery to render that defeat less shameful, without perseverance and honour to remedy its disastrous consequences, we behold him, ere the battle was altogether lost, flying from the camp seeking refuge in the town of Santarem. Then giving vent to complaints and imprecations, and finally hastily departs by sea to Seville without heeding that he was forsaking his nobles, his army dispersed and in disorder, his fleet in a state of consternation, issuing no order or delegating another to take his place and the command, or even leaving them a plan to follow, or a point of reunion for his fugitive troops, and without even attempting to enter into some convention with the conqueror which should enable him to save the remnants of the army, since he no longer wished to try anew the fate of arms.

This complete neglect on the part of the King of Castille is indeed a subject of astonishment. The Castillian officers of Santarem who thus saw him hastily leaving all things to their fate, asked one another what was to be done. The army meanwhile spread themselves on all sides without order or direction, many soldiers falling victims to odium and vengeance. The only corps which retained some sort of order was that under the command of the Master of Alcantara, composed of the horsemen who had obstinately attacked the baggage waggons of the

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enemy, and had been less broken up. To this corps many fugitive soldiers joined themselves, in order to proceed with greater safety beneath its flag. On reaching Santarem the Master of Alcantara learnt that the King had departed for Castille, and without a moment of delay he crossed the Tagus, and proceeded towards the frontier. In Santarem there were many Castillians fugitives from the battle-field, as well as those composing the former garrison, but these had no commander, and their last hope of resistance was extinguished when the Master of Alcantara departed. In this town there were three prisoners of war belonging to the party of the Master of Aviz, distinguished Portuguese noblemen, who had fallen into the hands of the Castillians during the siege of Torres-Vedras. These were the Master of the Order of Christ, Lopo Dias de Sousa; the Prior of the Hospitallers, Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, and Rodrigo Alvares Pereira, brother of the Constable. Their anxiety may well be imagined when they learnt that the Castillians had been routed. Trembling between joy at the victory of the Portuguese and anguish at the dread lest the King of Castille should take his revenge by slaying them, or by dragging them away with him, they spent hours of deep anguish. But on learning of the departure of the Master of Alcantara, and that the town had been forsaken, although full of a confused medley of disorganised soldiers, they rushed to the gates, and the people in great crowds quickly joined them, and commenced to raise cries of "*Long live D. João I. of Portugal! Death to the schismatic Castillians!*" The latter did not stay to ascertain the cause of these cries, but judging that it was already the vanguard of the conquering army, fled precipitately, some taking refuge within the churches.

It was not long before their misgivings were realised. D. João I. of Portugal and his Constable appeared at the gates of Santarem, and were received enthusiastically. The King here gave proof of that lofty generosity which rendered him one of the most noteworthy figures of Europe during the Middle Ages. On knowing of the precarious situation of the Castillians who had taken refuge in the churches, and, besieged by the people, were without food, he ordered the doors to be opened and they allowed to depart freely and return to their land.

In Santarem, D. João I. desired to recompense the services of his intrepid Constable in a manner which might satisfy the most unbounded ambition, yet would never reach to his estimation of the value of the services so faithfully rendered. He offered Nuno Alvares Pereira the

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County of Ourem, which João Fernandes Andeiro had held, with all the rest of the appanage which this favourite possessed.

Nuno Alvares Pereira accepted the favour, but on one condition—he exacted from his companion-at-arms that he should not create another Count during his lifetime. This pride, which in our day we should think inordinate, nevertheless is in harmony with his haughty, high-minded spirit, who easily yielded up wealth and estates, as he did to the Count D. Gonçalo, when the service of his master demanded it, but who desired to preserve in the Book of Nobility a separate place for himself, in the same way as his valiant, spotless sword had carved a place in a higher book of nobility which posterity assigns to him and which history records.

The recompense was enormous, not only in the sense of honour conferred, but in a pecuniary one; nevertheless, no one judged it too great a reward for his great services. The rents accruing to Nuno Alvares Pereira from the foregoing donations rose to 16,000 doubles annually. Besides the County of Ourem, with all annexed to it, D. João I. gave to his Constable the towns of Borba, Villa-Viçosa, Estremoz, Evora-Monte, Portel, Montemor-o-Novo, Almada, and Sacavem, with their royal farms; the royal dues of the Jews of Lisbon, Porto de Moz, Rabaçal, Alvaiazere, Bouças, and the lands of Pena de Basto and Barroso, and the rents and dues of the King in Silves and Loulé in the Algarve.

He was soon to prove that no reward, however great, could equal his merit. He had gathered laurels in the battle of Aljubarrota, and he was going to reap fresh wreaths in the very heart of Castille. The Constable possessed an unquiet spirit, thirsting for glory, and never allowed himself to be enervated by triumph. Scarcely had he rested from the fatigues of Aljubarrota than he already endeavoured to effect an invasion into Castille. Proceeding on to the Alemtejo, of which he still continued to be frontier governor, Nuno Alvares organised an army of 1,000 lances, 2,000 foot-soldiers, and some archers, with which he entered the frontier of Badajoz, fully determined upon giving a severe lesson to some Castillian nobles who boasted of their bravery and regretted not being at the battle of Aljubarrota to have performed wonders.

On entering the Castillian territory Nuno Alvares took Villa-Garcia, which he found undefended, and from thence proceeded towards the village of Valverde. The Castillians, who awaited reinforcements

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marched upon Valverde, and D. Nuno encamped about a league and a half's distance from the river Guadiana, the Castillians intending to prevent his crossing the river. The reinforcements of the Castillians were principally undisciplined yeomen, and the army numbered in all some 20,000 men. A portion of the Castillians crossed the river, and placed themselves on the opposite shore; the rest remained where they were. It appears the plan of the enemy was that when the Constable should cross the Guadiana, to place him between two fires. But the great military skill of Nuno Alvares soon perceived this manœuvre, and unhesitatingly arranged his plan of action. With his small army formed into a square, the baggage in the centre, he impetuously crossed the forces of the enemy, which attempted to oppose him. They allowed him to pass after a brief combat, because such was their plan, and also because these municipal troops, composed principally of labouring men, attacked unwillingly this terrible man, this new Cid, who was called Nuno Alvares. On reaching the river shore, the Constable left the rearguard to defend the baggage and contend with the enemy, and with the vanguard crossed over. In vain did the Castillians on the opposite shore, to the number of 10,000, endeavour to oppose their landing, which, although it cost many lives, was nevertheless effected. Then placing the vanguard in position, defending the shore against the crowd of Castillians, he once again crossed the river, and passed over the baggage, then returned seeking the rearguard, which the Castillians in vain endeavoured to crush by shooting arrows and flinging stones into them, for in a short time the Portuguese army arrived to the opposite shore.

The fighting became more desperate, and the Castillians would not be repulsed easily, but at length being dislodged, they gathered together on a height close by, from whence the Constable routed them, and from a second and third attempt behind cliffs and hillocks. Numerous as the *grass of the field*, says Fernam Lopes, the Castillians threatened to smother the small host of the Portuguese amid their tumultuous, surging masses. Looking behind him, the new Count of Ourem perceived the rearguard in a position of great peril, and relieves it with the prestige of his presence and with the magic power of his voice; Nuno Alvares then returns to the vanguard, which was engaged in an unequal combat with the flower of the enemy's cavalry, and forces an advance, leaving the ground strewn with the dead and the wounded.

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The Portuguese, electrified by the example of their chief commander, wrestle like lions, and excited by the victory which everywhere accompanies their flag, they mock the enemy, and at once fling their darts into them with taunting epithets. Again does the rearguard find itself in danger, and again does the Constable run to succour it, and then a moment arrives when all hope seems lost; his superhuman efforts and those of his soldiers who follow him are unable to disperse the hordes of the enemy which surround them, or to demolish that living barrier which encircles them. Then does a scene take place which brings to mind the simple legends of the primitive ages of Christianity.

The Portuguese suddenly lose sight of their brave chief. In vain do they seek for him, he is nowhere to be seen, and fright and despair fill their hearts. At length some of the knights find him between two broken boulders, on his knees, praying with uplifted hands, silently and fervently, his page holding his brave war-steed a few paces from his kneeling master. The knights who were searching for him attempted to recall him, but with a wave of his hand he bids them wait until his prayer is ended. Then rising up, with radiant countenance he rushes to his men, and inspires hope in the vacillating ranks. "Forward!" he cries, "one against four!" Encouraged by this sublime cry of dauntless courage, the Portuguese break through all that opposes them; but far in the distance appears the standard of the Master of Santiago with the best Castillian warriors, which comes to crush in its formidable numbers the Portuguese column. The combat proves a fierce one, and the Master of Santiago falls down dead, and his army becomes dispersed. The Master of Alcantara, Martim Annes Barbuda, a Portuguese, attempts to return to the charge with the remainder of the corps, but the other officers disdain to join him; the "twenty-four" of Seville, followed by the contingents of Andalusia, become disbanded and destroy the labourers of La Mancha, the nobles retire precipitately, and the Portuguese remnants of the Lusitanian army at length sing, "Victory!"—a truly marvellous victory—and salute with vociferous ringing cheers their heroic chief, who on that day seemed to have multiplied his presence, who had performed prodigies of valour, who had appeared everywhere radiant, ever invincible, and to whose indomitable constancy was due the triumph obtained after that stupendous battle.

After this success, Nuno Alvares retired to Portugal, and the Castillians, who had been thus severely punished, likewise retired. It

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was an extraordinary event, because the smallest fraction of the Castillian army could well have absorbed the small phalanx of the Portuguese. It was, in truth, a battle of giants, which brought to mind the Homeric wars, wherein the invincible Achilles, with alone his divine sword, cuts down around his war chariot the Trojan phalanxes—those miraculous and legendary combats in which an invisible angel cast down to the earth whole battalions, like the fierce north wind lays to the ground the sheaves of wheat.

The victory, no doubt, was due to the prestige of the victory of Aljubarrota. Besides which, the quality of the Castillian troops was far inferior to those employed in Aljubarrota, since they principally consisted of the classes of labourers, who had been hurriedly summoned together to proceed to Valverde; there was deficiency of discipline and command, and rivalries existed among the chief officers. Finally, the admirable order of the well-disciplined Portuguese army undoubtedly assured them the victory. Scarcely had the Castillians been defeated in Aljubarrota than a second blow was levelled at them in Valverde, which cost less blood, it is true, but which influenced, nevertheless, public opinion. In effect, in the Castillian chroniclers we find vestiges of the profound impression which this second disaster produced; while, to the contrary, the exaltation of the Portuguese rises in proportion. What nation had ever won, under such critical circumstances, greater glory? So small a power, so divided, yet in less than a year, independent of party victories, of the taking of castles, and heroic defence of strongholds, she wins * four pitched battles with an enormous disproportion of forces, against a warlike and powerful army! In the records of our history shine forth, like stars in a glorious constellation, the names of Atoleiros, Trancoso, Aljubarrota, and Valverde.

These successive victories had inspired such confidence in the Portuguese, and so disheartened the Castillians, that there was no deed too great to be held possible of performance. From Lisbon came one, Antão Vasques, to war beneath the standard of the Constable. On arriving to Estremoz he found he had already departed, so he gathered together some 400 men-archers, foot-soldiers, and lances—and proceeded to enter into Castille. He took towns and castles, and placed others under siege, and apprised that, on his return journey to Portugal,

* *Atoleiros*, won in April, 1384; *Trancoso*, in July, 1385; *Aljubarrota*, in August, 1385; and *Valverde*, in October, 1385

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the enemies intended to lay in wait for him behind a hillock to the number of 800, he calmly but resolutely marched on them, dislodged them, and gaining the height they had ascended, dispersed them, and slowly proceeded on his journey to Portugal, driving before him a considerable number of sheep, cattle, and pigs which he had captured. In this way did the soldiers of the heroic Master of Aviz act.

Meanwhile in Santarem D. João I. was on every side gathering the fruits of his victory at Aljubarrota. The strongholds which formerly he had in vain besieged, now surrendered ere he reached their ramparts. Their Alcaides either fled to Castille, or else joined his party, in the same way that D. Henrique Manuel, Count de Ceia, had done, who delivered up Cintra, and offered his homage as a vassal to the King of Portugal. Thus he was able to take possession of Torres-Vedras, Torres-Novas, Alemquer, Obidos, Monforte, Crato, Villa-Viçosa, Murão, and others.

Previous to proceeding to battle, the King, who was a religious man, made certain promises for God to assist him in his undertaking. The first vow he fulfilled after the battle was a pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Oliveira, in Guimarães. For this object he quitted Santarem, and proceeded to Oporto, and on the way took possession of Leiria, where he found many precious jewels of the Queen D. Leonor, and from Oporto went on to Guimarães to conclude his pilgrimage. His religious duties being thus complied with, he proceeded to fulfil his duties as a sovereign, and passed on to Tras-os-Montes, in order to submit some of the strongholds which sided with Castille, the principal one being Chaves, defended by Martim Gonçalves de Athayde.

It was on this occasion that he received from the Constable the official notification of the victory of Valverde, at the same time beseeching him to pardon him for having entered into Castille without previously asking his permission. These heroic acts of disobedience are of a nature that are rewarded instead of being punished, hence D. João I. replied by sending him, together with his pardon, a decree conferring on him the title of Count de Barcellos. Favours were accumulating over that glorious head, which was bent low by the weight of laurels.

D. João I. then marched against Chaves. On being required to surrender, the town replied by heaping on the walls bombs and engines of war, springing the bows of the archers in all the loopholes of the fortress, and erecting a frieze of lances on the parapets of the walls.



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The King then formally laid siege to it. As the town was supplied with water from the Tamega, which flowed a short distance from it, the King ordered a wooden erection, or fort, to be reared close to the river, and from whence they could shoot arrows on the defenders, and at the same time prevent them from coming for water. The horrors of thirst soon began to be felt in Chaves. The King, with a gallantry worthy of Henry IV. of France, used to send every day a pitcher of water to D. Mecia Coutinho, the wife of the Alcaide, for her especial use. At length, driven to the last extremity, they made a resolute effort, and in a successful sortie set fire to this wooden erection. The Tamega being now free, and no longer dreading the horrors of thirst, Chaves drew courage for a longer defence, and D. João I. was compelled to send for aid to Lisbon, and summon together the fidalgos of the neighbouring places.

He here received a piece of news which filled him with joy. An English knight bearing a letter from the Duke of Lancaster arrived, and in this letter informed the King of his speedy arrival to the Peninsula to maintain the rights of his wife to the crown of Castille, at the same time beseeching him to send him some transport ships.

D. João I. at once ordered six war-ships and twelve galleys to be fitted and sent out from Lisbon to England, the fleet being commanded by Alfonso Furtado. This occurred in 1386. How the times have changed! At that epoch it was the Portuguese who furnished the English with transport ships!

From Lisbon reinforcements were sent, and to these were added the Constable and his men from Alemtejo, and lastly the fidalgos from the neighbouring places. Being thus straitened on all sides, Martim Gonçalves de Athayde was forced to capitulate after a prolonged siege. This surrender was effected conditionally, and only after a term of forty days, should no aid arrive from the King of Castille, to whom messengers were despatched to apprise him of what passed.

The King of Castille was not in a state to afford aid; his defeats of Aljubarrota and Valverde had completely mowed down the army, while the Cortes of Valladolid, although well disposed to perform any sacrifice, were unable to overcome the reluctance manifested by the people against this disastrous warfare. The King depended greatly on the aids which were to come from France. The youthful King Charles VI., who became later on so celebrated for his terrible misfortunes, was on the throne of France, but being still very young,

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although declared of age, he left, in a great measure, the government of his kingdom to his uncles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and in the hands of the Duke of Bourbon. The moment chosen for assisting D. Juan of Castille was a propitious one. The French arms had triumphed over the Dutch, who had revolted against their lord, the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, and in the joy of their victory it was natural to suppose Charles VI. would be willing to aid a luckless ally, and in effect the reply was a favourable one. He promised to aid Castille with 100,000 gold francs and 1,000 lances, but unfortunately a selfish idea prevented the realisation of these generous plans. It became known in Paris that the Duke of Lancaster purposed to cross over to Spain, therefore it occurred to the Dukes that it would be wiser to attack England and deprive her of the best generals and of many brave soldiers than to succour Castille.

An expedition was in truth arranged, but with no result, yet it prevented the King of France from assisting his ally. It was only in 1387, as we shall see, that the French King sent the promised succour, which was commanded by the Duke of Bourbon and the Sieurs of Lignac and Passac. Hence the Castillian King was compelled to permit Martim de Athayde to surrender Chaves, which was accordingly done. The town of Chaves was then bestowed by the King of Portugal upon his favourite Constable. This soldier exercised an indisputable influence over the spirit of the King. His bravery, his military genius, the nobleness of his character, the austerity of life he practised—all things captivated the sympathies of the King of Portugal, who possessed these qualities in a high degree. Ever a strict disciplinarian, the Constable never permitted any woman to accompany his soldiers, a measure which drew illwill against him, but which he nevertheless strictly maintained. On departing, he begged him to order this measure to be a general one, as otherwise it would render his orders only illusory ones. The King at once condescended to do so, saying that to the Constable was due all the virtues practised in the army.

After taking Chaves, Bragança, fearing an equal fate, soon surrendered, and now that the greater number of the fortified places of Tras-os-Montes were under his flag, D. João I. intended to carry out in Castille the projected invasion, and pass on to Beira, whose frontier he planned to cross in order to enter into Castille. Before doing so, he reviewed his troops in Valença, and found they numbered 4,500 lances, or over 20,000 men, the greatest army which Portugal had ever raised.

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With such an army, and with commanders like the Constable, D. João considered it quite possible to wrench the hereditary crown from his hapless competitor.

Passing through Almeida, which still acknowledged the King of Castille, some skirmishes took place between the soldiers and the defenders of the fortress, which led to an attack, with successful results. It was arranged that the Portuguese army, divided into three corps, should meet together opposite Coria to assault the Castillian stronghold. But about this time there arose certain discords between the chiefs of our army, owing principally to the rivalry caused by the accumulation of honours heaped on the Constable by the King. Whether it was owing to the offence caused by these rivalries or to the fact that his opinion was contrary to the assault, but Nuno Alvares remained immovable with his troops at the moment that the Portuguese attacked the fortress.

This assault was an unsuccessful one, and the King manifested himself deeply disappointed and grieved at the conduct of the Constable. If, in truth, the reason of his disobedience was some feeling of resentment, he knew how to justify his fault with excellent reasons, declaring that to lay sieges without proper engines of war was to sacrifice uselessly the lives of the besiegers.

D. João I. resolved upon raising the siege, either because the representations of Nuno Alvares, who was a consummate military tactician, carried weight, or because provisions began to fail in the camp.

When the Portuguese squadron reached England, the Duke of Lancaster embarked with 2,000 lances, 3,000 archers, and a great number of foot-soldiers, according to the testimony of Fernam Lopes, although Ayala fixes the English forces in 1,500 lances and an equal number of archers.

On the 25th of July, 1386, the Portuguese squadron ported at Corunna, which surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster, owing to deficiency of resources of defence. It was at this Gallician port that the ambassadors of the King of Castille met the English Duke, confirmed the rights of their monarch to the throne of Castille, and proposed to the Duke the project of a marriage between his eldest daughter and D. Henry, the heir to the Castillian throne. The Duke of Lancaster refused this proposal, and proceeded towards Santiago, where he received the homage of the nobles, and having recognised

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Boniface IX. as the legitimate Pope, appointed a new Archbishop and Dean.

When D. João I. of Portugal knew of the approach of the Duke of Lancaster he at once departed to Oporto, where the Constable joined him, and prepared to receive his guest with the greatest possible solemnity.

On the 1st of November the King of Portugal and the English Duke met together in Ponte de Mouro, beneath the same royal camp tent which the King of Castille had lost in the battle of Aljubarrota. From this interview resulted a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against any enemies to either contracting parties, and as a result of this treaty the obligation on the part of the King of Portugal to aid with troops, for the length of eight months, the pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster; and, moreover, it was combined that D. João should wed a daughter of the Duke, who would bring to the Crown of Portugal various places of Castille, should the Duke of Lancaster win.

Three months later, on 2nd February, 1387, the King of Portugal married in Oporto Phillipa, the second daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, in preference to Catherine, the eldest daughter, because he judged that by this means he would avoid future political complications. D. Phillipa was dowered with the highest qualities of mind, enhanced by a sound English education. Further on in our work we shall have occasion to speak of this princess, who seemed predestined to be the mother of a group of princes to whom history tributes profound admiration and respect. However, having recorded the marriage of the King, we shall proceed narrating the events which followed.

D. João I. could not easily organise, within the stipulated term, the contingent troops which he had to place at the service of the cause of the Duke of Lancaster, and it was only at the end of March that the Anglo-Lusitanian army entered in form into Gallicia, the Constable obstinately willing to march in the vanguard. During the absence of her husband, the Queen D. Phillipa, the bride of a month, was entrusted with the regency of the kingdom. The King of Castille endeavoured, under great difficulties, to garrison the strongholds likely to be assailed by the invaders. When the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster reached to Benavente, they were unable to effect the capture of this fortress on account of the want of proper engines of war, therefore they were fain to content themselves by frequent sackings of the

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adjacent places, which occasioned conflicts with their own allies, due to old traditions, but which at times assumed grave proportions, as exemplified in the sacking of Valdevez.

The invading army then proceeded to lay siege to Villas-lobos. It was a dark, foggy day, and a portion of the men became separated from the rest of the forces, and were surrounded by the Castillians, who assailed them with showers of arrows and missiles. When this combat was at its height, a Portuguese knight set spurs to his horse, and hazarded at full speed to cross the Castillian battalions in order to seek aid from the Portuguese camp. Very quickly did he return with the Constable and the desired aid. The Castillians, who saw such heroic deeds performed, fled in dismay.

Villas-lobos was forced to surrender; but the King of Portugal found that this process of winning territory by taking town after town was a slow and fatiguing one, and he therefore appealed to the Duke to return to England for a larger army, or else enter into a compromise with the King of Castille. The Duke decided upon the latter course, which offered the advantage of marrying his daughter Catherine to the Castillian prince, D. Henry. The two allies returned to Portugal, and the three chiefs in command separated, the Constable to proceed to Alemtejo, D. João departed on a pilgrimage to Guimarães, and the Duke to Coimbra to visit his daughter the Regent. On the road, the Duke met the ambassadors sent by the King of Castille, who, at the time, had already received from France a contingent of 2,000 lances.

From this interview resulted the following agreements. The Duke of Lancaster to renounce his pretensions, under the condition that D. Catherine wedded D. Henry, the Duke to receive in compensation an indemnification for the expenses of the war, 600,000 gold francs, and an annual pension of 40,000 francs.

With the object of withdrawing the Duke of Lancaster from the immediate protection of the King of Portugal, a protection which was dreaded by the Castillians, the ambassadors invited him to proceed to Bayonne, which belonged to England, in order to be closer to the King of Castille. The Duke, satisfied by the aspect of affairs, was preparing to proceed to Bayonne, when his son-in-law, on returning from his pilgrimage to Guimarães, was taken dangerously ill on the journey to Coimbra to join D. Phillipa. This was in July, and it appears this illness was some malignant fever. Hence the King's progress was stopped, and he was taken to the

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Palace do Corval, where in all haste the Queen and her father, the Duke of Lancaster, were summoned. We can well imagine the description given by the chronicler, Fernam Lopes, of the anguish of D. Phillipa, and the state of anxiety into which the kingdom was thrown. Poor bride! she had almost from her marriage been separated from her husband, and now beholds him, when he is to join her, stricken down and in danger of his life; and the nation a prey to the deepest sorrow, since it feared to lose its independence, so dearly purchased, by the death of their newly elected King! Feeling that his life was in dire peril, D. João I. summoned his Constable, and made his will, and at the request of his father-in-law he pardoned D. Gonçalo and his accomplice, Ayres Gonçalves de Figueirado, their conspiracy of Torres-Vedras. But his last hour had not yet come, and the heroic Master of Aviz was still to engrave glorious pages in the history of Portugal. He grew better, and the royal family returned to Coimbra, where a Castillian attempted to assassinate the Duke of Lancaster. Probably this was done in obedience to superior orders, since, in a political point of view, the death of the Duke of Lancaster would be favourable to Castille, because by this means all pacts and difficulties would be at an end which had been induced by the low state of the forces of the country, due to the recent disastrous wars, and despite the aid sent by France, and the fear of the consequences of the protection afforded by the King of Portugal to the Duke. The would-be assassin was apprehended, and condemned to be burnt alive.

On D. João I. being restored to health, the Duke of Lancaster departed for Bayonne in the month of September, and embarked with his considerably reduced army in a Portuguese squadron which awaited him on the river Douro. Peace was concluded in Bayonne on the basis established in Trancoso, one of the conditions being the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the eldest son of the King of Castille. This marriage was realised soon after, the Duchess of Lancaster coming to Castille to visit her cousin the king. In order to pay to the Duke the 600,000 francs stated in the treaty, the King of Castille imposed a tax throughout the kingdom.

We have followed D. João I. in his battles and military business, let us now see him leading the affairs of public administration.

The new Portuguese monarch issued a decree regulating the distribution of the prizes taken by sea, in order that the royal treasury and those who captured the prizes should participate equally in just

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proportions; another decree to legalise the contracts entered into by the Portuguese Alcaides at the time when they took the side of Castille. "Many desired," says Senhor Pinheiro Chagas, "that such contracts should be invalidated because the nomination of notaries by an illegitimate sovereign was illegal. But D. João I., who was gifted with high good sense, perceived that sad consequences would result if this principle was applied, and therefore he ordered that all such contracts be held as binding." He also regulated the administration of his household in respect to the salaries received by the fidalgos in his service, ordering that only those who furnished a certain number of lances should receive pay; thus he corrected the abuse of salaries being assigned to children of the fidalgos from their birth.

He ordered that the Republic of Genoa be paid the expenses incurred in the fitting and furnishing of the ships employed during the siege of Lisbon. He then convened a Cortes in Braga. At these Cortes some of the recalcitrant fidalgos pledged their homage to him as their acknowledged king, among them his brother D. Diniz, who, however, was to remain only a short time in Portugal. Suspecting that D. Diniz was mixed in some conspiracy, D. João I. sent him to England on a diplomatic mission, and D. Diniz was already on the journey when he turned back and was captured at sea by Dutch fishermen, who demanded a large sum in ransom to his brother the king. This ransom money D. João I. refused to pay, founding his refusal on the fact of the Infante having disobeyed orders, and at length the Dutch set him free, and he retreated again to Castille.

The war continued but coldly and with little spirit on the part of the Castillians. Whilst the King was traversing the Minho, taking some places and strongholds which were still under the flag of Castille, the Constable departed to the Alemtejo, where he arrived in time to punish severely a party of enemies, principally French, who had attacked the towns on the frontiers, robbing and destroying them. These he caught unawares, and was able to win back all they had robbed from the Portuguese.

The King proceeded to besiege Melgaço, which bravely resisted a siege lasting fifty-three days, during which time D. João I. employed all the artifices known in those days, and he invited the Queen to come and witness the assault. At length, acceding to the petitions of some of the knights, he agreed to a capitulation. Although annoyed at the resistance offered, he had wished to continue the

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assault. The terms of capitulation were very severe, and the defenders of the stronghold had to quit it deprived of arms and simply attired in doublets and holding reeds in their hands, this being the greatest humiliation which a garrison could be subjected to in those times.

After the surrender of Melgaço, the King proceeded upon Monção, and from thence to Lisbon, where he left the Queen, and then departed to the Alemtejo in order to take Campo Maior which capitulated, and in September returned to Lisbon, where he summoned a Cortes in 1389, and at this session a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon with the King of Castille for the term of three months. At the expiration of the time the war broke out in the north, and D. João I. took the stronghold of Tuy in August.

The King of Castille, in view of this further disaster, and that fate refused to smile upon him, besought a longer amnesty. In effect negotiations were commenced through the Duke of Lancaster, and four kingdoms—Castille, Portugal, France, and England—signed a treaty of peace for three years. Nevertheless, the Castillian King, although force of circumstances had driven him to sign this treaty of peace with Charles VI. of France, Richard II. of England, and D. João I. of Portugal who all had sincere desires for peace, nourished the most vivid wish to continue the war with Portugal, as he could not brook the shameful defeats he had endured, and this desire of revenge culminated in a singular resolution, which was, however, repelled by all his counsellors. This was to abdicate the Crown of Castille in favour of his son D. Henrique, in order to present himself as a simple Pretender to dispute the Crown of Portugal and remove the odium which as King of Castille he had inspired the Portuguese. Finding that this idea was not entertained by the Cortes, he desisted from it and continued to gather together every means to renew the war. He met with many difficulties, as the Cortes were little disposed to make money sacrifices. In the midst of these cares death came unexpectedly to end his career. On the 9th of October, 1390, being in Alcala de Henares, the horse he was riding stumbled and threw him down, and he was killed. He was in the thirty-second year of his age and eleventh of his reign. He was succeeded by his young son D. Henry, who was proclaimed King, under a regency consisting of the Archbishop of Santiago, the Master of Calatrava, and Juan Hurto de Mendoza, the chief Mayordomo of the Royal house. This regency, far from following the projects of the deceased King, all of which were warlike,

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established a further amnesty of fifteen years under fresh conditions. These were not, however, faithfully observed by the Castillians, one of these conditions being, for example, the liberation of prisoners. The Portuguese fulfilled their part, and liberated the Castillians, but the latter retained the Portuguese ones, and even inflicted torments upon them. Another condition being that the injuries received be estimated on both sides, and properties be sold to pay the indemnification. This condition was not fulfilled by the Castillians. The King, D. João I., bore with this neglect for the space of three years and then commenced to threaten. From Castille envoys were sent to Portugal to protest against these threats, alleging that their sovereign was doing all in his power to fulfil the stipulated conditions. But, at length the debts which the King, Henry, had accumulated over his head had attained the formidable sum of 250,000 *dobras*, a sum which no longer could be compensated by movable property, and to defray which a city or town would be needed. Hence D. João I. decided upon giving a sharp lesson to the Castillians; and, at the commencement of 1395, resolved upon taking from the Castillians some fortified place in guaranty for the fulfilment of the condition and debt. The stronghold selected was Badajoz, and the scheme of capture was entrusted to the knight, Martim Alfonso de Mello.

Martim established secret negotiations with a Portuguese refugee in Badajoz, called Gonçalo Annes—banished there for some crime he had committed in Elvas—and who gladly entered into the project in the hope of obtaining the King's pardon.

After the gatekeeper of the city had been gained over by Gonçalo Annes, the governor suspecting some conspiracy, expelled the Portuguese agent, who protested against this act, but did not despair of ultimate success. He proceeded to Seville, where he maintained secret relations with Portugal, and after some months, under the plea of recovering a debt, he found his way to Badajoz, and, in confederation with the gatekeeper, opened the gates to the Portuguese on Ascension Day, 1396, who entered in and took the city. They met no resistance, because the Castillians were completely unprepared.

As soon as D. João I. found himself master of this frontier stronghold, he sent envoys to Henry III. to apprise him of the motive which had impelled him to act in this manner, but that he was ready to restore him the city as soon as he should pay what he owed. The King of Castille, however, replied haughtily that he was very surprised at thus

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breaking the truce of peace, and without further ceremony declared hostilities renewed. It is possible that he took advantage of this pretext to renew the pretensions of his father, and recommence the war, which, on this occasion, offered itself under more favourable auspices.

In effect, many of the principal nobles of the kingdom, such as Martim Vasques da Cunha, the hero of Trancoso, were envious of the Constable, and this ill-will reached to the point that they went over to the party of the King of Castille after ten years of faithful loyal services. Meanwhile dissensions arose between the King and the Constable, as we shall describe further on, which served to encourage those who had hitherto feared all things from the fraternal union of these models of chivalry.

Hence, Martim Vasques da Cunha and a few other disloyal spirits joined together, and, entering through Beira, set fire to Vizeu. D. João I. at once summoned his knights, but, contrary to their usual custom, he found them remiss to obey. The Constable, irritated, replied with his usual brusqueness, that there were other fidalgos in the kingdom, and that it was unnecessary to be ever calling them from all sides and at all times. D. João I. took umbrage at this reply, and sent a second message, to which the Constable replied still more roughly; but while he was thus speaking, his heart ever full of loyalty was quickly gathering together men to join the King, and when he least expected it, and was in Santarem nurturing bitter thoughts against his friend and comrade-at-arms, Nuno Alvares suddenly appeared at the head of 2,000 lances! They fell into each others' arms, and all was forgotten, except that strong love and friendship which had knit their souls together ever since their loyal maiden swords, brandished by almost childish hands, had first glistened in the fierce glare of the battle-field.

Both now desired to enter Castille and take revenge for the invasion of Martim Vasques, but they were apprised that another party of Castillians were scouring the Alemtejo. However, they did not reach in time to surprise them, but, being forewarned, the invaders fled, crossing the Guadiana, where many perished in the transit, owing to the swollen state of the river. The King then bade the Constable remain in Evora, and he himself departed to Coimbra.

Filled with fresh enthusiasm, Nuno Alvares effected a raid into Castille, reaching as far as Caceres, where, sword in hand, he entered, but no one offered to combat him, not even the Master of Santiago, although so singularly challenged.

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The King, gathering together an army of over 4,000 lances, resolved to invade Galicia. He suffered a terrible disaster on crossing the Minho by night, owing to the swollen currents overpowering the soldiers, who were swimming across, and many Portuguese fell victims to their own daring. Nevertheless, D. João I. advanced, and proceeded to Tuy, but being repulsed at the first attack, he laid siege to it. The besieged besought aid from Henry III., who conceived the project of attacking Portugal simultaneously by Alemtejo, Minho, Beira, and Lisbon, towards which he sent a Castillian squadron. He judged that by diverting the Portuguese army and dividing its strength, as it would be obliged to defend from different points, he would effect an easy victory, more particularly as the Infante D. Diniz, on his return from England, had promised to aid him by offering himself as a candidate for the crown of Portugal, in order to win the sympathies of the people.

In effect, D. Diniz did enter Portuguese territory through Beira, which he devastated, but his proclamations met with no response from the natives. Nuno Alvares hastened to seek him, but the Castillian fidalgos who accompanied D. Diniz were so terrified at the approach of the Constable that they advised him to withdraw.

The Castillian fleet was so fiercely assailed by the inhabitants of Lisbon that it was forced to alter its course.

Meanwhile, on the Minho, D. João I. was forcing Tuy to capitulate after a protracted siege—the besiegers despairing of being relieved; and the border armies of the Alemtejo, far from being intimidated by the threats of the Master of Santiago, were entering into Castille by the way of Serpa, robbing and levelling all before them. On returning to Portugal, they encountered a division of Castillian troops, who endeavoured to arrest their progress, but the Portuguese broke through and completely routed them. This was on the 1st January, 1399, and they triumphantly returned to their country.

In view of all these reverses, Henry III. of Castille was moved to send ambassadors to treat of proposals for peace. An armistice of nine months was entered into in order to discuss the question.

The Portuguese parliamentaries were the Constable, Nuno Alvares, Count of Barcellos, of Ourem, and Arrayolos—all these being his counties—the Bishop of Coimbra, and the doctors Ruy Lourenço and Alvaro Pires Escobar. The Castillian plenipotentiaries were Ruy de Avalos and the Master of Santiago, accompanied by some doctors, among the latter, Pero Sanches, a skilful sophist. The discussion

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continued the whole term of nine months, but no decision was arrived at, as neither contenders would yield. The Portuguese complained that the Castillians had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce for fifteen years, while the Castillians urged that the Portuguese had broken them. The Castillians demanded the restitution of Badajoz and Tuy, with a large indemnification. The Portuguese insisted upon the liberation of the prisoners—the cause of the late contention—with likewise a considerable indemnification; that the fortified places which the recreant nobles had surrendered to the King of Castille be delivered over to the King of Portugal, and these renegade nobles be expelled from the country where they had taken refuge. The Castillians wished the King of Portugal to pardon them, and even restore all their properties. The Portuguese were resolved upon restoring to the Castillians all they had taken from them, but on condition that the latter restored likewise all they had captured. Furthermore, the Castillians demanded that the Queen D. Beatriz should wed D. Alfonso, son of the King of Portugal, and that they be proclaimed sovereigns of the disputed kingdom; and that the Infante D. Diniz, in order to desist from further pretensions for royal power, should receive in Portuguese territory a duchy, with ample dominions; adding a further exaction, that the King of Portugal be bound to assist the King of Castille, in his war against the Moors, with 1,000 lances and ten galleys. All these conditions were impossible of being accepted. After gaining so many victories and laurels, the Portuguese could not bend to the humiliating conditions of such a treaty, as though they were the vanquished ones.

Hence the conferences were broken up, and war was renewed. D. João I. gathered together an army of four thousand lances, and, accompanied by the Constable, proceeded to besiege Alcantara. But the fortress was a strong one, and resisted. Some victorious skirmishes took place which saved the honour of arms, and D. João I. raised the siege.

But as this state of things could not continue, D. João I. sent ambassadors in the persons of the Archbishop of Lisbon, and João Vasques de Almada, and the doctor Martim d'Ocem to D. Henry III. to propose peace. The Castillians still wished to show a bold front, and demanded indemnification for renouncing the pretended rights to the Crown of Portugal, insisting on the condition that João I. should help him against the Moors. However, the Portu-

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guese ambassadors laid down categorically and firmly the only definite conditions under which Portugal would accept peace—viz., the restitution of Badajoz and Tuy in exchange for the Portuguese strongholds; the liberation of the Portuguese prisoners; the free pardon to the recreant Portuguese, with the restitution of their patrimonies; promises of aid to Castille against the Moors, but not as an absolute obligation.

The King of Castille, in view of the firm attitude of the Portuguese King, authorised the ambassadors to arrange a truce of ten years, and to combine that after the first six months peace be definitely signed.

But the first half-year passed away, and years passed on, yet the affair came to no decision. The King of Castille was unwilling to desist from his pretensions, and notwithstanding that his consort, the Queen Catherine of Lancaster, sister to D. Philippa, the Queen of Portugal, pleaded that some treaty be arranged, he always shirked it until death surprised him, while still in his youth, leaving as heir to the throne D. Juan II., a child of tender age, and its mother D. Catherine and uncle D. Ferdinand as regents. Civil discords in Castille prevented the Queen from at once arranging this affair, but at length, when she found herself disencumbered from some of these discords, she entered into negotiations for peace with the King of Portugal, and after four years of constant correspondence, unable to bend the iron will of her brother-in-law, or obtain more favourable terms than those stipulated in the truce, a treaty of peace was at length signed on 31st October, 1411, but with the clause that this treaty would be subject to the approbation of the King when he should attain his majority. It was only twenty years later, that is to say, in 1431, that D. Juan II. of Castille, after much delay, resolved upon ratifying a definite treaty, which was signed in Medina del Campo. The grand work of Portuguese independence had at length been completed—that arduous mission at whose head the popular will had placed the Master of Aviz. The Lion of Castille was thus forced to restrain itself within the topographical limits of its country for nearly a century and a half. Portugal had signed her letters of emancipation by prodigies of valour and perseverance.

The campaigns which afforded the brilliant results of Atoleiros and Trancoso, Aljubarrota and Valverde, are the most marvellous recorded in the military annals of the human race. A people which could thus secure its autonomy could no longer brook to see its name

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struck out from the list of independent nations. It was with a wise design that Providence influenced heroic spirits to wage war against all that conspired against its nationality. This design became manifested to the whole world when it beheld the Portuguese fleets undeterred by evil prognostics crossing unknown seas, and proceeding to plough with its brave ships and braver sailors a furrow which encircled the African continent, until at length, fearlessly and full of astonishment, they ported on the resplendent shores of Hindustan.

Hence, having thus by its own efforts supplanted the Castillian nation with all its power, and linked together by closest relations with England, the Portuguese kingdom took its place as one of the most respected and feared among the cultured nations of Europe, and inaugurated the grand period of her splendour and prosperity, to which, unhappily, succeeded a decadence deep and terrible.

The political significance of the marriage of D. João I. with a British princess has been traced in these pages. This was one more proof of the old alliance which united us to the English. It was, as it were, a confirmation and guarantee of the renewed treaties. But this alliance was far from being, as it became three centuries later, a humiliating protection in regard to Portugal. It was the alliance of two nations which respected one another—an alliance of reciprocal advantages; and perchance the balance was heavier on the side of the English, for at least on this occasion they had derived more advantages by our aid than we from them. We know that when the Duke of Lancaster withdrew from the Peninsula he was far better pleased to have left his daughter, D. Philippa, Queen of Portugal, than to leave his other daughter, D. Catherine, Queen of Castille. But, on the other hand, if D. João I had, in a political sense, made an advantageous marriage, he found in her likewise the elements of conjugal felicity. As we have seen, he gave a proof of his good sense in preferring Philippa to Catherine, as it would save the nation from new and unnecessary complications; hence D. João I. married Philippa of Lancaster in the city of Oporto on the 2nd of February, 1387. He was in his twenty-ninth year and Philippa in her twenty-eighth. Philippa was a most excellent lady, and dowered with all the domestic virtues which distinguish the English. She was an irreproachable wife, a tender mother, and a wise instructress. Historians are unanimous in extolling this princess, who knew so well how to join the dignity of the queen with the gentle graces of a wife and the grave qualities of a mother, and whose presence purified the

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Court degraded by D. Leonor Telles. She rendered her husband happy, her Court an example of every virtue, and gave to her adopted country a distinguished line of princes, who were an honour to their land, and formed on the steps of the throne a brilliant circle unmatched at any period of history or by any other country of the universe.

At this part of our history we shall briefly give a list of the sons and daughters of D. João I., as we shall have further on to speak individually of them in proportion as they figure in later events.

Following the chronological order of their birth, the children of the King of Portugal follow in this wise:—

D. Branca, born in Lisbon on July 13, 1388, and died at eight months of age.

D. Alfonso, born in Santarem on July 30, 1390, and died in infancy, but his exact age is unknown. He was buried in Braga.

D. Duarte, born in Vizeu on October 31, 1391, and succeeded his father on the throne.

D. Pedro, who was born in Vizeu on December 9, 1392. This Infante holds a notable place in the history of Portugal as well as in the legendary one. He is both the martyr of Alfarrobeira and the traveller of the *seven parts of the world*.

D. Henrique, born in Oporto on March 4, 1394. He was the promoter of the great maritime discoveries of Portugal.

D. Izabel, born February 21, 1397, and married D. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. This princess filled an important position in European policy, as we shall see farther on in our history.

D. João, born in Santarem on January 13, 1400. He was Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, and succeeded to D. Nuno Alvares Pereira in the charge of Constable of the kingdom, and whose granddaughter he married.

D. Ferdinand, born in Santarem on September 29, 1402, whose life we shall speak of in its proper time, was the "Saintly Infante," or the "Constant Prince," the captive of Fez.

Previous to his marriage, when he was simply Master of Aviz, D. João I. had two illegitimate children by Inez Pires—D. Alfonso, who became Count de Barcellos and first Duke of Braganza,* and

* D. Alfonso was born in 1370, and in 1401 married D. Brites Pereira, daughter of the Constable, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira. On his marriage his father created him Count de Barcellos, and later on his nephew, Alfonso V., made him Duke of Bragança. In 1420 he married a second time with

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D. Beatriz, who married first the Count of Arundel, and secondly the Baron of Irchenfield.*

On casting a rapid glance over the Court of D. João I., we must in truth acknowledge that a noble perfume of chivalry overspreads it, and involves in an enchanting group all those individuals who have for ever ceased to exist.

Brought up in a truly chivalrous atmosphere, the sons of D. João I., especially the three eldest ones, D. Duarte, D. Pedro, and D. Henry, were burning with desires of being armed knights, but the concession of such an honour depended upon the proof of military prowess, and D. João I., with the object of affording his sons a chance of obtaining this honour, had ordered various brilliant tournaments to take place, at which the most renowned knights throughout the world were invited to join. In the ardour of their desires the Infantes frequently talked over its realisation with their brother, the Count of Barcellos, and at one of these conferences an experienced knight, called João Alfonso Alemquer, suggested to the princes that it would be far more honourable to win their golden spurs by proceeding to Ceuta, and fighting against the infidels, by which means they would serve God and their country. Enthusiastically they approved the idea, and at once hastened to their father to beseech his consent, which was readily given by D. João I., who seconded the thought. If, however, the fever of glory enkindled the desires of the Infantes in the sense of ennobling themselves by feats of arms, D. João I., nevertheless, would not allow of any precipitate action in his sons, and therefore prepared for war with prudent reserve, in order to avoid that the laurels won in Aljubarrota

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D. Constança de Noronha, daughter of Count de Gijon. He died in Chaves, December, 1461.

* D. Beatriz married, in 1405, Thomas Fitzalan Howard, Count of Arundel, second cousin to the Queen D. Philippa. The King D. João I. sent his daughter, accompanied by her brother, D. Alfonso, with a squadron to London, where splendid feasts were celebrated on the occasion of her marriage. The King of Portugal dowered his daughter and son-in-law in a sum of 12,500 marks English money. The marriage took place in Lambeth, near London, on November 26th, 1405, in presence of the King of England, Henry IV., the ceremony being performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This daughter of the Master of Aviz, who, it is said, was engaged to be married to Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, he who in the battle of Aljubarrota commanded one of the wings, became a widow in 1415, and married a second time, in that same year, Gilbert Talbot, the Baron of Irchenfield, and was again left a widow in 1419. See "Queens of Portugal," by Francisco da Fonseca Benevides; tom. I.



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should be flung at the feet of the Moors of Ceuta. Wishing to take the bearings of this Moorish city, and study its means of defence, he had recourse to a stratagem. On the pretext of asking the hand of the Queen in marriage for his son, the Infante D. Pedro, he sent to Sicily Alfonso Furtado de Mendoça and Alvaro Gonçalves Coelho, but the true motive for this mission was to enable these strategists to touch at Ceuta, and study the fortifications. This was effected by the Portuguese envoys, and they then proceeded on their voyage to Sicily, and, as may be supposed, their diplomatic mission proved unsuccessful. But this was of small moment, since what they desired to learn was the probability of victory crowning the projected expedition to Ceuta. Not only was the King consulted by these ambassadors and other military men on the subject, but all the people enthusiastically seconded the resolution of undertaking this expedition. Hence, following the general opinion, D. João I. prepared for the projected undertaking, an expedition which was at first disapproved by the Queen, who greatly opposed and disapproved the scheme of her husband, the King, taking any active part in it; but D. João I. overruled her objections, and she finally consented. Her adhesion in this affair was of great moment, because she exercised a wide influence over the spirit of the people.

D. João I. was unwilling to carry out this expedition unless with the favourable vote of the Constable, because he not only held his opinion in the highest esteem, but also knew very well that any project condemned by this great soldier would be likewise condemned by public opinion, if such a phrase could be applicable to the fifteenth century. However, he allowed three years to pass before he broached the subject to Nuno Alvares, fearing always lest the Castillians should attempt an invasion. At length, overruled by the pleadings of his sons, he summoned a Council in Torres Vedras, on learning that the project met with a favourable vote from the Constable.

At the Council, Nuno Alvares not only declared that he considered this expedition a just one, and thanked God that he had been allowed to see it realised, but actually besought permission from the King to take part in it. The Councillors, who were present, although their opinions were diverse, did not dare to offer any opposition; hence the project of the expedition was fully discussed and resolved upon.

It was, however, necessary to carry out this project under the strictest secrecy; hence D. João I. spread the report that he meditated taking revenge from the Dutch corsairs for their frequent assaults on

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our coasts, and consequent detriment to commerce. In order to invest the affair with some show of plausibility, he sent to Holland Fernão Fogaça, with the apparent official mission of exacting from the Countess of Holland reparation for the outrages practised by her subjects, but entrusted with the secret mission of taking her into his confidence, and ask aid for the King of Portugal, and by this means withdraw the attention of the Moors. The Countess of Holland willingly acceded to the petition, and admirably acted her part in the projected comedy. She officially received Fernão Fogaça most haughtily and firmly rejected the demands made through the Portuguese envoy, meanwhile she privately joined in ridiculing the fears of her subjects who judged that by so doing she rendered a war with Portugal imminent, a nation far more powerful than Holland at this epoch, and promised him to take measures for repressing the assaults of the corsairs—a promise which she religiously fulfilled.

Under cover of this plot the King openly began to make preparations. He engaged all the available ships he found in Gallicia, Biscay, England, and Germany. The news spread throughout Christendom that Portugal was preparing for some great expedition which was to be commanded by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Pedro. The first was in effect raising new sailors throughout Alemtejo, Algarve, and Estremadura, and D. Henrique was, together with his brother, recruiting forces for transport in the northern provinces, assigning Oporto as the landing station for his enlisted soldiers, while D. Pedro ordered his seamen to meet in Lisbon. All this was done without stating the object for which so many preparations were being made. Many conjectures were raised, but it always ended in assigning Holland as the aim of this expedition.

Castille was rather in dread of these great preparations, as it was not believed that all these forces were being prepared to proceed against Holland, a third-rate power in those days which was only becoming renowned for the audacity of her corsairs, and, moreover, was torn asunder by civil war. They surmised some sudden rupture, and these suspicions increased when it became known that the Genoese merchants residing in Lisbon had written to their correspondents in Seville apprising them that the expedition appeared to be directed towards that city, and advising them to place their properties in safety.

A council was then summoned, and it was decided, after some deliberation, to send an embassy to Lisbon to sound the intentions of

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D. João I. and desire him to pledge anew peace. So promptly did the King accede to all that was demanded of him that all distrust immediately ceased. The King of Aragon then grew alarmed in his turn, as he had a competitor in the field in the person of the Count de Urgel, who might take advantage of the Portuguese alliance. Envoys were likewise sent from Aragon, whom D. João I. quieted in a similar manner. Then the Moorish King of Granada, knowing that D. João I. was not about to engage in war either against Castille or Aragon, began to entertain fears that these preparations were directed against himself. He certainly had graver reasons for thinking so, because as a Mussalman he was always the centre of hostilities more or less grave, from Christian princes, and, moreover, D. João I. had always declined entering into an alliance with him, even on occasions when he more greatly required aid. Hence envoys were sent from Granada to Lisbon, who alleged the good commercial relations existing between the two nations, but these only received evasive replies from the King and Queen and the Infantes. They returned full of distrust, and advised their King to fortify the coasts of his kingdom.

The King of Portugal fearing, however, lest these preparations of defence should be extended as far as Morocco, and in order to quiet the King of Granada, sent ambassadors to the Count of Holland on the pretext of sending him a declaration of war, but in truth they were charged with the mission of confiding to him the actual aim of the expedition.

Meanwhile preparations were actively proceeding. The Infante D. Henrique quitted Oporto with the fleet he had gathered together, composed of seven galleons, six galleys, twenty-six transport ships, and a great number of pinnaces, and proceeded to Lisbon to join the squadron organised by D. Pedro, composed of eight galleons which awaited him on the Tagus. Many nobles came with the Infante D. Henrique, among them being an old knight of ninety years, Ayres Gonçalves de Figueiredo, who no doubt had fought in the battle of Salado and desired to fight once more against the Moors. Many foreigners enlisted under the banner of D. João I., among them three French and a wealthy Englishman, who owned some ships and many archers; also a German duke and baron. The duke, however, left because D. João I. refused to tell him where the expedition was to proceed to, but the baron remained with some forty knights who accompanied him, and rendered signal services.

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A sad event, however, took place which suddenly interrupted all preparations. Pestilence, so common in the Middle Ages, broke out simultaneously in Lisbon and in Oporto. The King of Portugal and D. Philippa had withdrawn on that account to Sacavem, when a few cases which proved fatal in that village induced D. João to depart with the Queen to Odivellos, but the Queen was taken ill on the road. The disease quickly assumed a serious character, and D. Duarte at once summoned his brothers, D. Pedro, D. Henrique, and the Count of Barcellos, who were with the fleet on the Tagus, to hasten to the bedside of their mother.

On beholding her sons around her bed, the Queen desired that the richly-wrought swords destined for the Infantes should be brought to her; she delivered to each his sword with many good counsels and kindly exhortations; she bade them farewell, and calmly prepared for death, then joined her pleadings to those of her children, that the King should withdraw from her side, lest the epidemic should strike him down. D. João I. did not wish to leave her, but the counsels of those dear ones prevailed, and he crossed the Tagus, and took up his residence in Alhos Vedros.

On the thirteenth day of the fever a great storm arose, accompanied by much wind, and the Queen asked her sons from what quarter blew the wind which thus shook her chamber. They replied from the north. "It appears to me," replied the Queen, "that this is the most favourable wind for your expedition, which ought to start on the feast of St. James." There was but a week to that day, nevertheless the departure actually took place at that date. She addressed fervent prayers to the holy Mother of God, and her spirit appeared to become wrapped in an ecstasy. Then folding her hands on her breast, she calmly expired, surrounded by her sons whom she dearly loved, leaving her husband far from her, dejected and dispirited, and with no heart to continue the project he had so enthusiastically prepared. She died on 19th July, 1415. Her funeral took place on the following day in Odivellos, from whence her remains were translated to Batalha on 14th August, 1434.

The news of the death of Queen Philippa caused a profound sorrow throughout the kingdom. The people wept for the loss of a good Queen, the tender Englishwoman, the fond mother who had been such a noble example to the mothers and wives of Portugal. Two hours previous to her death, there was an eclipse of the sun, which the people

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in their loving grief ascribed to the sorrow of heaven for the death of that saintly lady. She was fifty-six years of age. She may properly be numbered among the noblest of her sex. Modest in her dress and manners, grave in her words, dignified and firm in her duties; large-hearted and beneficent, her favourite occupation was to settle questions, appease differences, and make peace among her vassals, even at the expense of her own resources. Most moderate in her wealth, she allowed herself only the indispensable needs of life, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church to the point of weakening her far from robust health. She dedicated many hours of the day to prayer and good works, and was so conversant with the practices of Divine service that it was said she could teach her own chaplains. She employed the rest of her time in needlework and in the education of her children. A model of modesty and domestic economy, she favoured the ladies who were gifted with these virtues, and admitted them to her circle. But what most the Queen had at heart was the instruction and education of her children, and she developed their good qualities to a degree unusual in the Christian Courts of the Peninsula; while this intellectual culture, joined to chaste manners, afforded the higher classes an admirable example which bore good fruit; and manners, deportment, and language became ennobled. The Court was in truth a school of pure manners, and of the noblest exercise of the spirit. Hence, breathing this atmosphere, and under the direction and teaching of so noble a mother, is it to be wondered at that her five sons grew up and became the ornament and pride for all ages and an example to every Court of a kingly family?

After the funeral of their mother, D. Philippa, the Infantes departed for Rastello, where a council was held to consider the question of the expedition. Some were of opinion to desist from the undertaking, but the Infantes were for carrying it out, and the latter proceeded to Alhos Vedros to confer with the King and obtain his decision. Notwithstanding the deep sorrow in which he was plunged, he roused himself up to the consciousness of his duties as a King and as a parent as soon as he heard the representations of his sons. He decided upon the departure of the expedition without delay, since it had appeared to be the Queen's desire. And, in effect, the last preparations were hastily concluded, and the fleet raised anchor on the 25th July, the very day mentioned by the Queen of the feast of the Apostle St. James.

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At nightfall of the 27th the fleet anchored in the Bay of Lagos, where the King charged Fr. João de Xira to publish in his sermon the true object of the expedition. Many even then believed the King was still deceiving them.

When the fleet repaired to the Straits of Gibraltar, stress of weather drove it into Faro, from whence it was unable to depart until the 7th August, when it proceeded to Algeziras and anchored there. The Moors, becoming suspicious, sent a deputation to D. João I. The fleet went on to Tarifa, where the Castillian Governor received them very cordially.

On the 12th August, the Moors of Ceuta sighted the Portuguese squadron entering before the city, and although this filled them with terror, as they then clearly perceived what the object of this expedition had been, yet they became somewhat reassured when they saw that the fleet was composed solely of galleys and pinnaces, owing to the war-ships having been driven by the winds into Malaga. Whilst Salat-ben-Salat, the Governor of the stronghold, and the Moors were taking every precaution for defending the city in the name of the Emir of Morocco and Fez, D. João I. was sending D. Henrique to meet the ships. Salat-ben-Salat had summoned the tribes of the desert, and these quickly responded to the call, but now that the Portuguese were retiring, he dismissed them. The reason for their departure was, in truth, because the officers had discovered that the anchorage was unsafe, hence the galleys were sent back to Algeziras, and the ships, driven by the currents, had been forced back to Malaga.

In view of all these contrary events that seemed to presage evil, the Portuguese began to feel discouraged, but the King, D. João I., with his daring, manly spirit, was able to encourage them and pacify the misgivings of his companions in arms, and on the 20th August the Portuguese squadron once more appeared before Ceuta. "As soon as the Moors of the city," writes Azurara, "perceived the fleet entering in, they filled all their windows with lanterns and lights, in order to deceive the Portuguese, and induce them to believe that the number of inhabitants was very great, and the city of wide extension. The shipping also decked out their lights. The spectacle was, indeed, a dazzling one, as in the silence of the night, broken only by the rolling of the waves, the African coasts became illuminated, and cast a lurid reflection on the waters, transforming Ceuta into a fantastic city of oriental imagery. To this demonstration the Portuguese

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fleet responded by a similar illumination." The Arab writer above quoted adds, "that in the same way as an expiring lamp throws out a more vivid flash when about to expire, so did Ceuta when about to succumb."

The following morning, all preparations being ready, the King D. João I. proceeded in a galliot to visit the various warships, and issue the last instructions before commencing the battle. He was enthusiastically received, and he instructed his officers that no one should precede the Infante D. Henrique at the landing. But as the Moors had left the city in numbers, and come down to the shore to repulse the Portuguese as they landed, some of the Christian knights, over-impatient of commencing the combat, stepped on shore a few moments before D. Henrique did so, although he took the actual lead in the first encounter.

The attitude of the Moors in coming down to the beach was a false one, and an act of the younger and less experienced warriors. But the real truth was that the example of Salat-ben-Salat had disheartened them, the panic being further increased when Ruy Gonçalves and Vasco Martins de Albergaria hurled down two Ethiopian athletes. The Portuguese and the Moors had some skirmishes with each other, and individual wrestlings took place, in which the Portuguese, on their side, manifested the strength of men accustomed to fight beneath the weight of heavy armoury—the Moors, the agility and nervous flexibility proverbial in the sons of the desert; but at length the contention became decided in favour of the Christians, when they succeeded in hurling down these two giants, who were the chieftains of the Moors. This event considerably weakened the defence of the Moors.

It appears that, in the confusion of the fight and the mingling and clashing of armoury, the knights, with their drawn helmets and vizors, were scarcely able to recognise one another, but it seemed to D. Henrique that he recognised in the thickest of the fray the form of his brother, the Infante D. Duarte. He was not mistaken. Unable to withhold his martial impatience, the heir to the throne had disobeyed the orders of his father, who had forbidden him to enter the lists, and had leaped into a shallop, accompanied by three or four fidalgos, and had mingled with the division of the Infante D. Henrique. The brothers met, and he was joyfully received by D. Henrique, with that sincere friendship and brotherly love which distinguished the sons of D. João. I. The

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Infante D. Duarte proceeded with his brother to the scene of battle, where victory seemed to favour the Portuguese.

Among the Moors there was a giant negro, strong and muscular, whom Azurara and Matthieu de Pisano describe as an Ethiopian. This man was naked and wielded a sling as his only weapon. This he managed with such dexterity and aim that the stones cast by him had all the force, says Azurara, of a missile shot from a bomb or a culverin. This man, who was evidently some negro from the coasts of Morocco—one of those which the navigators of D. Henrique found later on in the lands they explored—stands forward in this epic canto of the taking of Ceuta as the figure of "Argante," the fierce Circassian in Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," who, crossing furiously the Christian army, "slew or hurled down all he met." This negro produced a similar impression among the Christians until Vasco Martins de Albergaria fell, stunned by a stone hurled at him, but on recovering, he rose up full of vengeance and dashed in among the compact mass of the enemy and succeeded in spearing the African through the body. The death of this formidable warrior so disheartened the Moors that they fled towards the city.

The Infante D. Henrique, in obedience to the instructions of his father, wished to await the landing of the rest of the army and arrange the battle, but D. Duarte urged him to follow the Moors, because in the confusion of their flight they could by pursuing them effect an entrance into the city, or at least take possession of the door of Almina and hold it until the arrival of the army. The brothers, therefore, marched on, followed by their knights, and were able to gain the doors, the first to enter the city being Vasco—he who speared the giant negro.

At this juncture the brothers were joined by the Count of Barcellos with a force of 500 men, which was now being constantly increased by the troops that were arriving. By the advice of D. Duarte they gained a hill top, where they pitched their camp, and from thence they dispersed through the various streets, which the Moors defended with the strength of despair, because they defended their homes. Meanwhile, Vasco ran along the rampart wall within the city and gained another door, but not without much bloodshed. Nevertheless, his object was gained, and the door broken down, thus enabling the Christians to enter the city by the two opened doors.

The Portuguese separated into three divisions, one commanded by the Count of Barcellos, another by Martim Alfonso de Mello, and the

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third by the two Infantes. In order to combat more easily, D. Duarte removed his heavy armoury and only retained the cuirass, which enabled him to advance more quickly, while his brother followed at a slower pace, owing to the weight of his armoury. After a time D. Henry likewise disencumbered himself, but when he hastened to join his brother he could no longer find him. D. Duarte had taken possession of the most elevated point of the Moorish city, called Cesto, while D. Henrique, desirous of meeting his brother, sped along the principal street, driving the Moors before him.

The general landing of the troops had not yet been effected, because D. João I. had not completed the inspection of the fleet, and when he sent his son D. Pedro to apprise D. Duarte that they might now land, the reply he received was that he was already within the city. The King then gave the order for all to disembark, and the Portuguese army, divided into four corps, marched into the city. The first division was commanded by the Constable, the second by the Infante D. Pedro, the third by the Master of the Order of Christ, and the last, which belonged to D. Duarte, but who had anticipated them, now mustered around the banners of the heir to the throne.

The King of Portugal, who had on the previous evening received an injury when stepping from on board into the galley, sat down at the gate of the city awaiting the combat to become concentrated to attacking the castle.

The panic among the women as they fled with their little ones, and the hurry with which the inhabitants endeavoured to conceal their properties, inspirited the courage of the Moorish combatants, who made a supreme effort and drove many of the Portuguese before them.

D. Henrique would not sustain the passage of the first fugitives, so as not to compromise the fate of those which were to follow, who would be repulsed by the Moors; but when the latter approached he stepped forward to receive them, accompanied by a few followers. The Portuguese fugitives, ashamed of their fears and encouraged by the presence of the Infante, returned to the combat and, charging the enemy, repulsed them back. Meanwhile succour arrived for the Moors, and, becoming thus reinforced, advanced, but were again repulsed by the Portuguese.

On the Moors retreating, the Infante, followed only by a few of his men, pursued them, and a sharp fight ensued owing to the Moors endeavouring to carry away with them a Portuguese knight, called

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Fernam Chamorro, the possession of whom the Infante disputed. The Moors became weakened at last, but the Infante D. Henrique, with only five knights with him, became lost amid the windings of the city. He heroically defended himself and awaited help to arrive. The Portuguese had given him up for lost or slain when a Portuguese knight suddenly discovered him. The Infante desired to await in this perilous situation for aid to be sent to him; but, at the representations made to him in the name of his father the King, and of D. Duarte, here tired and joined his father the King in a mosque, where he embraced him and congratulated him on the prowess and brave acts performed that day.

At sunset the Portuguese perceived a flock of sparrows quietly perching on the towers of the castle and inferred that the Moors had abandoned the fortifications. They had intended attacking the castle on the following morning, but on perceiving this occurrence, the King sent João Vaz de Almada to reconnoitre and find out the true state of things. They found the door of the citadel closed, but on attempting to force an entrance, two men appeared on the top of the wall who addressed them in Spanish, and told Almada that they were alone, and would open the door, as Salat-ben-Salat and the garrison had fled. Then João Vaz de Almada hoisted the standard of Saint Vincent, the patron saint of Lisbon, from the highest tower of the citadel as the Portuguese entered to take possession.

The conquest had been effected with great slaughter to the Moors, but small losses to the conquerors.

On the following day the Moors once more attempted to appear before the fortress. D. Duarte with the Constable came out to repulse them, and as these combats were repeatedly attempted by the Moors, the King strictly forbade the heir to the Crown to take any part in them.

On the Sunday following the taking of Ceuta, the King with his sons proceeded to the principal mosque, which had been purified and consecrated for Christian worship, to hear mass, the two bells * from

* These bells had been brought some years previously, as we are told by Mr. Henry Major. The city of Lagos was attacked and sacked by the Moors, who carried away these bells, and endeavoured to conceal them; but the Portuguese discovered their hiding place and suspended them in the highest minaret of the mosque, thus once more calling Christians to the divine service after the Count Julian delivered Ceuta over to the Arabs, seven centuries earlier, during which the call of the Meuzzin had been heard summoning the Mussalmans to prayer.

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the highest turret pealing joyously. The service was celebrated with the greatest pomp and solemnity, the sermon being preached by Fr. João Xira. After mass D. João I. knighted his sons D. Duarte, D. Pedro, and D. Henrique, as they had fully merited and won their dignity. It was a touching ceremony, as within the newly-conquered fane, in that Moorish mosque transformed into a Christian temple, the aged hero, the representative of a generation which was nearly extinct, conferred the Order of Chivalry on those sons of his in whom he saw expanding under the fiery sun of the battle-field those brilliant promises which had rendered him the idol of the people, and would enable his offspring to win the admiration of posterity.

A sorrowful feeling, however, clouded that otherwise joyful occasion —it was the remembrance of D. Philippa; that tender spouse, that saintly mother who would have so rejoiced, had she lived to witness the triumph and glory won by her brave sons. But the pious belief which so eminently distinguished that epoch of lively faith cast a consoling veil over their regrets, and allowed them the sweet thought that the spirit of D. Philippa invisibly hovered in that purified nave, and would contemplate the august ceremony wherein her children, heroic neophytes, were being introduced into the sanctuary of chivalry by one of the noblest high priests of its religion of honour — the gallant D. João I. The end for which this expedition had been organised was gained, and the Lion of Africa was lowering its haughty head in presence of Portuguese power.

According to the usages of the time, as soon as the Infantes were knighted, they were empowered to confer the Order of Chivalry on the fidalgos who had assisted under their orders to so brilliantly win their golden spurs. Hence these Princes were able to knight in their turn some of the brave fidalgos of their suite. One of these knighted by D. Duarte being D. Pedro de Menezes, Count of Vianna, who was then appointed governor of Ceuta, and D. Ferdinand, Lord of Bragança, grandson of Iñez de Castro, who was knighted by D. Henrique.

As soon as this ceremony was concluded the King desired to return to Portugal, but before doing so informed his Council that he wished to maintain the dominion of Ceuta under the Portuguese flag, alleging that this stronghold would afford a great service to the country, as it offered a splendid military school for young warriors to gain experience and practise military prowess. Some of the Council combated

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the opinions of the King, advancing the difficulty which they would find in attempting to keep a stronghold so far distant from Portugal, as it was improbable that the Moors should quietly resign themselves to lose so easily this important city. But the King overruled all their objections, and nominated as its governor the youthful Count de Vianna, D. Pedro de Menezes, to whom he gave detailed instructions which manifest the experienced governing sense and military experience of the former Master of Aviz. These instructions are minutely referred to by Azurara in the especial chronicle which he wrote of the deeds of this knight. Hence Ceuta was definitely united to the Portuguese dominions. The conquest was an important one, because Ceuta, which now is only an insignificant Spanish penal settlement on the African coast with only a military population, was in those days one of the most important and best populated cities of Mauritania. It possessed mosques, splendid buildings, numerous institutions for instruction, and was surrounded, moreover, by fertile, well-cultivated fields and vineyards. The industry of Ceuta was well developed, and rich fabrics of silk, exquisite leather work, and manufactures of steel were produced. Its position rendered it an emporium of important commerce between the Mussalman East and the Christian West. Its prosperity, however, declined rapidly in the hands of the Portuguese, because there no longer existed any object for continuing this commercial importance, but at least the Portuguese and Spanish shipping were freed from the tax which they had to pay unless they wished to be ranked as enemies when passing across the Mediterranean, and the port was closed upon the Arab tribes of Barbary, through which they passed whenever they fled to succour the kingdom of Granada. For this reason Ceuta for a great length of time had been the terror of European Christianity. Hence the first military undertaking of Portugal against a foreign power was crowned with a glorious result. It was also the first maritime expedition, the first exploit of the Portuguese in an element in which they did not feel as yet very firm, because their fleet, unable to be directed, had been driven along the currents of the Strait. Ceuta became for the Portuguese the port of departure for the far-distant conquests on the African coasts, and the taking of this city, which filled with joy and admiration all the Christian states of the Mediterranean, was to generate vast projects, daring undertakings, and prodigious deeds, by opening a new field and affording a fresh reaction of activity to the Portuguese nation. From that moment the Portu-

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guese began to project maritime expeditions, and Ceuta became the first link of the lengthened chain with which the Portuguese navigators encircled the coast of Africa until they cast the last—a golden one—on the paradise of India. Hence a higher thought, a spirit of more elevated genius is manifested in the transformation of the Mahomedan mosque into a Christian temple after the conquest—in the blessing of that sword which the King D. João I. gave his son on knighting him, and Henry, the *illustrious*, wins and receives the dignity of knighthood within the noblest spot and in the actual portion of the world wherein was laid later on the foundation of his immortal fame.

After appointing the governor and garrison for this new Portuguese possession, D. João I. resolved upon returning to Portugal. On the 2nd September, 1415, the fleet weighed anchor and departed.

On reaching Tavira, the King summoned his sons, in order to reward them for the signal services they had rendered him in this campaign. To D. Duarte, as heir to the throne and kingdom, he could give nothing greater, or reward him in any material manner, but on the Infante D. Pedro he conferred the rank of Duke of Coimbra, and on the Infante D. Henry that of Duke of Vizeu, adding, moreover, that of Lord of Covilha, in recompense for his services in the equipment of the fleet. All others who had served were also rewarded by him, and dismissed at Tavira with many expressions of grateful acknowledgment. The foreign ships which had assisted were largely indemnified, and sailed back to their respective countries.

The King then proceeded on to Evora, where the Infantes D. João and D. Ferdinand, who had, owing their extreme youth, remained in Portugal, awaited the arrival of their father. Accompanied by the Master of Aviz, Fernão Rodrigues de Sequeira, who had remained at the head of the Government during the King's absence, and followed by all the inhabitants of the city, they proceeded to the palace, where the Infanta D. Isabel, surrounded by the noble ladies of her Court, awaited them. The procession wended its way amid hymns sung by a band of women and children. The happy return of the illustrious father of the people, who had crowned all his former victories by this conquest obtained over the infidels; the sight of his beloved sons, all full of strength and noble pride, and whose exploits in Ceuta seemed to justify the most brilliant hopes of a martial nation; the presence of the noble warriors, covered with glory, and receiving the welcome of their brothers, fathers, sisters, and wives, after an undertaking which at

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first had been enveloped in mystery, and which had been decided so quickly and carried through so brilliantly—all things produced varied emotions, and filled every eye with tears, and produced a sentiment—powerful, energetic, penetrative—which for a length of time animated the nation. The *Te Deum*, intoned by the Christian warriors in the grand mosque of Ceuta, was the hymn enthusiastically echoed throughout the reign of D. João I., and sung at the glorious decline of his agitated life, announcing to Portugal the epoch of its grandeur. When the King raised aloft the standard of Saint Vincent from the towers of the Castle of Ceuta, he opened wide to the Portuguese a vast future, and traced out to them elevated aspirations. From that point his inward perceptions penetrated far beyond the *Cape of Saint Vincent*. On the Promontory of Sagres (the Promontorium Sacrum of the ancient world) he placed the Infante D. Henrique, and pensively gazing on the surging waves, he descried, on the immensity of the ocean and far beyond, a new and splendid world.

We must add that the King, among those he rewarded for their services to him in assisting to conquer Ceuta, were the crews of twenty-seven English ships. These ships had been driven into Lisbon on their way to the Holy Land, and, at the request of the King of Portugal, had joined his fleet in the expedition to Ceuta.

During the eighteen years which elapsed from the taking of Ceuta to the death of the King, no important events took place.

The ill-health which visited D. João I. at times forced him to entrust the government of the kingdom to D. Duarte, who thus provisionally governed the country which he was to rule for so short a time as king.

Ceuta grew to be what the monarch had foreseen and desired—a school of war for the Portuguese fidalgos, who, under the command of its brave Governor, D. Pedro de Menezes, constantly repelled the attacks of the Moors, who were determined upon regaining their predilect city. The first serious attack took place in 1418, when they came, as our chroniclers tell us, to the number of 120,000 men and many galleys, to besiege the stronghold. The Moors were repulsed on the 11th August, leaving 3,000 dead on the battle-field. The second attempt was a more important one, because with the Barbary hordes came some well-disciplined troops of Granada to strengthen the siege, forcing D. Pedro de Menezes to ask succour from Portugal. D. João I. at once sent a squadron, commanded by the Infantes

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D. Henrique and D. João, the latter yearning to win his spurs on the African shores as his elder brothers had done. This was in 1419; but it was unnecessary for the two Infantes to enter into battle with the Moors, because D. Pedro de Menezes effected a powerful sortie, and the approach of the fleet sufficed to intimidate the Moors, and they departed.

But during these last eighteen years of the existence of D. João I. the scythe of death was cutting down with implacable perseverance the grand forms of the heroes of Aljubarrota and of Ceuta. At times we feel a deep regret that men whose deeds and lives have rendered them immortal in the pages of history, should not be likewise an exception to the fatal law of annihilation, and become immortal in the material sense.

Of the most noteworthy men of that glorious epoch the first to descend to the narrowness of the grave was the *great Doctor* of Laws, João das Regras, who died in 1404, and was buried in the convent of Bemfica, which had been founded by D. João at the request of the Chancellor of the Dominican Order—an Order to which he was greatly attached. During his latter days he was honoured by the King with many favours and rewards.

D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Constable and companion-at-arms of the Master of Aviz, D. João I., died on the 1st of November, 1431. After returning from the expedition to Ceuta the aged Constable, who, as we are aware, always had in an eminent degree deeply religious instincts, bade adieu to the world and retired to the convent of the Order of Mount Carmel, which he had founded in Lisbon. It was there he died after nine years of voluntary poverty and humility. One of his biographers tells us that he entered this convent at the beginning of August, 1422, and that, with the object of leading a more perfect life, he renounced all titles and appointments, and, moreover, divided all his properties, rents, and lands, reserving nothing for himself; and on the 15th of August, 1423, at the age of 63, he took the habit of a lay brother, changing his name to Nuno de Santa Maria, as he signed himself ever after, thus renouncing the name which his sword had rendered famous. We must here relate an anecdote which manifests his bravery and prowess. The Constable lived in the highest exercise of prayer and penance when the news came of the dangers which threatened Ceuta, and the King hastened to ask his advice upon the best way of succouring the stronghold and plan of defence. The

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Constable at once offered his services as a common soldier, saying that neither his age nor the religious profession he had made could cool the desire of fulfilling his duty in the ranks as regarded the good of the Church; he was ready to proceed with the rosary in one hand and in the other the sword—which he still kept for maintaining the honour of God—as he could choose no death more glorious or a more honoured sepulture than ending his life in defending the faith and the glory of the country. He persevered in the saintly exercise of penance and prayer for eight years, until his death in 1431, at the age of 71. The King D. João I. and his sons the Infantes, with all the nobility and clergy, assisted at his funeral obsequies, which were celebrated with the greatest pomp and magnificence. He was buried under the pavement of the church, where his remains lay for nearly one hundred years, until the Queen D. Juana of Castille, wife of Philip the Beautiful, and daughter of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, a descendant of the Constable, ordered the body to be translated to a rich marble tomb. Over this tomb lay his effigy in the Carmelite habit of a lay brother, and represented him as an aged man, while at the head was another statue standing upright, which represented him as a young man clad in armour and ready for war. This tomb, however, was ruined in the great earthquake of 1755.

His remains were transferred to the spot where they are now, and the King D. Joseph sent a new lamp, which burns before the tomb. The three states of Portugal besought his beatification from Pope Urban VIII. in the Cortes of 1641, and the bishops of the kingdom sent a fresh appeal to Clement X. in the Cortes of 1674.

Popular opinion did not await his beatification, and pilgrimages, both devotional and patriotic, were started to his tomb, where songs were sung as well as hymns in praise of Nuno as a brave warrior and as a virtuous, holy monk. Among the legends of the people Nuno Alvares had at once found a place as the patron Saint of the Battles, the conqueror of the Castillians, so signally protected by the blessing of God. Ruy de Pina, in his "Chronicles of the King D. Duarte," tells us that his image, depicted on banners, was always carried by the army when proceeding to battle, as was done in the assault of Tangiers.

Nuno Alvares Pereira, true to his glorious instincts, ever marched in the vanguard to the battles, and now with equal destiny went forward to the tomb preceeding his aged, former companion-in-arms,



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and thus silently warned him that his hour likewise was at hand. But D. João I. had no fear of death. Many times had he fearlessly faced it on the battlefield, when he had greater reasons for being attached to life than at the present moment when he beheld his mission ended, and could now rest in the waning light of a glorious evening, after having illumined his country and the epoch for fifty years. D. João I. began to feel that his companions in glory, and his companion in love, his faithful consort, were beckoning him to the grave. Feeling unwell, D. João, urged by his sons, went to Alcochete in order to try a change of air. But as no improvement took place, he desired to return to Lisbon. This was in 1433. On the 14th of August —being the anniversary of the Battle of Aljubarrota—the King expired, hearing around him the wailings of his people mingled with the echoes of the guns which were booming in honour of the day. It was likewise his birthday, and he had attained his seventy-sixth year, and it was on this date also, when attaining his forty-eighth year, that he vanquished D. Juan of Castille, by which he secured the independence of the Portuguese kingdom and states, and, in memory of the event, he newly erected the monastery of Santa Maria de Victoria, commonly called Batalha. It was on the 14th of August also that, eighteen years previously, he quitted Lisbon to proceed to Africa, where he conquered from the enemies of the faith the then renowned city of Ceuta.

Thus on the 14th day of August, 1433, passed away from among the living, the great King, D. João I., and as the people loved to add—*of happy memory.*

If there was any one king whose death the people truly and sincerely wept over, it was most certainly that of D. João I. A king of the people's election, his subjects felt for him that especial sympathy and love which they ever manifest for one of their own choosing. Such was the ardent love which the French manifested for Napoleon, and that not even the many disasters, caused by his immeasurable ambition, was able altogether to extinguish. Moreover D. João possessed the qualities proper for winning popular affection. Brave, generous, affable, trusting, but austere, he offered the world an example of highest morality. A skilful diplomatist, he established, assisted by the Chancellor João das Regras, the influence of the monarchical principle, and he knew how to conciliate the *affection* of the nobility, which was cooling down, by his chivalrous instincts, by the esteem

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he felt for his brave fidalgos. The affection of the people he won by his constant solicitude for their interests, by respecting their liberties, by summoning the Cortes with unusual frequency. He consolidated the unity of the Portuguese monarchy, or rather he really founded it, because he uprooted from the ground the last shoots of the Portuguese semi-feudalism—because he abolished, as far as he could, the ecclesiastical and seignorial jurisdictions—because he formed in a body of ordinances the laws voted by various Cortes, widening and modifying them on the plan of the Roman code, which was coming again into vogue in Europe, and which Portugal admitted definitely at the time.

Around his death-bed were gathered four out of the five Infantes which constituted his family, the Infante D. Pedro being in Coimbra. His remains were bathed in the tears of those sons who idolised their father, and the Infante Duarte, meditative and philosophical—more fitted perchance for the obscure happiness of a secluded and studious existence than for the brilliant turmoil of the Court and throne—could not be consoled for the death of his father, not even with the joys of a satisfied ambition, because the crown for him possessed no fascinations.

D. João I. by his testament had willed that his body should be interred in the church of the convent of Batalha, but as this could not be done at once, his son D. Duarte resolved upon the sepulture taking place for the time being in the Archiepiscopal Church of Lisbon, in front of the altar of Saint Vincent, the patron saint of the deceased monarch. The funeral was conducted with the greatest pomp. The coffin was borne from the palace to the church by the Infantes and counts, while numberless torches were ranged throughout the road traversed by the *cortège*. The body was deposited in a mortuary chapel, and guarded by representatives of the councils, monks and priests, who relieved each other, while thirty masses were said every day for the repose of his soul. By these and other pious ceremonies did D. Duarte manifest the deep sorrow and love for his late father, and the profound respect and veneration for his memory.

END OF SIXTH BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE SEVENTH.

### 1433—1446.

### REIGN OF D. DUARTE AND MINORITY OF D. ALFONSO. V.

From the cradle to the throne—Expedition to Tangiers—Captivity of D. Ferdinand—Death of D. Duarte—Acclamation of D. Alfonso V.—The Infante D. Pedro—Questions arise respecting the Regency of the kingdom—Exequies of D. Duarte—A marriage is projected for D. Alfonso V.—The Cortes of Torres-Novas—The plague—the Infante D. Ferdinand—Hostility of the Queen against D. Pedro—Strife for the Regency of the kingdom—Intrigues of the Queen—The Cortes of Lisbon—Embassage of the Infantes of Aragon—Voyages of the Infante D. Pedro—Flight of D. Leonor to Cintra, and from thence to Almeirim—Apparent reconciliation of the Queen and the Regent—Machinations of the Count D. Barcellos—Flight of D. Leonor to Crato—Preventive measures are taken by the Regent—Departure of the Queen for Castille—Reconciliation of the Count of Barcellos with the Infantes—Betrothal of the King to the daughter of the Regent—Attempted reconciliation between the Regent and the Queen—Castillian embassy to the Regent—The Cortes of Evora—Last days of D. Ferdinand during his captivity in Fez—Death of the Queen D. Leonor—The Cortes of Lisbon—Termination of the Regency of the Infante D. Pedro.

"D. João I. was great in himself," writes Ferdinand Denis in his *Portugal Pittoresque*, "but he was great likewise in the scions of his house." In truth, we are bound to say the French historian was right. In D. Duarte we have an eloquent king; in D. Pedro, the wise statesman and a man of vast erudition; in D. Henrique, the pioneer of the discoveries, the man of science superior to his age; while in D. Ferdinand we have the hero of resignation, the *Constant Prince*, the saintly Infante. All these surrounded the throne of D. João I., and shed over it an unexampled splendour.

D. Duarte, the heir to the throne, was the third child of D. João I., by his wife the Queen D. Philippa, his two first children, the Infanta D. Branca and the Infante D. Sancho, having died in their childhood. born in Vizeu on the 30th October, 1391. This prince merited

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a place among Portuguese writers, and posterity surnamed him the *Eloquent*. But he was more than this—he was a sage of the first order, a notable philosopher for his epoch.

The son of D. João I., by cultivating letters during a semi-barbarous epoch, enhanced in an eminent degree the purple of the sovereign by the gifts of the author. The books he left us are a sufficient testimony of this—books which are in our day appreciated, not only as a treasury of science and eloquence for that age, but as mirrors of the virtues of a prince educated in an atmosphere of purity, and nobility of soul. When reading in the pages of the "Leal Conselheiro" how the crowned writer speaks of his august father and mother, and of his brothers, with a heartfelt affection which manifests to us that the noblest feelings of the spirit and heart shone in that grave, austere Court, we feel ourselves, as it were, transported to a world anterior to our sinful one, and we revel in the contemplation of that epoch —a unique epoch in the history of a people, wherein science, heroism, and virtue were joined in gentle bonds, and, like a fragrant wreath, exhaled a perfume over the country and age in which they flourished.

The Infante D. Duarte was learned, and the first of our Portuguese kings (as far as we can judge from the records which have reached our day) who had relatively a large library, leaving posterity a testimony of his erudition in his book entitled the "Leal Conselheiro," a work of moral philosophy, and highly valued for the beauty of style, loftiness of the principles inculcated, and deep knowledge it manifests, although, from a scientific point of view, it is far from satisfying modern requirements.

He received the name of Duarte in memory of his great grandfather, King Edward III. of England; he is variously called Duarte, Eduarte or Eduarde, and in the MS. of his own work, the "Leal Conselheiro," found in the Royal Library of Paris, it is signed "D. *Eduardus*," and generally in the documents of that period we find the signature thus, "D. *Eduarte*."

In the year 1428, when he had attained his thirty-seventh year, his father, D. João I., resolved to effect an alliance for his son with D. Leonor, daughter of D. Ferdinand I., and sister of D. Alfonso V. of Aragon. The marriage was effected by procuration in Valencia, the Procurator of D. João I. and of D. Duarte being the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Pedro de Noronha. In a town of the kingdom of

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Aragon, Olhos Negros, the contract of marriage was signed by the Archbishop. After this, the Infanta D. Leonor quitted Valencia to proceed to Portugal, accompanied by two of her brothers, D. Juan and D. Enrique, and a numerous suite. In Valladolid great feasts, banquets, tournaments, and races took place to celebrate her passage through the city. The King of Castille made her handsome presents, and sent the Archbishop of Santiago, D. Lopo de Mendoza, the Bishop of Cuenca, D. Alvaro Osorio, and a large number of nobles and knights to accompany the Infanta to the Portuguese frontiers. On reaching the frontier of Portugal, some misunderstanding arose between the suite of the Archbishop of Santiago and that of the Archbishop of Lisbon, which culminated in a fight in which some were killed and others wounded. This incident, which appeared to presage sad consequences to the marriage, caused profound displeasure in Portugal, and on an inquiry being instituted to examine the affair, some of the culprits were severely punished, and the Archbishop of Lisbon reprimanded.

On entering into Portuguese ground, D. João I. desired to form a new marriage contract, which was done in Coimbra on 4th November, 1428. In virtue of this new contract, D. Leonor received from her husband, as a marriage portion, 30,000 gold florins of Aragon, pledging as security the town of Santarem, with all its revenues, and, moreover, receiving for household expenses half the rents enjoyed by the Queen D. Philippa, agreeing that, on ascending the throne, she should have the same as D. Philippa. The King of Aragon dowered his sister in 100,000 florins, payable in ten years, pledging as security the towns of Fraga, Debriga, and Lyria. The Queen D. Leonor of Aragon, mother of the bride, gave her a further dowry of 100,000 florins. D. João I. confirmed this treaty when residing in the town of Estremoz, on 2nd December.

On the morning subsequent to the death of D. João I. the Infante D. Duarte, after holding a council with his brothers, made his confession, and received holy communion. He then robed himself for the act of acclamation, and the chronicler, Ruy de Pina, tells us that his physician, Mestre Guedelha, approached D. Duarte, and besought him not to allow the acclamation to take place before mid-day, because the hour was an evil one, *and of sad constellation*, as the planets foreboded unhappy auguries. The Infante replied that although he respected the science of astrology, he reputed it inferior to the will of God, and he placed himself confidently in the hands of God. Mestre

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Guedelha insisted in his pleadings and auguries, but D. Duarte continued firm; then the astrologer commenced to declare that the King would reign but a few years, and these be full of troubles and fatigues.

For the act of acclamation the plaza of the Palace of Alcaçova, where D. Duarte resided, was prepared. The Prince came forth, accompanied by the Infantes, with the exception of D. Pedro, and the whole Court. After the preliminaries had been gone through, D. Duarte besought the Bishop of Evora, D. Alvaro d'Ebreu, after the reading of the act of acclamation, to burn in his presence some tow, as an *emblem that the glory and pomp of this world is short-lived, and passes away quickly*, to which the Bishop replied: "*Sire, it appears to me that the knowledge and remembrance your Majesty has of this fact suffices, without having recourse to any act.*"

The Count of Vianna now unfurled the royal flag, and three times in a loud voice repeated the usual formula. Then followed the kissing of hands. When this act was ended, the King retired into the Palace, and changed his regal robes for one of deep mourning.

The Infante D. Pedro was not present at this ceremony, as he was at Coimbra when apprised of the danger of his father. He departed at once, but on reaching Leiria he received the news of his death, and he lingered a few days in Leiria, but on his arrival he at once proceeded to the Palace of Bellas, where his brother the King had gone to, and had a long interview with him. Both brothers then proceeded to join the Queen D. Leonor and her surviving children, D. Alfonso and D. Philippa.

Another ceremony took place in Cintra; the Infante D. Pedro pledged his homage to the King, and the Infante D. Alfonso was proclaimed legitimate heir and successor to D. Duarte by his uncles and all the persons at Court; he who was to become later on D. Alfonso V., surnamed the African, and the first heir to the throne that assumed, as was the custom in all the other kingdoms of Europe, the title of Prince, the elder sons of kings being until then designated, like their younger brothers, by the simple title of Infante.

After the ceremony D. Duarte's first care was to fulfil to the end his filial duties by carrying out the depositions stated in the testament of D. João I. and translating his remains to the convent of Batalha. This ceremony was conducted with the greatest solemnity, and a minute description is afforded us by Ruy de Pina in the first chapters

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of "Chronica de el rei D. Duarte." We shall give a summary of this description to enable our readers to understand the pomp and solemnity of royal funerals in the fifteenth century.

D. Duarte convoked a meeting for the 25th of October, 1433, in Lisbon, of prelates, grandees, and abbots of the whole kingdom, in order that they should all assist at the translation, and in effect on that day the whole nobility and dignitaries of the Church assembled. The King, in deep mourning and accompanied by a magnificent retinue, proceeded to the cathedral in a silent procession, the bells tolling meanwhile. The cathedral was completely draped with black curtains, but splendidly illumined by numberless lighted torches, and the whole hung with the royal flags and other standards and banners of kings and princes related to Portugal. D. Duarte and the Infantes bore the coffin amid clouds of incense from many swinging censors, the funeral rites being performed by the Archbishop of Braga. The coffin was placed on the catafalque, and during the night guard was kept in perfect silence by the Infante D. Pedro and many fidalgos. On the following day, after mass, a procession was formed of the various religious orders, bearing crosses and torches; five magnificent horses, splendidly caparisoned, were led by some of the highest nobles of the land. The first, covered by white and red damask, had the arms of St. George embroidered on the cloth; on that of the second, which was red and blue, the arms of the King; the third, equally caparisoned, bore the motto of the King, embroidered in damask, "Por bem"; the fourth had the device the King adopted when he married the Queen D. Philippa, the letter F; the fifth simply covered with black damask. Then followed the hearse, the pall borne by the King and the Infantes, twelve knights carrying the royal flag, lance, standard, axe, and other arms of the King, followed by the rest of the nobility and people. On reaching the door of St. Vicente, horses were put to the hearse, and the King and Infantes mounting their steeds proceeded on horseback. When Odivellas was reached the coffin was deposited in the church, the night guard falling to the Infante D. Henrique, accompanied, in his quality of Master of the Order of Christ, by all the Commandeurs and Knights of that Order. It must needs have been a splendid sight to behold in the old church of the Monastery of D. Diniz, draped in black and illuminated solely by the flickering light of the funereal torches, the long line of military monks in their ample white cloaks, worked with a red cross, watching in the silence of the night the corpse of a hero!

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From Odivellas the *cortège* proceeded in the same order to Villa Franca de Xira, and the coffin was again deposited for the night in the church; but this time the watch was taken by the Infante D. João, accompanied by the Commandeurs and Knights of the Order of Santiago, of which order he was Grand Master. On the following day the *cortège* proceeded to Alcoentre, and at night the body was guarded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, accompanied by his fidalgos, because as yet he was not Master of the Order of Aviz. The next day the procession reached to Alcobaça, where the last guarding of the body fell to the Count of Barcellos, D. Alfonso, the illegitimate son of the deceased King, accompanied by his sons the Counts of Ourem and Arrayolos and other fidalgos. On the fifth day they arrived to Batalha, and the remains of D. João I. were at length laid to rest in the tomb prepared for him beneath the shades of those marvellous domes breathing faith and poetry, of that temple which of itself is a poem, and within those walls that time has respected, and which still seem to be echoing the glorious *cantos* of the epic poem of Aljubarrota.

On the sepulchre of João I., placed by the side of that of the Queen D. Philippa, is seen sculptured the French device of the great monarch, "*Il me plait pour bien.*"

Scarcely were the funereal ceremonies concluded than the pestilence —that terrible enemy of D. Duarte which ever pursued him from the beginning to the end of his reign—burst out furiously, and the King flying before it went to Leiria, and there summoned the Cortes in order to receive from the representatives of the three states the homage due to him.

On terminating this simple ceremony, D. Duarte wished to dissolve the Cortes, but the Count of Arrayolos, afterwards Duke of Braganza, who was commencing an agitated political career in which he always played a turbulent part, exclaimed that since they were assembled it was better to prorogue them in order to discuss many important subjects, among them affairs of finance, because the late King D. João I., although a prince who was a good administrator and economist, had laid the treasury in a low state owing to his continued wars. D. Duarte acceded to the request of the Count, and the Cortes which had commenced in Leiria were continued in Santarem.

Few documents are found at the present day to tell us what subjects were discussed at these Cortes, as few of the laws promulgated on that occasion were incorporated to the *Codigo Affonsino*. After these Cortes

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D. Duarte commenced to govern with great skill, and organised the public finance, effecting considerable reductions in his household, and ordering that a permanent Council of State, composed of an Infante, a bishop, and a count, be always retained in the Cortes. He promulgated the *mental law* which his father had applied, but which was unwritten, and he began to gather together materials for the compilation of a codice, which he was unable to execute, but a work which later on was effected during the regency of his brother D. Pedro.

Grateful to D. Duarte for the efforts he made to govern with full justice, the people manifested and felt towards him a love similar to that shown to his father, and they ever respected him. A foreign historian says that never was the saying "the word of a King" more fully proved than in the reign, of D. Duarte, because he was a man of rare faithfulness to his pledged word and promises.

In his private life, the son of D. Philippa was like his father—an example of austere morality; and his consort, D. Leonor, if she did not possess the loftiness of spirit of D. Philippa, had nevertheless the highest instincts of feminine virtue and modesty. Unfortunately, however, she had not the prudence of the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster who abstained from interfering in affairs of State, but on the contrary influenced her husband in his decisions. The King being deficient in energy, committed the mistake of not repressing his wife, from whence resulted great misfortunes to the country during the life of D. Duarte and after his death. D. Leonor possessed all the gifts of an upright woman, but not the solid qualifications for a reigning queen, hence she became at the hands of vile intriguers an instrument for introducing discord in the kingdom, and which later on they despised and forced to go through deplorable situations.

Notwithstanding the business of State affairs which were sufficiently onerous, the King D. Duarte always assigned some hours for his favourite studies, and to forming in his palace a collection of books which constituted the first library of the King of Portugal known in history.

For a great length of time it was the current opinion that the King D. Alfonso V. was the first Portuguese prince who founded a library in the royal palace; but our erudite and conscientious bibliographer, Innocencio Francisco da Silva, whose services in respect to Portuguese letters have been so great, has expounded in the *Panorama* what he

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found in a document hitherto ignored or little known, and rectified the erroneous ideas which existed, and restored to the King D. Duarte all the honour due to him.

But though occupied with the internal affairs of State, D. Duarte nevertheless followed with attention all the turns and changes of external policy. Being at peace with all Europe, after the death of D. João I., and already engaged in maritime undertakings, which later on, perchance, absorbed too much of his attention, Portugal could calmly contemplate the agitation of Europe which the great strife between France and England had enkindled. There was an affair, however, which, to a country like Portugal, so eminently religious, could not be otherwise than of supreme importance—ecclesiastical dissensions.

The schism which had for so long divided Catholics was ended. These affairs had culminated in three Popes existing at one time; but these three Popes had at length been suppressed, and Martin V. ascended the pontifical throne, established anew in Rome by the Emperor Sigismund of Germany; but he was succeeded by Eugenio IV., and the schism was about to rise up again. Council after council was held, until at length, in 1431, discords increased, and Eugenio IV. refused to acknowledge the Council of Basiléa, and gathered together in Ferrara, and later on in Florence, a council which he proclaimed as the only legal one.

The King of Portugal sent his ambassadors to the council convened by Pope Eugenio IV., in the persons of the Count of Ourem and the Bishop of Oporto, Antão Martins. These delegates were accompanied by the doctors Vasco Fernandes de Lucena and Diogo Alfonso Mangaancha; the Augustinian friar, João Thomé; and the Franciscan, Mestre Gil Lobo, besides many other fidalgos.

Eugenio IV. was extremely flattered by this proof of respect for the pontifical authority and for the unexpected adhesion he received from a kingdom situated on the extreme of Europe, at a time when the greater number of princes conspired together against him, threatening to depose him; and the Pope manifested to D. Duarte every proof of affection and esteem. He wished to honour this Catholic sovereign by granting to him and to his successors the privilege of being anointed with the holy chrism in the same way as the kings of France and England. As a fact this privilege had been granted already by Martin V. to the kings of Portugal on the occasion of the visit to

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Rome of the Infante D. Pedro, but the monarchs had not made use of this honourable right.

D. Duarte thus continued, like his father D. João I., to maintain the exterior of the kingdom free from grave complications, and the interior at peace and in good order, encouraging good morals and study.

But what already troubled the reign of D. Duarte and presaged that it would not be a happy one was the plague which was desolating the kingdom. But surrounded by his brothers, following proudly and joyously the successful attempts of D. Henrique, and leaning on the arm of the Infante D. Pedro, the prudent statesman whose counsels he highly respected, and reverencing the singular modesty and resplendent virtues which adorned the Infante D. Ferdinand, it seemed that D. Duarte would negative the prophecy of Mestre Guedelha and enjoy a happy reign, blessed by his subjects. But Providence did not will it thus, and in this apparently calm horizon was preparing a thunderbolt.

As in the progress of the history of the reign of D. Duarte his brothers took so important a place, we judge it opportune, before proceeding, to give our readers a sketch of their characters and influence.

The next in the order of birth to D. Duarte was the Infante D. Pedro, born in Lisbon on the 9th of December, 1392. He became Duke of Coimbra, Lord of Montemor-o-Velho, and during the minority of his nephew, Alfonso V., assumed the regency. He was the first in Portugal who took the title of duke. He was dowered with the loftiest moral qualities, joined to clear intellectual powers, and united in himself, although in a less sublime degree, all the qualifications possessed by his brothers.

Eloquent like D. Duarte, erudite as D. Henrique, virtuous as was D. Ferdinand, and, similarly to the latter, the victim of mean passions, the noble form of the Infante D. Pedro stands as one of the most notable and sympathetic characters of our history. As a poet he was much admired in the Spanish Peninsula. Ticknor, in his "History of Spanish Literature," says "that the Infante D. Pedro was a versifier of some renown, who travelled through various parts of the world, and personally became acquainted in Spain with Juan de Mena, who was the most noteworthy poet of the Court of D. Juan II. of Castille, and one of the most highly appreciated during the first epochs of Spanish

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literature. D. Pedro addressed to him verses which were far better than the reply received."

As a prose writer he translated some Latin works, and wrote a book entitled the "Virtuosa Benefeitoria," a book dedicated to his brother, the Infante D. Duarte, which is still unedited. Although it does not reach to the merits of the "Leal Conselheiro," yet it possesses eminent qualities of the same class—beauty of style and loftiness of principles.

His voyages were in some sense advantageous to his brother D. Henrique, since, as it appears, they afforded some important light and information, and certainly served to animate the project to which he owed his personal glory, and the Portuguese nation the splendour which shines in her history.

From these voyages of the Infante D. Pedro popular imagination worked veritable myths, interwoven with marvellous lights and colours, from the narrative of the Infante. In those chivalrous days it was the usual custom for knights to choose a device according to the tendencies of their spirit. A symbol was selected for the escutcheons, and a motto, that the sons of D. João I. always added in French, which was the language of their mother, because the English Court, being half Norman, the French language was employed in Paris and in London. On the tombs of the four Infantes, in Batalha, are still seen the devices chosen by each, the device of D. Pedro being a pair of scales entwined with some oak-leaves and acorns, and one only word, *Desir*. In this motto, *Desir*, is incontestably expressed the character of this model of princes. His life, which was crowned by so hapless a death, was a constant aspiration towards all that was good—a constant desire for instruction, for improvement, for attaining to the highest ideal of humanity.

The next Prince was the celebrated Infante D. Henrique, the third surviving son of D. João I., who was born in Oporto on 4th March, 1394. He became Duke of Vizeu, Lord of Covilha, and Master of the Order of Christ. As we have to speak very extensively of this Prince when writing on the discoveries of the Portuguese, and the notable impulse he gave to them, we shall simply give a summary sketch of his character, taking advantage in doing so of the description afforded by Rebello da Silva in his biography of this Prince:

"He was endowed by God with a most lofty genius, constancy, and firmness, in order to conceive and carry out the vast plans and projects

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which glorified his name. A knight for whom glory had gathered from his boyhood and youth martial laurels, in order later on to weave them into a crown, desirous that the world should esteem him as a perfect model when beholding him uniting the victorious palm of the soldier with the trophies of the navigator—learning with princedom, daring with austerity."

This constancy, this intrepidity and perseverance, are well demonstrated by his device, *Talent de bien faire*, the word *talent* being also a signification of will—*talante*, as our forefathers expressed it, and a signification which in some cases still holds good in our day.

It was this device of the large-hearted Infante which became the encouraging call-word of the Portuguese in their continued undertakings.

Then followed in the list of children of D. João I. a daughter, the Infanta D. Isabel, born on 21st February, 1397. She became the Duchess of Burgandy. This vast duchy was governed by Phillip (surnamed the Good), owing to the disastrous death of his father, João sem Medo (John without Fear), who was assassinated in the presence of the Dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VII. He was the third duke of the branch of Valois. For a long time this marriage had been projected with the daughter of the King of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster. The Sieurs of Roubaix, Toulongeou Noyelle, and other nobles of Burgandy came to seek her, and she with her brothers embarked for Flanders. She had already arrived within sight of the port of Ecluse, where a large concourse of people had gathered together to receive her, when a furious tempest carried the ships right away into the sea. For many days were they tossed about and supposed lost, when they received news that the force of the storm had driven the ships to the coast of England, where she was received by the English rulers, and even a sum of money was lent to her to return. On arriving at Flanders she was received in a sumptuous manner hitherto unrivalled even by the traditions of the renowned house of Burgandy. On the 10th January, 1430, the marriage was celebrated at Bruges. It was on this occasion that the Duke instituted the famous Order of Knighthood called the Toison d'Ore. This Order was a friendly association of a limited number of knights. The Order was to consist of thirty-one nobles of renown in war and of spotless life. The Grand Master was Duke Philip, and at his death the office to descend to his successors, the Dukes of Burgandy. The institution of this Order was an homage offered to a princess of Portugal, daughter of D. João I., and the Order of the Toison d'Ore

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is even at the present day used or conferred only on sovereigns or personages of highest merit or those holding important social positions. When the States of Burgandy passed over to the dominion of Spain at the marriage of Philip I. of Castille, great-grandson of Philip the Good, with Joanna, this Order was annexed to the Spanish Crown.

Isabel died on 17th December, 1471, at the age of seventy-four. She was buried in the cathedral of Dijon.

The Infante D. João follows next in order of birth. He was born in Santarem in the month of January, 1400. He became Master of the Order of Santiago, succeeding Nuno Alvares in the charge of Constable. Although not dowered with such lofty genius as his brothers, he possessed, nevertheless, many excellent qualities of spirit. His device was, *J'ai bien raison.* We shall have occasion further on in our history to speak of this prince, who wedded a granddaughter of Nuno Alvares Pereira, and daughter of the Duke of Braganza.

The youngest son of D. João I. was the Infante D. Ferdinand—the *Saintly Infante* as the Portuguese loved to call him, and the *Constant Prince* as he was styled by the Castillian dramatist, who rendered his life so celebrated. We shall later on narrate at its proper moment the exploits which merited for him the glory that surrounds his memory and name, and recount his intrepidity in presence of evil treatment and actual misery, and his ineffable resignation. Here we shall merely mention that the device he adopted was no less fitting to his character and his lifelong destiny than that of his brother. *Le bien me plait* he chose as his motto, and his life chaste, virtuous, full of abnegation, and his death a true and voluntary sacrifice, fully proved that in his spirit he felt no difficulty of acting in conformity with that *bien* which was akin to his gentle spirit and his angelic heart.

This prince, who was to die a premature and cruel death, was born in Santarem on 29th September, 1402. He became Master of the Order of Aviz. He was naturally delicate from his birth, and of a studious nature, seldom caring for a Court life, preferring reading and study. Hence he became a perfect Latin scholar, and deeply read in the sacred writings. His charming countenance, the gravity of his manner, joined to his clear, shrewd intelligence, rendered him the idol of the Court. He was extremely religious, without being superstitious or fanatical, preferring religious exercises and all works of devotion and charity to bodily ones. He was simple in his habits and manner of living and never desired to enrich himself further than circumstances

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permitted, the King his brother finding great difficulty in persuading him to accept the honoured post of Master of Aviz. He possessed an almost feminine reserve, an extraordinary affability, and in every way retired as far as possible from the busy turmoil of politics, justifying in all his actions the device he had adopted, *Le bien me plait*. His rental was limited, as besides the revenue accruing from the Mastership of Aviz, he only possessed the towns of Salvaterra and Athouguia. His small rental, however, was not a subject which troubled him; all he lamented was not having, owing to his extreme youth, joined the expedition to Ceuta. He felt ashamed that he had not won his spurs as a knight in these holy wars, and he felt abashed at his own tranquil existence in comparison to that of his brothers.

Valour, virtue, erudition, eloquence, and the loftiest nobility of soul shone resplendently around that privileged throne. A fertile tree, covered with flowers and laden with fruits, its shoots spread throughout Europe, and in every part flourished. Much was due to nature, but far more to education and example. In that atmosphere, all charged with the perfume of virtue, the lofty qualities of the princes flourished as in their native air.

"If in our days we should wish to form some faint idea of the austere and judicious manner in which these princes were educated," writes Ferdinand Denis, "it would be in the pages of the 'Leal Conselheiro,' the book composed by the heir to the throne, that we should seek for these minute particulars, and where alone we could find them. We should then see that D. João I. was sufficiently enlightened to despise the superstitions circulated by the followers of astrology, and that, seconded by the admirable princess whom he elevated to the throne, he had gathered together in Portugal all the elements of intellectual development which was to be manifested so splendidly. Most certainly it was a noble epoch wherein the monarch inculcated to his sons: 'Ever bear in mind that we should guard against any and every thing wherein there could arise any diminution of honour, as things which are dangerous, while to the contrary, if any one thing is grand only in appearance, and its defect is not patent, we must despise it.'"

It was a time of eminently manly power, and at the same time of Christian purity, and in truth in the Court and palace there reigned a morality so notable that it contrasted in a singular manner with the former state of corruption.

From the character which all historians ascribe to the Infante

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D. Ferdinand may be clearly deduced that although impelled by a predilection for study, and consequently an existence of seclusion, yet he yearned for combats to fulfil what he judged a duty, and that it should never be said that he was the only one of the sons of D. João I. who had not unsheathed the sword to the glory and increase of power of his country. The war against the Mahometans seemed more than any other to favour his views by reason of the religious idea which dominated him, as well as most princes of his time. Although he rigorously fulfilled all the precepts of the Church, yet he would not become a religious, believing that other were the duties of princes; this thought even suggesting certain scruples which for a long time prevented him from accepting the charge of Master of Aviz, as he did not wish, as a layman, to enjoy ecclesiastical revenues. He gave a further proof of these scruples by obstinately refusing to accept the Cardinal's hat which Pope Eugenio IV. offered him. He was in his thirty-fourth year when he proceeded to interview the King in Almeirim, to ask leave to seek his fortunes and adventures in some foreign Court, preferably that of England, by reason of the parentage and goodwill existing between the two royal families of Portugal and England. He added that whenever his aid or presence should be required he would at once return, but that it was the custom of the Portuguese to gain honour and glory in foreign lands, and he, as a prince and a Portuguese, had a greater duty to perform, and add lustre to his name. *

The King was deeply grieved at this unexpected resolve of

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* The Portuguese were, as a fact, at that epoch, veritable knight-errants—adventurers who always appeared in Europe wherever there was strife. In the wars of the Emperor Sigismund of Germany against the Turks are found the Portuguese, the principal among them being D. Pedro. In the wars of Henry IV. of England with France rises up D. Alvaro Vaz d'Almada, who distinguished himself in the taking of Rouen. In the celebrated battle of Agincourt, gained by Henry V. of England over the French, and one of the greatest disasters in the history of France, Portuguese figured in the army of the victors, among them the illustrious paladine, Sueiro da Costa. When the Duke of Burgandy, John without Fear, was besieged in Arras by the troops of Charles VI., King of France (1414), various jousts took place, in one of which figured Portuguese knights, as we are told by E. M. de Barante. Another joust was celebrated between three French knights, led by a scion of Bourbon, who was very youthful and wished to become renowned, and the Lord of Cottebrune, a knight of Burgandy, who was already famed, against three Portuguese from the Court of Burgandy. M. de Barante does not tell us who were the victors. See "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne," tom. iii., p. 118.

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D. Ferdinand, and being rather weak of will, he felt deep anguish at having to deny his dearly loved brother the desired permission. He endeavoured to dissuade him from taking a step which was of small credit to both, since the world would judge that he was fired with immoderate love of riches, and that the King was treating him with small honour, and was like himself, mean and avaricious. D. Duarte besought his brother, D. Henrique, to dissuade D. Ferdinand from his design. It is true that D. Henrique combated the project of D. Ferdinand passing on to a foreign Court, but he greatly lauded the desire to distinguish himself by feats of arms, and counselled the King to project an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where D. Ferdinand might gain glory and Portugal derive some advantage.

The King energetically combated this new design, alleging that Portugal was deficient of means for such undertakings after the turbulent reign of his father, and that some tranquillity was needed; hence he besought him not to suggest any such idea of an African expedition to D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrique coldy replied that he would obey the King, but he lamented that such a glorious project as he proposed to him should not be carried out, and saying this, quitted the King's presence, leaving D. Duarte a prey to the cruellest anguish.

But D. Henrique did not desist from his project; on the contrary, seeing the hesitation of the King and the insistence of the Infante D. Ferdinand, he persevered in his idea of carrying it out. D. Duarte allowed himself to be guided, or perhaps influenced, by his consort, the Queen D. Leonor, who, unlike D. Philippa, did not possess a judgment sufficiently safe to render her counsels of advantage. It appears D. Henrique abused this influence, or rather the weakness of his brother, to gain his ends. The Queen knew that the King was deeply attached to his brothers, especially to D. Pedro, with whom she was no longer on good terms, and was glad to have a pretext for allying with D. Henrique. The Infante laid before her the great wish both he and his brother had of going to Africa, from whence great lustre would accrue to the reign of D. Duarte, and that this was an opportune moment to undertake an expedition, as there was peace internally and externally throughout Portugal. Moreover, should they be able to conquer more lands from the Moors near Ceuta, they would fix their residence in Africa, and leave all the lands they possessed in Portugal free for the King's children. D. Leonor quite approved of

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their plan, and no doubt the latter argument had some weight, for she offered to exercise her influence should the Infante judge it needful.

And as though all things were tending towards working some disaster in Portugal after fifty years that fortune had smiled upon the nation, there arrived about this time to Lisbon a Portuguese ecclesiastic, D. Gomes by name, who was abbot in Florence, and became later on Prior of Santa Cruz, bearing from Pope Eugenio IV. to D. Duarte a bull for the crusade which the King had previously demanded, in order that when the opportune moment should arrive of combating the Moors to do so without delay, and with all the advantages derived from the promulgation of such bulls. Eugenio IV., who was under great obligations to the King of Portugal, because his envoy, Count de Durem, had gone from Rome to Basilea on purpose to maintain before the rebel bishops the cause of the Pontiff, at once sent the desired bull for the crusade. However, it arrived at a most inopportune moment, because it afforded to the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand, and to the Queen D. Leonor, a plea for insisting in their project being carried forward, and constrained the King against his will, and, as though touched by sinister forebodings, to accede to the unfortunate expedition. The weak will of D. Duarte at length yielded to the importunities of his brothers and his wife, and he resolved upon fixing Tangiers as the drift of an expedition to be commanded by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand. The forces he projected to assign for this expedition were 14,000 men. But in order to gather together a force of this number money was needed, and the coffers of the treasury were far from full. This objection of deficiency of means was put forward by the King when the project was under discussion, owing to the immense outlay which had occurred on various occasions, such as the dowry given to the Duchess of Burgandy, amounting to 200,000 crowns; the expenses of the marriage itself, the feasts, and her voyage to Flanders. Those incurred at his own marriage (D. Duarte's), and the presents made to the Aragonese noblemen who had accompanied D. Leonor; the feasts held at the celebration of the marriage of D. Pedro; the funeral and exequies of the late King D. João I.; later on the payment of the legacies bequeathed by the deceased monarch, and various other disbursements when the Count of Ourem and the ambassadors proceeded to Rome.

Resources were wanting, and there was no other means of obtaining money but by imposing a taxation on the people. This the King

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was loth to do, knowing that this expedition did not meet with general sympathy. However, for this object a Cortes was convened on April 15, 1436, in Evora, when the project of the expedition and consequent taxation was to be discussed. Dr. Ruy Fernandes broached the subject, and after warmly approving this expedition appealed to the nation's patriotism and the goodwill of the Councils to authorise and vote that the imposts levelled on the towns should be applied to the carrying out of this expedition—a demand at which the people murmured.

The fact of the undertaking had been decided upon, yet the Infante D. Pedro had not been consulted, he whom the monarch acknowledged possessed such high governing qualifications! Nor the Infantes D. João or the Count de Barcellos, and as these all felt aggrieved at the omission, the King was constrained to hold in Leiria, in the month of August, 1436, a kind of family council, in which the affair was newly discussed.

At this family council appeared the Infantes D. Pedro, D. Henrique, D. João, D. Ferdinand, the Count of Barcellos, and his son, the Count de Arrayolos. Three members of this council, however, abstained from voting in the affair, because they were interested parties. The Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand had promoted the expedition, hence they could not defend it; the Count of Arrayolos had been appointed Constable of the expeditionary army, therefore he likewise was interested that the decision of the council should be given in favour of the project.

The first to speak was the Infante D. João, who declared himself against the expedition, if the records of Ruy de Pina be correct, and the speech be true that the chronicler places in his mouth, which is scarcely probable, although no doubt he made some objections. The Count of Barcellos seconded the view taken by D João, in as far as it was against the expedition. However, the most notable discourse pronounced on that occasion was the speech of the Infante D. Pedro, who spoke with admirable prevision of the future, and almost prophetically. He manifested himself justly aggrieved that the King should ask his advice only after he had resolved upon the project. He called attention to the fact of the deplorable state of public finance, insufficient even should the new imposts voted by the Cortes be collected together; these collections being urgently required for other purposes. He did not deny that such a war was an honourable one for the kingdom, and probably of some advantage to the Christian faith,

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and he even went so far as to own that the forces of the country might be sufficient to carry out the project; that he had no doubt of the bravery of the Portuguese to triumph as they had triumphed in Ceuta, but that there was wanting the essential element for organising a proper expedition—money. He added that the conquest of African strongholds and places was of small advantage or profit to the State, besides the difficulty of maintaining them. The Christian conquest of Spain, on the contrary, was really a re-conquest, and the places annexed to the neo-Gothic crowns remained integrally united, but in Africa the Christian conquest would be an invasion. The cities taken by the Portuguese would never become cities of Portugal, but remain ever foreign possessions, supported and retained at the cost of great sacrifices and efforts, like so many islands in the midst of a sea of unsubmissive tribes. With an almost prophetic foresight, and which unhappily was verified, he said that the army which should besiege Tangiers would find itself in its time besieged by the Moors, who would flock from all parts to defend one of their most important cities. Hence, in consequence of all these dangers, he voted against the expedition. These words and arguments of the Infante D. Pedro were listened to with deepest respect as coming from a man held by all, and especially by his brother, D. Duarte, as one of the most eminent statesmen of Europe, and certainly the highest authority in Portugal.

Hence this vote, so strongly put forward, deeply disquieted the King, D. Duarte, who felt that his sad presentiments were echoed. The words spoken by that brother, dowered with such lofty intelligence, awakened fears, and constrained him to repent of what he had done. To retreat now appeared impossible. He saw his family divided into two opposite parties, and he, as was natural, hesitated. At length it occurred to the King to consult the Pope whether it was lawful to make war against the infidels, and in order to do so impose a tax on the people.

Eugenio IV., who was in Bologna, summoned a consistory of cardinals, and proposed the questions. The reply was to the effect that if infidels occupied Christian territory and changed the churches into mosques; or if, besides occupying their own lands, they caused any damage to the Christians; or if, without doing any of these things, they were idolaters, and committed other abominations, it would be just for princes to make war to them. Nevertheless, they must make such war with discretion and mercy, unless the people of Christ were in peril of

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life or suffered death or losses. In respect to the imposition of taxes for the continuance of the war, it was declared that they could make just war against the infidels in two manners—firstly, through necessity, or in defence of the territory; secondly, voluntarily, in order to conquer territory from the infidels. In the first case it was lawful to impose a tax; but a voluntary war could only be done at the personal expense of the King. Hence this war being an aggressive one, he could not impose such taxation, although he might hope to gain the whole of Africa.

But while these questions were asked and the affair discussed, the King, ever irresolute, allowed himself to be led by the Queen and the Infantes into taking a decision which in his heart he reprobated. On the 18th September, 1436, the Queen gave birth to a daughter, D. Leonor, in Torres-Vedras, who became later on Empress of Germany. The Queen took advantage of this event to induce him through love for her to definitely consent to this fatal project.

The equipment of the fleet and forces was at once commenced, the squadrons being simultaneously organised in Lisbon and in Oporto.

It was certainly during the last months of the year 1436 that in the long winter nights the King composed and wrote the wise instructions he gave his brother D. Henrique on the manner of conducting this expedition, which are published in the *Provas da Historia Genealogica*.*

How great must have been the tribulation of the King on receiving the reply of the consistory of Bologna, and being combated by opposite elements! From this point commenced the almost uninterrupted period of his great sorrows.

Such was the internal situation of the kingdom towards the end of the year 1436. Our relations externally with foreign powers were peaceful. The King of Aragon had besought aid from Portugal against its neighbouring rulers, but D. Duarte excused himself on account of the expedition to Africa. Later on a treaty of peace was entered into at Toledo between the Kings of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, a treaty in which Portugal was included as regarded Castille. It appears the King of Aragon, while approving the treaty, wished Portugal to be excluded, probably because he felt aggrieved, but this resentment

* Vol. i., p. 529, and following pages. One of these instructions bears date of 10th September. This is the only date found.

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was quickly extinguished, no doubt owing to the influence of the Queen.

But the greatest event which in a special manner occupied the King and the Court was the scheme for conquering Tangiers, and in the event of success thereby opening new paths to commercial relations between Portugal and Africa. With this object the Pope was solicited to grant to D. Duarte and to his subjects an authorisation to enter into all branches of commerce and effect contracts with the Moors, with the exception of iron, wood, cordage, and other articles of military equipments.

All preparations being concluded, the Infantes embarked in the war-ships prepared for them, on the 17th of August, having previously attended mass in the Cathedral, and sailed towards Rastello. Five days later, the Infantes went on shore to join the King D. Duarte and his Court, who had proceeded to the Church of Santa Catharina de Ribamar, and attended solemn mass, after which all proceeded on board and dined together. After the repast the King, with many tears, bade his brothers farewell, and he was greatly affected when he parted from his dearly loved brother D. Ferdinand, as though foreseeing the sad ending of this disastrous expedition. He gave especial instructions in writing to the Infante D. Henrique, in which he bade him, on reaching Ceuta, to divide the fleet into three squadrons —one to proceed upon Alcacer, the second to Tangiers, and the third to Arzilla, with the object of diverting the attention of the Moors. Also to select as the seat of war and for the encampment a spot which should leave two sides, or at least one free and open towards the sea, in order to enable them to hold communication with the fleet, and obtain prompt aid and provisions, and a means of retreat in the event of defeat. When these arrangements should be completed, then to assail the city of Tangiers up to three times, if necessary; but should the third attempt prove unsuccessful, to embark at once and proceed to Ceuta, and there await his arrival on the following March, when he, the King, would surely come to aid him with as large an army as he should be able to muster and recruit in the kingdom.

The King then quitted the ship and came to land, and the wind being favourable, the fleet weighed anchor and moved on to Ceuta, where they arrived on the 27th, and joined the squadron of the Count of Arrayolos from Oporto.

When the arrival of the Infantes became known, great terror took

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possession of the Moors, and many tribes sent envoys to ask peace in exchange for gold, silver, cattle, and corn. The Infante D. Henrique only accepted the vassalage of the tribe of Benamade.

The Infante, on reaching Ceuta, passed in review his forces, and perceived, to his great dismay, that instead of the 14,000 men supposed to form the strength of the army, there were only about 6,000, and even these had come against their will, thus being 8,000 short of what had been promised him. Only those had come who had been unable to avoid the general call: a great number of those requisitioned from the Councils had preferred paying heavy fines rather than take part in the expedition. Others, again, had deserted before embarking; in a word, all had been reluctant to undertake this military voyage to Africa. Moreover, money was short, notwithstanding that the tributes had been taken, and even the money from the coffers of the orphans; and the reply of Rome was unexpectedly unfavourable, even in the simple fact of the imposition of taxation. There was likewise great difficulty in obtaining transport ships, although recourse was had to foreign ships, for which heavy sums were paid. The shipping of the North was in a great measure withdrawn, owing to the wars waging between France and England, while D. Juan II. of Castille expressly forbade his ships of Biscay, manned by such skilful sailors, to undertake the transport of Portuguese troops to African shores.

From all these circumstances resulted the fact that the army was reduced to 6,000 men; yet with this number did the Infante D. Henrique expect to dominate Africa, which had all been put into movement to defend whatever stronghold the Portuguese might attack. The only way to effect some happy result with so small a force would be to attack Tangiers by surprise, as had been done when attacking Ceuta, and scale it. There was some show of probability that the terror inspired by the approach of the Portuguese might produce a panic, and the Moors deliver up Tangiers into the hands of the Portuguese Infantes almost without any attempt at defence. But to effect this the fleet should have proceeded directly to Tangiers and assaulted it at once, which would have been secretly aided by reinforcements from Ceuta. But instead of doing this, they proceeded to Ceuta, and thus gave the Moors time to prepare and take precautions, while to proceed against them with such diminished forces was really blind folly.

The Moors, therefore, strongly garrisoned the Serra da Ximeira, which was the shortest route to Tangiers, and D. Henrique resolved

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upon going *viâ* Tetuan, although it was a longer way. D. Ferdinand, owing to being unwell, proceeded by sea. On the way the Portuguese captured Tetuan, whose inhabitants had fled.

On Friday, the 13th of September, D. Henrique reached Tangiers, finding the old city abandoned. He there joined D. Ferdinand, and the camp was struck on a hill fronting the Cape of Espartel—a very fertile and delightful spot, a perfect paradise of gardens, plantations, and orchards, spots which are oftentimes met with in Barbary by the side of terrible deserts. As may be perceived, D. Henrique did not carry out what D. Duarte had ordered respecting the manner of encamping, and this gravely imprudent act of placing the camp far from the sea was one of the principal causes of the defeat and disasters sustained by the Portuguese.

Tangiers was defended by Salat-ben-Salat, the same who had been expelled by D. João I. from Ceuta, and therefore he desired to take vengeance on those who had expelled him. This circumstance, however, would have been favourable to the Portuguese had they unexpectedly and suddenly appeared before Tangiers and produced a panic similar to the one in Ceuta. But they had afforded Salat-ben-Salat sufficient time to compare his forces with those of the assailants, and to raise hopes of being able to revenge himself for the capture of the city of their predilection. As we have said, the Portuguese numbered some 6,000 men, while against this force was ranged the whole of Africa: within the walls of Tangiers alone there stood an army of 7,000 armed men, among them some archers from Granada.

As soon as the Portuguese pitched their camp they made an assault on the Moors, as it was reported that the gates of the city were open. This assault was repulsed by losses on the Christian side, and was the first of the series of foolhardy actions which signalised this unfortunate siege. Among the wounded were the Count of Arrayolos and Alvaro Vaz d'Almada and many knights.

On the 20th September the first regular assault took place. The various corps were commanded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, the Count of Arrayolos, the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, and the Bishop of Evora, D. Alvaro de Abreu, a militant prelate who followed the traditions of the Archbishop of Braga. The Infante D. Henrique reserved to himself the most important point of attack, that of the castle itself.

This was the first siege practised by the Portuguese in which we

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find artillery actually employed, and especially used for destroying walls, likewise the use of firearms. The combat was a long one, but ended disadvantageously for the Portuguese. They were unable to force the doors of the fortress, because these doors had been well barricaded with stone and lime by the Moors, and the scaling ladders of the Portuguese were too short to reach the top of the ramparts. D. Henrique gave the order for retreat, instructing Vasco Fernandes Coutinho and Alvaro Vaz d'Almada to remain guarding the artillery—a post of great risk, but which these two brave captains held most bravely—while he sent to Ceuta for longer ladders, *bombardas*, missiles, and powder.

While waiting for these aids various skirmishes took place, in which some fidalgos perished; but the Moors would not accept war, and contented themselves with pursuing the Portuguese to the encampment. This was because they expected an important reinforcement, which actually arrived on the last day of September, consisting of 10,000 Moorish horsemen and 90,000 foot-soldiers, all this army placing itself before the Portuguese camp. D. Henrique wished to open battle at once, but the Moors retired after a slight skirmish. This manœuvre was repeated the following day by the Moors, and on the third day they advanced in larger numbers against the camp; but the Portuguese fell upon them and drove them back for a distance of a league and a half. It appears, however, that all this was no more than a stratagem skilfully combined by the Moors, because while some were pursued by the Portuguese, others fell on the camp, which, however, was brilliantly defended by Diogo Lopes de Sousa and a few companions-at-arms.

We must here add, the Moors closely surrounded the Portuguese camp, and Ruy Gomes de Pina tells us that between the shore and battle-field communications were intercepted by them. "It was a mute warning which was being given to the Infantes," says Senhor Pinheiro Chagas, "of the danger of allowing communications to be intercepted with the squadron; but the Portuguese could perceive white crosses on the horizon, yet failed to see evident and palpable dangers which lay at their very feet."

A second assault against the fortress was attempted on the 5th with the scaling ladders and a wooden castle or engine of war brought from Ceuta. But this second attack proved likewise disastrous, as the Moors employed firearms, which were already known to them, and by which many Christians were wounded and some killed.

A deep despondency took possession of D. Henrique as he began

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clearly to perceive how deceptive had been his hopes of the undertaking; nevertheless, instead of retiring in time, pride induced him to attempt a third assault. And in effect they were preparing for it, when some shieldbearers of the Count de Arroyolos brought to him two captive Almogauares, who revealed that the Kings of Fez, Belez, Morocco, and Fafilet were coming that day with an army of 70,000 horsemen and 700,000 foot-soldiers. These numbers, however, given by the chronicler Ruy de Pina, were certainly exaggerated. Yet there was no doubt that their number greatly exceeded that of the Portuguese army.

D. Henrique at once summoned a council of war, but the Moors did not give him time to discuss anything, and appeared in such numbers that the ground became covered with Berbers, while the dust which arose from the tramp of the cavalry was like a dense cloud of sand. The Infante ordered the marines back to their ships, the soldiers to the camp, and the horsemen to follow him while he went forward. But the Moors fell upon the Portuguese artillery with such vigour that Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, who had remained on guard, was forced to abandon it and to fly. The Infante covered his retreat with that heroic valour which, with all his faults, ever distinguished him, and at the head of his division turned against the Moors to pursue them, but on retiring became quickly surrounded and so hedged in by them that the Moors killed the horse under him, and he himself would have fallen a victim had not a page of the Infante D. Ferdinand quickly given him another horse, which enabled him to fly towards the camp. The Moors pursued him in their turn, and this attack would have been a mortal one, because many of the Portuguese had fled terror-stricken to the ships, had not D. Pedro de Castro, who guarded the fleet, hastened to succour the Infante; the defence of the Portuguese being so courageous that the Moors were forced to retire.

But in the Portuguese camp despondency began to show itself, and panic took possession of the army when it was discovered that there were scarcely sufficient provisions for two days. The provender on board was useless to them, as it became impossible to effect a landing, because they had allowed the Moors to intercept communications between the camp and the fleet by not keeping the distance free. The prophecy of D. Pedro was being fulfilled, and the Infante was forced to acknowledge his senseless mistake in neglecting to follow the instructions of D. Duarte. On the following day the Moors again attacked the entrenchments, but were repulsed by the Portuguese after four hours'

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combat. But this small victory could not blind them to the fact that provisions were exhausted. The Portuguese decided to open at night a passage by force through the enemy's ranks; but they were betrayed by Martim Vierra, the Chaplain of the Infante, who had deserted and gone over to the Moors, and informed them of what the Portuguese intended to do. Doubtlessly he deserted in a moment of weakness, appalled at the prospect of captivity. The Moors, believing his statement, quickly concentrated a large force on the coast and beach, this being the first warning to the Christians that they had been betrayed.

No combat took place on the next day, but on the following one, which was Saturday, the Moorish Kings and Alcaides held a council to deliberate upon what best to do should they be victorious. Should they put to death the Portuguese, all Christendom would rise up to avenge them; hence they decided it were better to allow them to depart in peace if they agreed to restitute Ceuta to them. However, in order to intimidate the Christians, they pretended to prepare and arrange themselves for a great battle; but just as all were ready to begin, the Portuguese were surprised to see advancing towards them parliamentaries conveying proposals of peace.

In the melancholy situation in which the Portuguese were placed, the terms offered could not have been better. The Moors exacted the surrender of Ceuta and all Moorish captives in Portugal, the camp, with all arms, artillery, baggage, and tents.

The Infantes, however, wished to confer directly with the Emirs of Fez and Morocco, and for this object sent to the Saracen camp Ruy Gomes da Silva, the Alcaide of Campo Maior, and Paio Rodrigues, scribe to the King D. Duarte. But while this delay took place, some of the Mussalman troops, yielding to their instincts of odium, and unable any longer to be restrained within the limits of discipline, threw themselves on the Christian camp. Had this assault been as fierce as the preceding ones, it would have been impossible to resist; but it was only a local one, and the Portuguese defended themselves almost with superhuman strength. Among them fought the Bishop of Ceuta and the Infante D. Henrique, who performed great deeds of valour. After six hours' fighting the Moors retired, but in their impotent rage they endeavoured to set fire to the camp, which the Portuguese succeeded in stamping out.

In truth, the destruction of the army of the Infantes was of no advantage to the Moors. It would not be in exchange for the slain

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bodies of the two sons of D. João I. that they would obtain the restitution of Ceuta, which was what was most desired by the Mussalman chiefs, especially by the Al-Kaid of Tangiers. The Portuguese were well aware of this, nevertheless they knew that no dependence could be placed on this fact, as the Berber tribes might at any moment break out and attempt another assault. Hence they spent the whole night of Saturday in repairing trenches and otherwise preparing for another attack. When Sunday dawned the situation of the Christians was truly horrible. Provisions had run out, and the water of the wells and fountains had been corrupted by the Moors. Hunger and thirst had appeared, with their terrible anguish. "The soldiers," says Vilhena Barbosa, "were compelled to eat the horses, which they killed for food, and they had no wood to kindle fires to cook it, and were forced to burn their saddles; and even these rations were small, and could not last long. A shower of rain fell, and although of short duration, yet it saved their lives and instilled some hope into them."

After two days' debate, an accord was come to on the 16th October, in which it was agreed that the Portuguese should retire from the camp, leaving behind all their artillery, horses, and belongings. D. Henrique pledged himself to restore the city of Ceuta, with all captive Moors held within; to maintain peace, by sea and land, with Barbary for the space of one hundred years. In pledge or security of these treaties Salat-ben-Salat would deliver up to the Christians as hostage his son, for whose life he would retain as securities the persons of Pedro de Athayde, João Gomes de Avellar, Ayres da Cunha, and Gomes da Cunha; while for the security of the Moors in respect to the restitution of Ceuta, the hostage to be the Infante D. Ferdinand.

The proposal filled the cup of indignation of D. Henrique, and he desired to exchange his own person in place of his brother Ferdinand; but the council would not hear of this, as unworthy that the commander of the expedition should do so. But in his inward soul he felt he was the author of all these disasters. The treaty was signed, and Salat-ben-Salat presented himself at the camp, and led away the Infante D. Ferdinand, accompanied by several persons, among them Fr. João Alvares, the author of his "Chronica," the Knight of Aviz, and his secretary.

The following reflections, which Senhor Pinheiro Chagas makes respecting the action of D. Ferdinand in this affair, are worthy of

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consideration. "D. Ferdinand," says this illustrious writer, "represented a purely passive character, while behaving with consummate bravery. The Infante ever conducted himself as though he was far removed from affairs of war. During this short disastrous campaign we find him simply obeying the commands of his brother without hesitation, yet without great enthusiasm, similarly to a man who fulfils a duty of honour, but who nevertheless is well-nigh indifferent to the result of his efforts. The spirit of sacrifice was his triumph, in the same way as Christian resignation was the grand trait of his character."

In truth, D. Ferdinand was not a soldier by instinct or vocation; he was out of place in the camp. Nevertheless, wishing to add lustre to his name by feats of arms, he endeavoured to follow simply a tendency of the epoch and family traditions.

The Portuguese proceeded to embark, but some of the Moors endeavoured to prevent this, and even to taking water into the transport ships which D. Henrique had ordered to approach.

This interruption was due solely to the feverish excitement of triumph, and Salat-ben-Salat, unable altogether to prevent it, advised the Portuguese to proceed along the breastwork of the fortifications of Tangiers, which was immediately under his command. D. Henrique sent along this path some of the wounded, but the Moors, after allowing some to pass, fell upon the others, many of whom were taken prisoners or slain. The Infante then comprehended that he had to embark by force of arms, and hence he prepared to effect the embarkation on the morning of the 19th October. The Moors reinforced the siege, and the embarkation commenced under a sharp fire. The Portuguese who were on board, judging that their comrades could not effect the embarkation, and that the revenge of the Moors would be a cruel one, were about to weigh anchor and fly, when Ruy Gomes da Silva approached the fleet, bringing the son of Salat-ben-Salat. This dispelled their fears, and when the Infante D. Henry appeared they were fully tranquillised. By Sunday morning all the Portuguese were on board, although the embarkation took place in a most shameful disorder. In order to take revenge for the treachery of the Moors, D. Henrique retained on board some of the Alcaides and the scribe sent by Salat-ben-Salat to take an inventory of the spoils, and took them all on to Ceuta. A council was held on board the war-ship of the Count de Arrayolos, in which it was resolved that the Count and D. Fernando de Castro, with all the fidalgos who were not actually of

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the Infantes' suite, should proceed directly to Portugal, while he, the Infante, would go on to Ceuta.

The siege of Tangiers occupied, as we have seen, thirty-seven days, from the 13th September to the 20th October. Out of 6,000 composing the army, 500 were slain on the battle-field, a great number were wounded, some of whom died from their wounds, and the Infante D. Ferdinand and some nobles made prisoners. Such was the deplorable result of that fatal expedition.

Let us glance now at what passed in Lisbon. As soon as the fleets departed for Africa, D. Duarte decided to reside in Lisbon with his brother D. Pedro, in order to be ready to relieve promptly any call for aid. D. João was sent to the Algarve with a similar intention, and he likewise was ready with men and provender in case of need. But as pestilence had broken out in Lisbon, the King and royal family removed to the outskirts, from thence he proceeded to Santarem, where towards the middle of October reports reached the King that the Infantes had been surrounded by the Moors. This report filled his heart with the saddest forebodings. D. João, on learning the sad news, at once left the Algarve, but being caught in a furious tempest, the vessel was run into Arzilla, where his brother D. Ferdinand had been taken as a captive. He endeavoured to redeem the captive Infante, and for this object entered into negotiations with Salat-ben-Salat; but the King of Fez, fearing lest the Portuguese Infante should slip out of his hands, sent him to Fez.

The noble-hearted D. Pedro also obtained leave from the King to fly to his succour, and both brothers proceeded to Carnide to fit out a fleet, and while preparing the squadron, some ships from the squadron of Tangiers arrived to Lisbon, bringing full accounts of the captivity of D. Ferdinand and disasters of the expedition.

D. Duarte fell into a deep melancholy, aggravated by seeing the state of the soldiers returning from Tangiers. These men exaggerated their sufferings, and even clothed themselves in ragged tunics, or in rusty mourning, in order to work upon the feelings of the King, and some of them at their request were landed in Andalusia, where they were received and petted by the people, who loaded them with presents; D. Duarte sending letters of thanks to the city of Seville and other places of Andalusia. These lugubrious processions of soldiers traversed the city over whose habitations the angel of death hovered, and proceeded on to Carnide. But among them was a truly noble spirit, one

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of those chivalrous forms of the Middle Ages, called Alvaro Vaz de Almada, who proceeded at once to raise the desponding spirit of the King, and dispel the melancholy impression which these spectres caused on the soul of the King and city, by clothing himself in festive array, and with him all those under his command, and went to Carnide, where he surprised the King by manifesting himself unmoved by the results of the expedition to Tangiers. He bade him bear in mind that if D. Ferdinand had remained a captive, he was, after all, only one individual, and a mortal man; that great deeds of valour had been practised to compensate for this reverse, which honoured the Portuguese name; that, therefore, there was no occasion for all this sadness and mourning for the dead, since they had died gloriously. These words of the noble knight afforded some relief and resignation to D. Duarte, but his soul, nevertheless, had received a deep and incurable blow.

From Ceuta the Infante D. Henrique besought Salat-ben-Salat to deliver up the Infante D. Ferdinand in exchange for his son, with no further compensation, as the treaty between them had been violated in an unworthy manner by the Moors when the Portuguese embarked; but Salat-ben-Salat cared little for his son, and rejected the proposal. D. Henrique was highly indignant at the refusal of the Moor, and immediately sent the son of Salat, with the Alcaides who had remained with him, to the Algarve, giving D. Duarte a detailed account of the history of the siege, and calling upon the King of Castille and various fidalgos of that kingdom to aid him to rescue the Infante, as the restitution of Ceuta would bring down grave complications and evils upon all Christian nations, especially to Spain.

D. Duarte replied bidding his brother retire from Ceuta immediately, and instructed D. Fernando de Noronha, the Governor of that city, to abstain from making war on the Moors, and avoid irritating them, as grave evils might accrue to their captive, D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrique returned to Portugal after waiting five months in Ceuta, in obedience to the orders of his brother the King; but he did not proceed to Lisbon, as he wished to enter that port only when he could do so with D. Ferdinand, but remained in the Algarve on the promontory then called "Tercena Naval," which later on was changed for "Villa do Infante," and finally into its present name of Sagres. But whether D. Henrique fixed his residence in Sagres after the return of the expedition from Ceuta in 1418, as Mr. Major tells us, or only after his return from Tangiers in 1438, it appears certain that the sorrow

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caused by the captivity of D. Ferdinand, and a certain reluctance to enter into Lisbon without him, greatly contributed to induce a love of solitude and the study of the sciences correlative to navigation, after his military career had been cut down by the melancholy results of the expedition against Tangiers.

D. Fernando de Noronha, the Governor of Ceuta, endeavoured to follow out the instructions of the King and not make war to the Moors; but the latter grew bold, and persisted almost daily in coming to the ramparts and attacking the Portuguese. At length he was forced to punish them, and the Moors retaliated by rendering the captivity of D. Ferdinand more bitter than before.

But we shall leave awhile D. Ferdinand captive in Africa and D. Henrique to his solitude in Tercena, and turn our eyes to what passed in Lisbon. As the pestilence was raging in the capital and suburbs, the King quitted Santarem and proceeded to Thomar, from whence he convened a Cortes to be held in Leiria, where the whole affair relating to the expedition of Tangiers was laid before the assembly, as also the treaties entered into respecting the captivity of D. Ferdinand. A letter of the Infante D. Ferdinand addressed to his brother the King was read to the Cortes. This letter was dated from Arzilla, and in it he begged the King and Council to allow Ceuta to be delivered up in exchange for his liberty, as it was a great expense to retain it, and practically of no use. He stated that should the reply be delayed, he would be placed in the power of the cruel Lazuraque, the Regent of Fez, of whom he stood in great fear. The opinions of the representatives of the nation were divided, and the King demanded from them their votes in writing. To his dismay, he found there were four diverse opinions and votes. The first in the list were the Infantes D. Pedro and D. João, some of the nobles, and the greater number of the cities and towns of the kingdom. These held that the Infante should be rescued in exchange for Ceuta, not only because he would sacrifice his life and liberty for others, as that the non-fulfilment of the treaty would be discourteous to the Portuguese, who had drawn it up, as well as to the King.

The second opinion—that of the Archbishop of Braga and the clergy—was to the effect that the city of Ceuta, wherein were Christian temples, could not be delivered up to the Moors without authorisation from the Holy Father granted in consistory.

The third was that the King should endeavour in course of time to

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rescue the Infante in exchange for ransom money, captives, or through the mediation of the Pope and other Christian kings, or again by some victory gained over the Moors which should facilitate the ransom of the Infante by ceding a new African possession; and only when all these means should fail, after hearing the theologians and doctors of canon law on the subject, to deliver up Ceuta.

The fourth, that by no means ought the King to deliver up Ceuta in order to rescue the Infante, even were the captive the prince-heir; that the contract was entered into without the authorisation of the King, and therefore without such authorisation the treaty could have no weight or be executed: this opinion was sustained by the Count de Arrayolos and many other representatives.

In view of all these diverse opinions it is easy to conceive and comprehend the painful conflict of feelings which took possession of D. Duarte. After much thought, and unable to arrive at any definite plan of action, he resorted to the plan of delay suggested by a portion of the representatives. He wrote to the Pope, kings, and princes of Christendom asking counsel. They all replied with the usual words of sympathy and consolation, praising the example of piety afforded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, but counselled him not to deliver up Ceuta.

From Leiria the King went to Evora, where he learnt that the Infante was already in Fez and his captivity made more severe than ever. The King then sent to Algarve for D. Henrique, whom he had not yet seen since his return from Africa, as he desired to have his opinion. The Infante at once proceeded to Portel, four leagues from Evora, and from thence sent to the King to beseech him not to compel him to appear at his Court. The King, therefore, went to Portel and had an interview with his brother, who manifested himself averse to delivering up Ceuta, declaring that if he had offered himself instead of D. Ferdinand to remain as hostage, it was for no other reason but to retain the place; moreover, that the ransom could be effected by money or by a great number of captives, with the mediation of the King of Granada, and should these means fail, then resort to arms, as 24,000 men would amply suffice to war against all the Moorish kings who might come against them. The King then returned to Evora, and the Infante to Algarve.

The pestilence which seemed to follow the footsteps of D. Duarte invaded Evora, and forced the King to retire with his Queen and family to Aviz, where resided D. Pedro, D. João, the Count of Arrayolos, and

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many personages. In August the plague broke out in Aviz, and the King, fearing to place his family in any risk of the fever, combined with them to separate. D. Pedro proceeded to Coimbra, D. João to Alcacer do Sal, the King and Queen and their children to Ponte de Sôr, and from thence to Thomar.

We are told by the historian Antonio Caetano de Sousa, that when on the road to Thomar, D. Duarte received a letter which happened to be infected, and that from thence resulted the illness and death of the King. Ruy de Pina, however, assigns a purely moral cause—grief and distress at the deplorable situation he was placed in, aggravated by the reports that had reached his ears that the pleadings of the Queen in favour of the expedition to Tangiers had been incited by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand with offers favouring their son D. Ferdinand. These revelations were bitter to a delicate, sensitive nature like his, and his heart was torn between two contingencies, either to allow his brother to die in captivity or deliver up Ceuta, which had been conquered by his father. It is believed with some truth that his death was due to the terrible consequences of the disasters of Tangiers.

D. Duarte, in truth, had been stricken with fever ere he reached Thomar. The malady increased, and after thirteen days of extreme suffering he expired in the palace of the convent, on the 9th September, 1438, after receiving all the sacraments of the Church. He was forty-seven years of age, and had reigned five years. His short reign was full of misfortunes, famine, pestilence, and disastrous wars, during which D. Duarte was unable to occupy himself with other affairs, nor manifest the lofty governing qualities he possessed.

Ruy de Pina further tells us that he left a will, which was opened in presence of the Infante D. Pedro, wherein he appointed his Consort guardian of his children, regent of the kingdom, and heiress of his personal estate. He enjoins that D. Ferdinand be ransomed by money or any other way, and if all means failed, to do so by surrendering Ceuta.

The Infante D. Henrique proceeded from the Algarve to Thomar as soon as the news of the sad event reached him; but the Infante D. João was lying ill in Alcacer do Sal, and his wife would not inform him of the death of the King until he was convalescent.

The remains of the King were taken to Batalha, accompanied by priests, and placed in the church where he had commenced the chapels

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denominated *imperfect*, and which are even at the present day incompleted. D. Duarte lies in the principal chapel of the temple.

Let us now return to D. Ferdinand in captivity in Africa. Let us witness and unfold that long drama of bitter trials which invested its chief character with the surname of the *Saintly Infante*, or the *Constant Prince*. In this we shall follow the narrative of Friar João Alvares, his secretary and companion in prison, eliminating the exaggerations which we find in its pages. The captivity of D. Ferdinand is in itself grand, and needs no romancing to render it a living drama, true and sublime.

As we already know, the Infante D. Ferdinand was delivered over to Salat-ben-Salat in pledge for Ceuta. The hapless Infante was accompanied by his tutor, Rodrigo Esteves; his confessor, Friar Gil Mendes; his foster-brother, João Rodrigues; his secretary, Friar João Alvares; his physician, Mestre Martinho, and others of his household, as well as some nobles who remained as securities for the life of the son of Salat-ben-Salat. At nightfall he was conducted to a tower on the ramparts of Tangiers, and prepared to spend his first night of captivity among infidels, far from his native land and his loved family, beholding before him in imagination an uncertain future full of dark forebodings.

On the following Sunday, as we said, the Portuguese fleet weighed anchor, after effecting the embarkation of the troops under a heavy firing. As the Infante D. Ferdinand did not receive any message from his brother, a last adieu, or even one word of tender farewell and regret, he supposed the Infante D. Henrique had been slain by the Moors. This thought greatly troubled him on learning that the Portuguese had been attacked at the moment of embarking. Seeing the grief which oppressed him, Salat-ben-Salat sent two Christians to reconnoitre the dead. On their return they informed D. Ferdinand that D. Henrique and the principal officers of the fleet had at least saved their lives, but the captive Infante was not altogether reassured. Two days later the Infante and his companions in captivity were removed to Arzilla. Then commenced their hardships. For nearly two hours they stood at the doors of Tangiers, exposed to all the ribald insults of the people, until Salat-ben-Salat arrived and gave the word to march. During the journey the prisoners were subjected to all species of insult and evil treatment. For seven months D. Ferdinand continued in Arzilla, a prey to constant ill-health, which caused him to address sad appeals to his royal brother. During these seven months Ferdinand

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manifested the extreme goodness of his character by secretly effecting, through foreign merchants, the ransom of Christian captives, or by clothing and providing them with what they required. At the end of this term Salat-ben-Salat, finding that there were no tidings of the surrender of Ceuta, bade the Infante write to his brother to fulfil the treaty, or else to prepare to be delivered up to the Regent of Fez, whom Portuguese chroniclers call Lazuraque. The threat was carried into effect, and on the 25th May Ferdinand departed from Arzilla to Fez.

The separation from the prisoners who remained in Arzilla was most touching. He had so won their love and captivated their sympathies by his gentle, melancholy figure, their respect and veneration by his constancy as a martyr, and his saintly resignation, that no one had been able to resist the magic influence of his noble spirit and his angelic heart. Mounted on a miserable horse, D. Ferdinand departed, reaching Fez on the 31st May. During his journey he was constantly assailed with the vituperations of the populace, who were burning with revenge for the terror which the Portuguese name still inspired, even after the disaster of Tangiers. They could not forgive D. Ferdinand and his companions-in-arms the heavy price they had been forced to pay for their victory, hence they flung stones at the captives, they jeered them as they threw food at them as though no better than dogs, and would even break to pieces the vessels which they had fed from, as though the mere contact of the lips of the Nazarenes had polluted the ware, and rendered it unfit for use to the sectaries of the Koran. The Infante bore all this ill-treatment with a firmness and patience which never deserted him.

In Fez he was subjected to a more refined cruelty. Lazuraque cast D. Ferdinand into a dungeon, where not a ray of light penetrated, because he desired to shut him away from the exterior world, and the jailer was prohibited from allowing the prisoner to speak with any one. But who was this Lazuraque of whom the chroniclers speak with such horror, and whose name Salat-ben-Salat used as a threat, as though he were a monster who could devour them up? Scheffer tells us something of this man. "The prisoners," he says, "saw themselves placed in the power of this monster, whose name from afar filled them with terror, and in the clutches, reeking with blood, of the ferocious Lazuraque, the man who governed the State with unlimited power, under the name of the youthful Abdallah called the King of Fez. He was the son of a Moor and a Christian woman, brought up among the hordes of Arab

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bandits, and notwithstanding that he was the youngest of his brothers, he made them submit to him by force of skill and wickedness. By intrigue he succeeded in despoiling the crown from the two eldest sons of the King of Fez, Abu-Said, and placed on the throne the third son Abdallah, but without allowing him more than the full enjoyment of the harem, and gave him to wife his sister Halu, while he himself married the sister of the King. He ordered influential Moors to be imprisoned or decapitated, he despoiled the wealthy, and gave appointments and dignities to his creatures, who were of the most infamous class. He mistrusted the most loyal ones, ever spying the weaknesses of others, and disguising his own opinion and affecting a contrary one. His character was a mixture of wickedness and craft, of hypocrisy and cruelty. In the opinion of the people he was a saint, because his art of dissimulation and deepest hypocrisy placed him in a position to impose upon others with pious discourses and well-arranged sentences. Enjoying, as he did, public esteem among the inferior classes, he was thereby rendered more terrible to those who really knew his character. Moreover, the despised Portuguese, who were generally odious, could not find from any one near them the smallest refuge or shelter against their oppressor. The populace saw in Lazuraque the persecutor of the Christians, the true Mussalman: hence even the best and most enlightened of the Moors could not do otherwise than consent to what personally they would not have themselves done."

This man, who exercised in Fez a power similar to that exercised by the former Arab Hadjibs in the Court of Cordova when the decadence of the Ommeyah dynasty led to the throne of Abd-r-rhaman idiotic Kalifs, was the one destined to act the part of executioner to the Infante D. Ferdinand. Without possessing the grand qualities of Almansor, the glorious Hadjib of Cordova, Lazuraque had his despotic instincts and domineering character; but with the addition of a repugnent cruelty and meanness of spirit. It is the will of Heaven that by the side of the greatest martyrs should stand these sombre forms to afford a dark background and bring forward in relief their heroic resignation! It places the rapacious hawk by the side of the dove of Fez, the vulture by the eagle of Saint Helena, by the side of D. Ferdinand, Lazuraque!

If in justice we have given to the Infante D. Ferdinand the appellation of the "Saintly Infante," history knows him better under the name of the "Constant Prince," by which title he was

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immortalised by one of the greatest poets of Spain, the renowned Calderon de la Barca. One of the compositions of the great poet of the Court of Philip IV. is consecrated to the sublime form of the martyrs of Fez, and this drama he named the "Constant Prince."

This appellation is well deserved by the Infante D. Ferdinand because his constancy never failed him under the severest torments. On losing all hopes of regaining Ceuta in exchange for the Infante, Lazuraque revenged himself by inflicting the most humiliating tortures. For three months D. Ferdinand and his companions were enclosed in this dungeon bereft of air and light, owing their existence to the charity of a merchant of Majorca, who paid in a cruel manner for the services rendered to the prince. At the end of these three months the jailer expelled them in order to rob them of all they possessed, taking on this occasion 200 doubles which D. Ferdinand had concealed about his person, and which was the last and only means he had for alleviating the sufferings of his fellow-prisoners. They were conducted to the gardens of the royal palace of Fez, and made to dig and work from sunrise to sunset. With his princely hands accustomed only to brandishing the sword or turning over the pages of a devotional book, the Infante D. Ferdinand, the most delicate of all the sons of D. Philippa, was forced to do the work of a common field-labourer; yet not a word of complaint was uttered, while around his lips hovered a smile of calm resignation.

Taken to the palace of the Hadjib or of the Grand Vizer, as we may call Lazuraque, D. Ferdinand, loaded with irons and brutally driven by the soldiers who pricked him with their lances, and insulted by the crowds that pressed around him, accepted all this treatment without a murmur, and offered his sufferings to the God of martyrs. It was he who with his gentle lips comforted the Portuguese, who wept tears of blood on beholding him thus cruelly treated.

On entering the palace he was heard to say to Lazuraque that since the government of Lisbon chose to behave with undignified disloyalty and shameful perfidy by not delivering up Ceuta, he, who had been left as a pledge, would suffer the punishment of their perjury, and therefore he might consider him in future as his meanest slave.

He, miserable Arab, who did not even wear the crown of Fez, but usurped a power over its legitimate sovereign, took pleasure in seeing the scion of the most powerful kings of Christendom doing the most menial offices.

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This was in effect carried out, and D. Ferdinand was charged with the sweeping out and cleaning of the stables. He suffered all this with resignation, and even found consolation in the menial work imposed by the Moors, because it permitted him to live in company with his own people, suffer for them, and even console and animate them. With them he could commune and speak of their beloved land, for whom they were suffering; of his brothers, who, though loving him, had been forced to abandon him in obedience to cruel reasons of State.

The proceeding of the Portuguese Government was, in our opinion, disloyal: it is certain that Lazuraque behaved with barbarous cruelty, but it is likewise certain that the Portuguese acted in a manner which afforded a wretched idea to those barbarians of civilisation and Christian faith. It was not an optional question whether to abandon D. Ferdinand to his fate or to deliver up Ceuta, but it was the positive one of actually surrendering the city for which D. Ferdinand had been left as a pledge of their treaty. The Portuguese Government might refuse to ratify the capitulation, but in that case things must return to their former state, and the Portuguese army proceed to the battle-field and endeavour to release itself by some other means. But after saving the remnants of the Portuguese army, with the prince who commanded it and all the nobles who had joined, and then refuse to fulfil the treaty made, meanly sacrificing a hapless prince with his faithful household, was, it must be confessed, a manifest act of perjury. There is no doubt that not a single Portuguese would have escaped but for the terms of capitulation; for, surrounded as their camp was by the Moors, it only required that they should blockade them for all to have surrendered through famine and thirst. It is true that the undisciplined hordes of Moors on their part did not keep to their terms of capitulation, but the Portuguese easily broke them, which they would not have done had the Moorish chieftains, with the full strength of their army, opposed the embarkation of the Portuguese. The Count of Arrayolos, he who now spoke with such warmth in the Council, and who so arrogantly declared that Ceuta could not be delivered up to save the life of any one, should have thought and said so when his own life was at stake, and have protested against the capitulation being made, and not against its fulfilment. He alleged that a treaty made under the pressure of such terrible circumstances was not valid. This was certainly a useful subterfuge, which would extremely facilitate

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delivering an army from perils which threatened it, or an individual from any imprudence into which he had thrown himself.

Meanwhile D. Ferdinand was enduring not only humiliations and moral tortures, but actual physical torments. His food was only bread, of which he received two loaves a day, whilst meat and wine was never given to him. At night twelve persons were huddled in one apartment scarcely large enough to hold eight. The want of cleanliness, of food and air, caused fearful suffering. The Moors were forbidden to speak to them under pain of the lash.

One day Lazuraque summoned D. Ferdinand to his presence to tell him that the King D. Duarte was dead. At first he would not credit the news, but a letter addressed to the Regent of Fez by one of the high officials of the Court dispelled all doubts. His constancy under suffering failed him at the moment, and D. Ferdinand fell down in a swoon. His soul was like a ship abandoned to the mercy of the waves, that had lost all hope of salvation when the last cord which bound her to the shore had been severed by the pitiless tempest. It was indeed a hopeless case, because Lazuraque, a prey more to avarice than zealous for the interests of the country over which he ruled, preferred a large sum to the possession of Ceuta. But his insatiable avarice was not gratified. The treasury of Portugal had become exhausted by the disasters of Tangiers and the civil discords which rose up after the death of D. Duarte, hence the enormous sum demanded by Lazuraque for the ransom of D. Ferdinand could not be paid. His brother, D. Pedro, who held the reins of government, as we shall see further on, considered it a duty of honour to liberate his brother, not only because he judged he ought not to forsake a man who had thus sacrificed himself for his country, but because he judged that the honour of Portugal was at stake for the fulfilment of the terms of capitulation. Moreover, the late King D. Duarte, in his testament, enjoined his successor to effect the liberation of the Infante. Several times did D. Pedro offer to deliver up Ceuta, but Lazuraque always evaded the exchange, meanwhile increasing the horrors of the captivity of his prisoners. He loaded them with iron manacles and chains; he tore off their dress, and clothed them with ragged coarse tunics, and diminished their dole of bread and water. On Christmas Eve the Infante and his companions were put to break stones.

In March, 1442, D. Ferdinand was brought once more before Lazuraque to ask him what price he had decided to give for the ransom

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of his companions and his own. D. Ferdinand replied that the sum was 50,000 doubles and the liberation of 50 Moorish captives. Lazuraque declined scornfully this offer, and had the Infante re-conducted to the prison, but still continued his negotiations, until D. Ferdinand offered 150,000 doubles and 150 Moorish prisoners. Lazuraque was then satisfied with this offer, but nevertheless continued his evil treatment, no doubt expecting that by prolonging his sufferings he would tire out his patience and compel him to offer still more. But he was mistaken: the Infante did not dare to ask more, as he well knew the state of public finance. Moreover, D. Ferdinand judged himself abandoned by his brothers, whose letters were intercepted by Lazuraque merely to satisfy his desire of doing evil.

After this last interview the Moors consigned D. Ferdinand to a dungeon which was more terrible than any previous ones. In this prison the Infante dragged a solitary existence for fifteen months, while his companions continued to be employed in the most menial labours, prolonged far into the night, and deprived of the consolation of seeing the Infante. Nevertheless, their affection for him enabled them to find some means of communicating with him, and by dint of pleadings and humiliations obtained some alleviation for his captivity, such as light by day and night for reading his pious books. However, his hour of release was at hand.

At the beginning of June, 1443, the Infante Ferdinand was assailed by a serious illness. His companions asked and pleaded and insisted upon that he should be removed from the prison. But all their supplications were of no avail, and all they obtained was that his physician and some Christians should watch and tend him. On the 5th of June, 1443, his sufferings increased, while the spirit of the Infante seemed to acquire a strange light as his last hour approached. He received all the sacraments of the Church with exemplary piety, and he even comforted those around him. When the sun set that night, just as the last ray illumined the horizon, the gentle life of that long-suffering prince passed away.

In full manhood, being only forty-one years of age, D. Ferdinand was yielding up his soul far from his native land, far from his brothers and friends, buried in a horrible dungeon, without being able even to gaze towards the beautiful land of Portugal. His faithful companions were bidden by the Moors to embalm the body until the Portuguese should ransom it, and they found a means of extracting his

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heart and hiding it as a precious relic. The Moors paid no respect to his mortal remains. Barbarian vengeance pursued this martyr beyond the grave. The dead body of the Infante was stripped by the executioners and suspended by the feet from the turrets of the ramparts, where for four days it was exposed to the insults of the crowds. Afterwards the body was placed in a wooden box and suspended in the same spot from the rampart walls.

As may be supposed, the torments and sufferings of the captives became further aggravated after the death of the Infante, because all hopes of Ceuta being restored to the Moors was at an end, and many of the household of the Infante perished. Father João Alvares, who was the secretary and chronicler of the Infante, was ransomed in 1448, by order of D. Pedro, in exchange for a Moor called Faquy Guiznaym. The rest of the captives were ransomed after the death of Lazuraque.

Father João Alvares arrived at Portugal on June 1st, 1451, bringing the heart of the Infante. D. Alfonso V. was then reigning, and he charged him, jointly with another of D. Ferdinand's companions in exile called Rodrigues, to conduct this precious relic to Batalha. Accompanied by a numerous cortege arrayed in mourning, these two former captives met the Master of the Order of Christ, who, surrounded by his knights, was departing for a tour. The Master of Christ was no other than the Infante D. Henrique, the leader of the expedition to Tangiers, whose imprudent acts were expiated by this martyr, whose noble heart, now cold and lifeless, was about to be laid to rest beneath the arches of the Church of Batalha. On learning their pious mission he turned round, and, followed by his suite, the Master of Christ accompanied to the monastery this relic of the Saintly Infante.

"Twenty-seven years after the death of the Infante," writes Senhor Mendes Leal, "at the head of the flower of his nobility, marched the King D. Alfonso V. towards the margins of the Tagus, followed by an immense concourse of people. The principal clergy accompanied this procession, bearing the majestic insignias of religious solemnities What great success was this pompous ceremonial of crosses, palls, and confraternities celebrating? What did the King expect from afar?

"Across the bar of the river a galley from Africa was passing majestically. At sight of this ship the King, the nobles, and the people all reverently uncovered and bowed their heads. It was because within that frail bark lay the remains of a saint.

"D. Alfonso V. had continued the work of D. João I. Arzilla had

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redeemed Tangiers At last the Martyr of Fez was laid under the shades of the venerated dome of Santa Maria da Victoria, commonly called the Convent of Batalha."

It was the epilogue of that long drama. Alfonso V. not only avenged the Moors for the disasters of his uncles, but had wrested from the barbarian shores the body of the *Constant Prince*, the earthly casket of one of the noblest spirits that by its virtues illumined the pages of Portuguese history.

Let us now turn back to the events which meanwhile were taking place in Portugal. We said that D. Duarte, the King of Portugal, had died on September 9th, 1438. He left two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, D. Alfonso, was at the time in his seventh year. His second son was the Infante D. Ferdinand, and his daughters were the Infantas D. Philippa, D. Catharina, D. Joanna, and D. Leonor. The two eldest daughters were never married. D. Joanna in time married Henry IV., and became Queen of Castille, and D. Leonor Empress of Germany, by her marriage with the Emperor Frederick III. As D. Alfonso, the heir to the throne, was but a child at the time of his father's death, his uncle D. Pedro, brother to the late King, who was at the time in Coimbra, at once proceeded to Thomar, and while the remains of D. Duarte were conducted to Batalha, he attended to the proclamation of his nephew, the infantile prince, as successor to the throne under the title of D. Alfonso V. This was done on the 10th September, 1438, and he was proclaimed King in presence of the Infante D. Pedro and the Court. After a fitting address, D. Pedro conducted the child King to his throne, and bending before him, kissed his hand, the ceremony being followed by all present. After this, the usual publication and official announcement took place. D. Alfonso, the fifth of that name, twelfth in the list of Portuguese monarchs, and third of the dynasty of Aviz, was being seated on the Portuguese throne, conducted by the hand of one of the most illustrious men of his race, and to whom he was to prove himself later on so ungrateful. At the conclusion of this ceremony D. Leonor, the widowed Queen, summoned to her apartments the Infante and the principal fidalgos, in order to hear the will of the King read. To the great surprise of all present, he named the Queen regent and guardian of their son. The weakness of D. Duarte was now clearly manifested in placing the reins of government in the hands of a woman bereft of any governing genius, unloved by the people, who not only ascribed to her influence

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many of the evils of the King, but who felt an instinctive dislike for foreigners, to the exclusion of D. Pedro, to whom the regency legitimately appertained. "To place the reins of government," says Schoeffer, "in the hands of a woman when there were so near the throne men of the stamp of the Infante D. Henrique and the Infante D. Pedro, who were fitted by Heaven for wearing crowns far more brilliant than that of Portugal; to entrust the helm of affairs to a foreign lady at a time when dangers surrounded the bark of the State, whilst there were Portuguese by birth who were the pride of the nation—the brave sons of D. João I., the saviour of the independence of Portugal, and who aspired to the glory of their illustrious father—was a fact which could only be explained by the captivating power of a wife to whom the nation was in the habit of ascribing a luckless influence ever since they learnt that it was due to her efforts that the hapless expedition to Tangiers had been carried out."

This was perceived by the true friends of the Queen, who feared not to acquaint her of the spirit of the people, who could not brook to see her Regent of the nation when there were princes so worthy and of such lofty intelligence; hence advised her that it would be a more prudent and dignified step to yield up at once the Regency voluntarily than have to give it up forcibly in the end.

Notwithstanding all her feminine defects, the Queen had good common sense, and was considering these counsels, when they were combated by the advice of some ambitious spirits who hoped to obtain beneath the wing of D. Leonor what they could not hope to win from D. Pedro. These spirits did not hesitate to calumniate the Infante in order to gain their object, and bade the Queen bear in mind that D. Pedro had children, and that his love as a parent would be superior to duty; hence that it was not prudent to confide the youthful King to him, and thus tempt him to suppress the obstacle which separated the throne from his own children.

These calumnies had the desired effect on the spirit of the Queen, already predisposed against the Infante towards whom she had a great dislike, but the true origin of this odium is unknown, although Ruy de Pina and Schoeffer attribute it to feminine enmity. The wife of the Infante D. Pedro was the daughter of the Count of Urgel, the pretender to the throne of Aragon, and competitor of the King D. Fernando, father of the Queen D. Leonor, who was vanquished by his rival and condemned to imprisonment for life. The odium of the

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parents had probably descended to the daughters; moreover, it is natural that the esteem of D. Duarte for D. Pedro may have inspired jealousy in the Queen, who could not view with favour his influence over the spirit of the King. It is also possible that the popularity of D. Pedro should be distasteful to the Regent, as she could not herself captivate the sympathies of the Portuguese.

But the people murmured against her and the King D. Duarte, alleging that it did not belong to him, but to the general Cortes of the kingdom, to assign the person who should exercise the charge of Regent. The Queen, unwilling to yield up the power, perceived, however, that she ought to conciliate her people by consulting the Infantes on the affairs of State. This she did as soon as D. Henrique came to Lisbon, and was advised by him to summon a Cortes at once, and in accord with it provide all that might be needful for the government and defence of the kingdom.

Meanwhile D. Pedro was tacitly contradicting the calumnies brought against him by his adversaries, by proposing that D. Ferdinand, the brother to the prince-heir, should be sworn successor, in view that the future King was but a child, and as such subject to all the dangers and ailments of childhood, which might prove fatal ere he attained an age to ascend the throne. This act calmed the maternal fear of D. Leonor. Desirous of removing all suspicions, she proposed to the Infante, what it appears had been the last wish of the deceased monarch—the marriage of the youthful King to his daughter. D. Pedro was greatly moved at this, and manifested to her his deep acknowledgment, only suggesting that the marriage be delayed for some time, owing to the youthfulness of the contracting parties. But this gave rise to odiums which embittered the existence of D. Pedro. The marriage provoked jealousies, especially in the heart of D. Alfonso, the Count of Barcellos, natural son of D. João I., who had projected a marriage with the King and his grand-daughter, D. Isabel, and to whom this union was highly distasteful; hence he made use of every species of intrigue, and attempted to induce the Queen to retract her pledged word. At length these intrigues reached the ears of the Duke of Coimbra, and fearing their effect on the mind of the Queen, he resolved upon asking the Queen for a written promise, a demand which she at once granted.

Towards the end of October the obsequies of the late King D. Duarte were celebrated in Batalha, after which the Cortes were to be assembled in Torres-Novas. The Cortes met; but before

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the sessions commenced, all the fidalgos adverse to D. Pedro, whose energies they feared, and whose popularity was odious, planned among themselves to use their utmost efforts in order that the whole power be vested in the Queen, because, as a woman and a foreigner, they could the better dominate than should the Infante D. Pedro be the Regent, who was beloved by the people, and who would follow the traditions transmitted by his father, which were all against the privileges of the nobility. Embittered by resentments and private envies, the general interests of class served as a pretext for a conspiracy being formed by the fidalgos, whose ostensible chiefs were the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, D. Pedro de Noronha the Archbishop of Lisbon, his brother D. Sancho, the Prior of Crato Nuno Goes, and as their secret agent the Count of Barcellos, whose aid was promised to the conspirators by the Marshal at a secret meeting held in a church of Torres-Novas. The Marshal also promised the aid of the Infante D. Henrique; and, in truth, the proceeding of the great initiator of the Portuguese discoveries in regard to his brother D. Pedro was one of the stains on his life. The accord celebrated by the nobles was communicated to the Queen, who by this means knew that she could count upon the aid of the nobles, and whose natural good sense was somewhat startled at beholding so important a party formed under the shade in her favour.

The first session of the Cortes was taken up by the ceremony of pledging homage to the King; then commenced the affairs of the regency. The Cortes proved a stormy one. The representatives of the people were as a body in favour of the Infante D. Pedro. Some nobles and ecclesiastics followed them in this resolution, which was so strongly manifested that the Queen for a time clearly saw that she would have to come to some agreement. She bade the Infante D. Henrique summon D. Pedro, and she proposed to them a treaty by which the regency should be divided between them. This was agreed to: the Queen to undertake the education of her son and the direction of financial affairs, while D. Pedro should be entrusted with the defence of the kingdom, under the title of "Defender," and the administration of all affairs of justice. It would seem that by this accord all things might be conciliated; but the Queen forgot that the nobility would not admit treaties, and accused her that she had taken this grave resolve without consulting the nobles who had sided with her, and who had, moreover, formed a plot in order to defend the

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integrity of her power; they furthermore added that it was sheer madness to forsake a regency which had been authorised by the will of her husband. They worked so energetically on the Queen that she repented of the conciliation proposed, and resumed the complete power. At the first session of the Cortes which was held after this event, D. Leonor demanded the integral fulfilment of the will of D. Duarte. This led to new discords in the Cortes. The nobles defended the resolve of the Queen; the representatives of the people declared for the Infante D. Pedro, and for their right to elect a Regent. The discussion was carried on in presence of the infantile King, and to him they appealed as to their proper sovereign, urging the rights of the people, reminding him (who could not comprehend at his age what was laid before him) that it was the people who had founded the dynasty of Aviz, and that it was their right to elect a King whenever the rightful succession should fail, and therefore the election of a Regent, in case of minority, also fell to them. It was the principle of popular sovereignty, fearlessly affirmed in the fifteenth century.

At length, after much heated discussion, the Queen was forced to give in and resign; but the ill-will which she felt towards the Infante D. Pedro was increased, of which she later on gave him a manifest proof. The Count of Barcellos, who still clung to the hope of seeing his granddaughter wedded to the King, induced the Queen to ask D. Pedro for the written promise that Alfonso V. should marry his daughter D. Isabel. She hesitated to do so, but was at length overruled, and the Count of Barcellos in person delivered the message. D. Pedro listened to her request with suppressed indignation and replied that he could contest the validity of this recall; that the Infanta D. Isabel was engaged to be married to the King D. Alfonso ever since the lifetime of D. Duarte, but that he had no intention of supporting by force a claim which had been offered spontaneously. He then drew from a casket the written promise signed by D. Leonor and tore it to pieces, in proof that the Queen had broken her pledged word, and delivered up the torn fragments into the hands of the Count of Barcellos.

When the Cortes were concluded in Torres Novas, the Queen departed for Lisbon with the King, and received in audience the ambassadors of Castille, who had come under pretext of aiding the pretensions of the Queen, and for claiming some rights of minor importance. In view of the disturbed state of the kingdom, an evasive

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reply was given them, pending a positive answer which would be sent to Castille by a Portuguese embassy. It transpired later on that this embassy from Castille had not been sent with the consent of the King D. John II., but by the Infantes of Aragon, brothers of D. Leonor, who disputed in the Castillian capital the favour accorded to the celebrated Constable, D. Alvaro de Luna.

Meanwhile the Queen continued to govern to the great displeasure of the people. Her delicate state of health, as she was enceinte at the time of her husband's death, and the grief of losing her daughter, D. Philippa, aged eleven, from the peste, in March, 1439, prevented her from attending to and furthering the affairs of State. This induced further ill-will in the hearts of the people, who complained that their appeals were not promptly attended to. The people continued to importune D. Pedro to assume the reins of government; but he, not quite confident of the unanimous wish of the people, and not wishing to promote in the kingdom a civil war, refused to accede to his partisans, and, moreover, constantly defended the Queen against the accusations made.

Soon after the death of D. Philippa, the Queen gave birth to the Infanta D. Joanna, posthumous daughter of D. Duarte, who became Queen of Castille. The Queen departed for Sacavem, and D. Pedro summoned together some of his adherents, among others Alvaro Vaz de Almada, and informed them that as he held so mean a position in the government of the kingdom, he thought it best to resign altogether the regency and retire to his possessions, but not wishing to break any treaties, he had called them together to know their opinion. As there arose various and contradictory opinions, it was decided to consult the Infante D. João, who had kept aloof from the late discords, and abide by his decision, as he was considered an impartial judge.

In effect, the brothers met at a hermitage called Our Lady of Paradise, on the spot where later on was erected the Convent of Santos-o-Novo. The Infante was of opinion that D. Pedro should at once take the regency, adding, moreover, that should he not have elder brothers, he himself would demand the regency, as it was an unworthy thing for Portuguese princes to be ruled by a foreign lady. He advised him to summon the Cortes and demand the government, but D. Pedro preferred to await the usual time for summoning the Cortes, believing that the Queen-Regent, fatigued with the duties imposed upon her, would of her own accord abdicate.

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But this was far from her intention. Irritated by the ill-will of the people, since there were courtiers who did not hesitate to give her detailed information of all that was said against her, and in favour of D. Pedro, the Queen-Regent, in place of giving up her regency and surrendering it to her brother-in-law, gave way to the odium which she had ever felt against him, and used her power in order to manifest this ill-will clearly to him by acts which often were derogatory to her dignity, and which only served to increase daily the number of her enemies, not only among the people, but even among the nobility. Among these imprudent acts was the expulsion from the Court of three maids of honour belonging to the principal families of Portugal, for no other reason than because they were adherents of D. Pedro. One of these ladies was niece of Alvaro Vaz de Almeida. This act of the Queen produced a great scandal in the country, and deeply irritated all the noble families related to the insulted ladies.

And, in truth, the Queen needed protection from the nobility when she thus was exciting against herself popular wrath. Moreover, she lavished upon her favourites large sums from the public treasury, and the Queen furthermore favoured Nuno Martins da Silveira, tutor to the Prince, by granting him the custom-house dues, to which the merchants of Lisbon were subjected for seven years. The people rose up in alarm, and solicited the Municipal Camara to defend them against this vexatious demand. A meeting was held, in which appeared the two bearers of the royal letter granting this privilege to Nuno Martins. On finding that this letter bore only the signature of the Queen, to the exclusion of D. Pedro, the people rose up indignantly, and violently assailed these bearers, one of which was cast out of the window, and by a miracle was not killed, and the other was saved by some of his friends, who were able to defend him. The city was in such a disturbed state that it became impossible to calm it. The people called out for D. Pedro, who, embittered by the offensive acts of the Queen, did not attempt to put down the revolution. It was but natural that he should feel resentment. The Queen, in view that the populace of Lisbon continued disturbed, sent the Count of Arrayolos to the city, in order to pacify the revolt. The Count, however, found his authority scorned, and, despite all his efforts, was unable to repress the crowds. He then resorted to religious influences, and bade a Dominican friar and excellent preacher, called Fr. Vasco da Alagôa, to preach to the people, and calm their spirits. But this good monk was devoted to the

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Queen, and in place of calming the people, judged he ought to menace them, and threatened the factors of the disorders with the wrath of heaven and earth.

This unexpected turn produced a bad effect, and murmurs arose, and became so violent that the monk judged it more prudent to fly from the pulpit without finishing his discourse. The Count of Arrayolos was truly exasperated at the manner the preacher had carried out his mission; but the latter paid dearly for his error, because the infuriated crowds pursued him to the monastery, and had not the Prior promptly concealed him, he could not have escaped with his life.

These tumults afforded the Infante D. Pedro an opportunity for displaying his popularity. He came from Camarate to Lisbon, and on being received enthusiastically, severely reproved the people for their tumultuous manner of seeking redress, when they had the Cortes wherein to lay their grievances, which he himself would have backed were they just ones. The crowds received the reprehensions of the Infante D. Pedro with humility, who by this means manifested to the Queen what on a former occasion his father, the Master of Aviz, had likewise manifested to D. Leonor Telles, that he could calm or rouse the popular will.

But these things only enkindled further the odium of the Queen, and she could not refrain from advising the fidalgos of her party to proceed to the Cortes armed and escorted, in order to resist the pretensions of the people. With her own hand the Queen sowed discord in the kingdom, and prepared a civil war in which she herself was to be the first victim.

The Infante D. Pedro, on learning how matters stood, conferred anew with the Infante D. John, who was ill in Alcoehete, and was advised by him to proclaim himself sole regent. The Infante D. Pedro said that he could not avoid lifting the gauntlet which the Regent had cast down, and if D. Leonor was preparing to appear at the Cortes with her nobles in war guise, he, as Defender, must make this fact known to the cities and towns. This he did by issuing a circular letter wherein he stated the intentions of the Queen, and advised the people to prepare to repulse the efforts of the nobles and foreign powers, because D. Leonor was ready to call to her support her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon.

This letter, after being read in the Camara of Lisbon, was affixed

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to the doors of the Cathedral. The people flocked in crowds to peruse it day and night, grateful to their well-beloved Infante.

The cities unanimously and gratefully responded to this communication, and urged him to proclaim himself Regent. The strife was now openly declared, through the imprudence of the Queen.

This last act of D. Leonor—one which the Count of Arrayolos sternly disapproved, and which she promised to revoke, a promise, however, which she never fulfilled—filled the cup of indignation of D. Pedro, and he openly declared war against his sister-in-law.

When D. Pedro had occasion to visit the young King in Sacavem, he entered the Queen's apartments with a cold manner and grave countenance, and told her that, as he had been positively challenged by her, he accepted the contest without dread of the consequences, and retired without kissing her hand, a proceeding which highly offended her, as being exceedingly disrespectful. The Queen became terror-stricken at this declaration of the Infante, and, fully aware of the power he exercised in Lisbon, did not consider she was safe in Sacavem, and fled with her sons to Alemquer. Some of her partisans were displeased at this, and thought she ought to enter Lisbon and prove the influence of her prestige and her authority. In this they were right. If the Queen wished to wrestle, it was ill-timed of her to commence the contest by flying from the battle-field. To leave the field open to the enemies disheartened some of her friends, and was unable to restrain the imprudent zeal of others. The events which followed fully proved that this step of the Queen was a wrong one.

The inhabitants of Lisbon, forewarned of the resolve taken by the Queen, from which might result wars, decided to choose a leader, in the person of Alvaro Vaz de Almada, the intimate friend of the Infante D. Pedro. After this election had been made they proceeded to the Church of San Domingos, and there on oath pledged to elect the Infante D. Pedro as Regent, defend this election, and demand in the Cortes that it be ratified. The Queen was kept informed of all that was being done by one of her partisans, Pedro Annes Lobato, who succeeded in convincing her of the imminent danger she placed herself in by so acting.

But all her partisans were not so prudent as Pedro Annes, for the Archbishop of Lisbon, by his imprudent acts, placed himself and her cause in jeopardy, and so excited the populace that his life was in danger, and he was obliged to fly to Alhandra, where he continued

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to fulminate threats against the inhabitants of Lisbon. This so irritated them that they appealed to the Pope to depose him and name a successor, meanwhile depriving him of his rentals. D. Pedro de Noronha then judged that his life was in peril, and passed on to Obidos; but in this latter town the inhabitants refused to receive him, and he was forced to retire to Castille.

Lisbon, meanwhile, was in a state of sedition, and, in order to mend matters, the citizens besought D. João to come and reside in the city. The Infante at once acceded, and the Queen, seeing the turn which affairs were taking, took the path of conciliation, and with this object issued a royal letter to Lisbon and other cities to refute the odious accusations made to her, and affirming that she never projected allowing foreigners to enter Portugal.

This letter did not produce the least effect, and, in truth, was not even perused. In Lisbon the letter was not allowed to be affixed to the door of the Cathedral Church. As the citizens of Lisbon had on their side the Infante D. John, they resolved to give a more definite form to the solemn promise they had made to request the Cortes to authorise the regency of D. Pedro. With this object, Alvaro Vaz de Almada drew up a petition to the Queen to yield up the regency, and D. Pedro to assume it until the majority of the King D. Alfonso V. In the event of the death of D. Pedro taking place before the expiration of the term, the regency to be taken by D. Henrique, and in succession by D. Ferdinand, then captive in Fez Then, as a last resource, the family of the natural son of D. João I.— first, the Count of Barcellos; secondly, the Counts of Arrayolos and Ourem. In no case was the Queen to rule the kingdom; nevertheless, she was to be treated with the highest consideration. On D. Alfonso V. attaining his majority, the Regent to deliver up the government of the kingdom.

This appeal was unanimously seconded, signed, and approved by the Infante D. John. The petition was then laid for the signatures of the representatives, and all hastened to affix their names.

The city of Lisbon communicated to the Queen and the Infantes the resolution they had taken, adding likewise the unanimous concurrence of other parts of the kingdom, especially of the city of Oporto. The Infante D. Pedro manifested himself deeply moved; the Infante D. John fully approved all that had been done, but D. Henrique, without actually disapproving the substance of the treaty, found it

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illegal; and the Queen, as may well be supposed, at once rebelled against it. She immediately wrote to the fidalgos of her party not to appear at the Cortes, by this means endeavouring to invalidate by their absence what might be decided upon in the Cortes, but nevertheless, for prevention sake, sending her protest against any attempt which might be made to deprive her of the regency.

The excitement in Lisbon had reached its highest point. The chief Alcaide, D. Alfonso, the Lord of Cascaes, and his son D. Fernando, taking absolutely the side of D. Leonor, had withdrawn to the castle and strongly entrenched themselves within, manifesting a visibly hostile attitude towards the city. The inhabitants of Lisbon wished to attack the castle, but the Infante D. John preferred to adopt more gentle means, and entered into negotiations with the governor through the intermediary of his wife, D. Maria de Vasconcellos. The Infante D. John desired D. Alfonso either to deliver up the Castle or allow him to enter within its walls. The reply was to the effect that he would do neither. Meanwhile, D. Maria de Vasconcellos took advantage of the occasion to tell the Infante D. João from the Queen that she could not forgive D. Pedro the insulting manner he had treated her, but that, nevertheless, her ambition of power was not so great that she would not resign it—and which she was willing to do—into the hands of any of her brothers-in-law, especially of D. John, with whose daughter she would be pleased to see wedded the King D. Alfonso V. But D. John saw through this feminine transparent wile, and replied, smiling, that the sons of the King D. João I. had always been very united, and therefore it was useless to endeavour to sow discord between them; that the King D. Alfonso V. should marry the daughter of the Infante D. Pedro, as the late King D. Duarte had arranged, and as the Queen D. Leonor had formerly promised to do, and that as regarded his own daughter, he would never consent to see her married to the youthful King. This noble abnegation was recompensed by Providence, and this very daughter Isabel became the wife of the King of Castille, D. Juan II., and mother of the great Queen Isabel, the ornament of the Castillian throne, and grandmother of many kings and emperors.

These diplomatic negotiations being unsuccessful, the people proceeded to surround the castle. The siege became a serious, although a pacific one. Provisions were not allowed to enter in, and the Alcaide was unprepared for a long resistance. Hence, after a few days, the

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Alcaide was obliged to deliver up the castle to the Infante D. John, and he himself depart to Alemquer, to inform the Queen of what was passing.

When D. Leonor heard all that had passed, fearing lest the Infante D. Pedro should prepare himself in Coimbra and remove the Prince-heir to present him at the Cortes, endeavoured to fortify herself in Alemquer with men, arms, and provisions.

The news of these bellicose preparations induced in the minds of the people a suspicion that D. Leonor awaited foreign aid to enable her to overcome the opposition her cause found on all sides, more particularly in Lisbon. But the Queen was not satisfied with this, but had recourse to other elements of contention; she resorted to intrigue. She wrote to the Infante D. Henrique, assuring him secretly that the Infante D. Pedro, being jealous of him, intended to arrest him.

This announcement, which she intended to make, by some means or other came to the knowledge of D. Pedro before the letter had time to reach the Infante D. Henrique, and he at once proceeded to have an interview with his brother in Soure. In this interview D. Pedro warned him to be prepared for some intrigue in order to repel it. Two days after D. Pedro had departed, D. Henrique received the Queen's letter by the hand of Martim de Tavora. D. Henrique immediately proceeded to Coimbra, and showed his brother the letter, adding that so certain was he of his loyalty that he had come to his home without the smallest fear. The Infante D. Pedro perused the letter and smiled, then told him the reason why he had gone to Soure, as he had been already informed of the plan laid by D. Leonor.

The Infantes then joined themselves to the Count de Barcellos, and together decided to send an embassage to D. Leonor to request her to appear at the Cortes which were to meet in Lisbon. The envoy named was the Count of Barcellos, who found the Queen in Alemquer prepared and fortified as though in time of war. The state of things startled the Count, and on delivering his message he received in reply that she would not proceed to the Cortes unless the election which the cities and towns had dared to make of the Infante D. Pedro as Regent of the kingdom was annulled. The Duke of Coimbra retorted that he had nothing to do with what the cities and towns had done, and that they could annul them, but it was his opinion that even to obtain this annulment it would be wiser for her to appear at the Cortes, and without another word returned to Lisbon. The Count of Barcellos meanwhile secretly

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joined some fidalgos and made a treaty, in which they promised one another always to seek their private advantage, whatever be the drift the affairs of the regency might take.

This strife between the Queen and the Infante D. Pedro is really one of the most characteristic in our history. D. Leonor combats with a woman's weapons, which all glance off against the impenetrable cuirass which envelopes the stern, manly spirit of the Infante. She ever retires from the contest in the open field, but resorts to small intrigues, craft, insults, mean revenges. When the Infante proceeded from Coimbra to Lisbon, accompanied, as was due to his dignity, by many nobles and adherents, D. Leonor sent word to him that it would be better for him not to appear in Alemquer, or should he wish to pay his homage to the King, go at least with less followers. This message covered an insult which D. Pedro understood, and he coldly retorted that none would excel him in love and respect for the King, and that the Queen did wrong in constantly assailing him when all his thoughts were for his service.

On his way to Lisbon, before entering the city, D. Pedro received a deputation of the inhabitants who came to desire him to assume the regency alone. The Infante replied that he could not do so without the assent of his brother, nephews, and the Cortes; but the deputation insisted, proving that they possessed the adhesion of all the councils; that the Infantes were in accord, and therefore his scruples were unfounded.

D. Pedro acceded to their demands and promised what they asked, and at once made his solemn entry into Lisbon, being received most affectionately by the Infante D. John, and proceeded to the Cathedral to take the oath prescribed, that he would govern with justice the kingdom, and deliver up the government to Alfonso V. as soon as he should attain his majority. But it was unnecessary to thus hurry the legal forms, because the Cortes were opened soon after, and the Infante D. John through a delegate, as he was prevented by illness, proposed the election of D. Pedro as the sole regent of the kingdom. The Cortes approved the election, and D. Pedro then legally assumed the regency.

Messengers were sent to the Queen to notify to her the decision of the Cortes, and to request her to bring the youthful King to Lisbon, in order to comply with the formality of making an appearance at the Cortes in approbation of an act which so nearly concerned him. The Queen obstinately refused to accede to allowing her son to appear, unless

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the Cortes acknowledged her regency. All attempts to induce her to yield proved ineffectual, until at length the Infante D. Henrique, who exercised some influence over the spirit of the Queen, convinced her of the necessity of doing this. However, she only yielded on condition of their giving her a written promise, signed by the Infantes, that the King would be restored to her immediately after the act.

In effect, the young monarch presided at the Cortes, and in his name Doctor Diogo Alfonso Manga-ancha confirmed the election of the Cortes, and declared his acceptance of D. Pedro as Regent during his minority. The King then returned to his mother, and the Cortes resumed their labours. It was during the sitting of these Cortes that D. Pedro authorised great benefits to the towns, and relieved them of heavy dues, acts which more than anything else raised him in popular esteem.

During these Cortes it was objected that the regency of D. Pedro would be useless if the Queen continued to be entrusted with the education of the King, as he would be biassed by her against the Regent, and, moreover, would receive an effeminate education, ignorant of the affairs of the realm, from whence grave dangers might accrue; besides which, the expenses of keeping up two Courts were overtaxing the country. D. Pedro acknowledged the justice of this, but besought them not to compel him to act thus violently towards the Queen—firstly, because the care of the child King was the only leniative to the wounded pride of the Queen; and secondly, he would not assume the great responsibility of watching the King, for should any mishap occur to the infantile monarch there would not be wanting those who would accuse him of want of vigilance; thirdly, that his time and attention being fully occupied by important affairs of State, he could not possibly give to the King the attention required for his education. All these objections were overruled by the delegates, until the Infante declared it would be best to propose to the Queen for both to live in the same place, entrusting to the Queen the moral education of the child King, and leaving to the Infante the care of his intellectual and political instruction. The proposal was made to the Queen, but she rejected it, and the Infantes retired disappointed, after many efforts to induce her to alter her determination.

Nevertheless, the Queen felt that she must in the end be vanquished in the strife, and a prey to cruel perplexities, she knew not what to decide. She feared to forsake her children and deliver them up to the

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Infante, of whom her counsellors had given a fearful character. On the other hand, she feared to behold the people snatching her children from her, should she persist in her resolve. In this dilemma she asked advice from the nobles who surrounded her, but these, ever ready to kindle the firebrand of discord, were of opinion that the Queen should persist in her resolve, leave her children, which would greatly embarrass the Infante D. Pedro, who feared to undertake so great a responsibility. The hapless Queen was no more than an instrument in the hands of her courtiers, who were zealous, not for her interests, but for their own private ones, and who sought to entrap and disappoint the Infante D. Pedro.

Taking counsel from her own odium and from the ambitious spirits who made her the toy for their own ends, the Queen D. Leonor decided to forsake her sons and depart with the Infantas, casting upon D. Pedro all the odium of her resolution. At the last moment the maternal instinct, hitherto controlled by her evil passions, broke out in an extraordinary manner, and at midnight a pathetic scene took place, when, awaking her children, she took leave of them amid sobbings and tears. "My child and my king," she cried, bathed in tears, as she clasped the child-king in her arms, "oh, that it may lease God in His mercy to watch over and strengthen you, and to me, not leave me in life forsaken by you, as I have been left by your father!" D. Alfonso, a child of scarcely eight years of age, endeavoured to console his mother, and surprised all those around him by the calmness of spirit he manifested. But the poor child, who could not apprehend those tangled intrigues, and who only saw the flight of his mother, felt a dislike rising up within him, which accumulated with his years, against the man who had deprived him of maternal love. The sequel proved that the youthful prince had not been an indifferent spectator of these painful scenes.

In truth, D. Pedro was deeply wounded at having the King and the Infante D. Ferdinand thus left on his hands.

We are convinced that had D. Leonor insisted upon not wishing to live near the Regent, the latter would not have obliged her to give up her son. But D. Leonor preferred to present herself as a victim, and invest D. Pedro with the odium of a persecutor, of a barbarian who respected nothing, not even maternal sentiments. Of all blows received, this one more greatly wounded D. Pedro, and the one which later on bore more dismal consequences.

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Yet these misfortunes might already be foreseen in the manner and bearing of the royal child who passed from one to the other without a word, without either complaint or satisfaction, without a word of reproach—cold, impassive, with an impenetrability superior to his age.

Without perceiving the odium that was daily growing in the heart of his royal pupil against himself, D. Pedro deeply felt the proceeding of the Queen, and endeavoured to induce her to desist from her resolve. With this object in view, D. Henrique followed D. Leonor to Cintra, where she had withdrawn; but he was in this quite unsuccessful, as she felt a secret triumph in having dealt a blow to the heart of the Infante which had taken effect.

Yet if any one thing could console the Infante for the disfavours which the Queen heaped upon him, it was most certainly the worship, almost amounting to idolatry, which the people tendered to him. This hero-worship rose to the point that the inhabitants of Lisbon desired to erect a statue to him in life. This wish was communicated to the Infante through a deputation, but, with a sad smile, he replied that if the people at the moment desired to erect a statue to him in proof of their gratitude, there might doubtless arise some other occasion for changing their opinions, and their children, or perchance they themselves, would cast down that same statue which had been erected. Hence he preferred not to accept the honour, but live in the traditions of the people.

This sad foreboding was certainly noteworthy at a time when he was surrounded by the enthusiastic worship of the people, and which seemed to rend the veils of the future and presage the destiny reserved for him. Yet this ought not to surprise us. D. Pedro was endowed with a lofty intelligence and a noble spirit, and there is no lofty intelligence or noble spirit which, after some experience in political affairs, does not permanently remain with some tincture of sceptical bitterness, the dismal privilege of those who attain to their cost to know men and the inconstancy of the masses.

Meanwhile the Queen was not at rest, and from Cintra she sent complaints to her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon, respecting the proceedings of D. Pedro towards herself. The Infantes of Aragon, though not wishing to forsake her, nevertheless replied, desiring her to keep quiet for the time being, because their own affairs were not safe in Castille. In order to communicate more easily with her brothers, the Queen quitted Cintra and proceeded to Almeirim. D. Pedro, who was

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kept well informed of the Queen's movements, grew anxious at this restlessness, and, to avoid any imprudent acts on her part, removed the Court to Santarem the better to watch her, meanwhile that he issued an order that such as should wickedly advise the Queen and induce her to sow discord in the kingdom be severely punished.

Later on, as his fears proceeded principally from the Infantes of Aragon being aware that they were in correspondence with the Queen, he resolved to effect an alliance with their adversaries in Castille, and endeavoured to do so with the Constable Alvaro de Luna and D. Guterres, the Master of Alcantara. The proposal for an alliance, offensive and defensive, was accepted and secretly entered into, and on various occasions the Infante D. Pedro had to aid the Constable Alvaro de Luna and the Master of Alcantara, while maintaining good diplomatic relations with the King of Castille. This alliance and the great skill employed reduced the efforts of the Infantes of Aragon to impotence.

In home politics the Infante D. Pedro endeavoured to avoid the machinations of the Queen and her courtiers, at whose head was the Count of Barcellos. It was decided that the Infante D. Henrique should proceed to Vizeu in order to prevent the conspiracy from extending to the north of the country, and spread its ramifications into Castille, D. Pedro taking upon himself to watch the Queen and the fidalgos who surrounded her. The latter beholding themselves hedged in by this iron circle, out of which they could not stretch their hands avaricious for favours, counselled the Queen to effect an apparent reconciliation with the Infante D. Pedro, by which she and they would be somewhat relieved from the oppression they were under.

The Queen approved this counsel, and in effect proposed an alliance with the Infante, who accepted it in good faith, despite his ripe judgment and experience. The concord established between them was officially notified in Portugal and Castille at the end of May, 1440. Confiding in the sincerity of the proposed alliance with the Queen, the Infante ordered all the scouts he had placed at all points where any secret correspondence could pass with the Queen, to be removed.

Meanwhile the Count of Barcellos, without attaching the smallest importance to the above-said treaty, made known confidentially to the widow of D. Duarte that such an alliance would prejudice the spirits of their adherents, and advised her to proceed to Crato, a well-fortified land, and dependency of the Prior of the Hospitallers, Nuno Goes, who

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was on her side, and from thence, appealing to the nobles of her party and her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon, for aid, boldly raised the standard of war. D. Leonor joyfully acceded to the proposal, and the hesitation of the Prior of Crato being overruled by the Count of Barcellos, the Queen prepared to quit Almeirim secretly, and hoist the standard of civil war.

But the Count of Barcellos did not stop here. After persuading the Queen to follow his advice, he himself plotted a private alliance with the Infantes of Aragon, an act which was highly censured by his brothers and his own sons, the Count of Ourem going so far as to declare that, should a war break out, he would sooner join the party of D. Pedro than side with his father. The Infante D. Henrique endeavoured to dissuade the Count of Barcellos from forming such a scandalous alliance, but without success, and he persevered in his intention. The result of his intrigues was that an embassage came from Castille to Portugal, with the object of demanding indemnification for some maritime prizes taken by the Portuguese in Castillian ships, but principally to intimate to D. Pedro to restitute D. Leonor in the regency, or else allow her to depart to Castille. D. Pedro, after consulting his counsellors, replied that, as far as concerned the indemnifications, judges would be nominated to decide their validity, and as what respected the Queen D. Leonor, an embassy from Portugal would be sent to Castille to take the reply. These envoys made a singular petition—that their message be communicated to the cities and towns of the kingdom, their intention by so doing being to terrify the people by a prospect of war with Castille, and thus appeal to the interests of D. Leonor. The Infante replied that all political affairs were arranged by the Government which represented the country, and not by the people. Meanwhile he learnt privately, through the Bishop of Coria, who was one of the envoys, that this message came rather from the Infantes of Aragon than from the King of Castille, as the latter was no adversary of D. Pedro, but, on the contrary, was favourable to him, judging that it was but just that the regency of the kingdom and the education of the King should be effected by a man, as he himself had experienced the evil results of his kingdom being governed and he educated by his mother, the Queen D. Catharina.

In view of this, D. Pedro sent word to the Queen D. Leonor that, since it was her wish, he desired her to depart to Castille with the ambassadors. But it was not this that the Queen desired. The

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ambassadors showed him a letter which they said they had received from the King of Castille, in which they were bidden not to depart until all the business they had come for should be settled.

However, it appeared to D. Pedro that they could not have had time to receive an answer, and he suspected that probably they had brought blank letters with the royal seal. In order to verify this, he wrote to D. Alvaro de Luna. The Constable was then an exile from the Court, but kept up a secret correspondence with the King. He at once replied to the Infante, fully confirming his suspicions, and, as a further proof, sent a letter written by the King himself to say that the ambassadors were proceeding without the concurrence of D. Juan II., and were simply obeying the orders of the Infantes of Aragon, who ruled everything in Castille. The Infante D. Pedro then formally intimated to the ambassadors to quit Portugal, but they, without actually disobeying him, managed, under various pretexts, to prolong their stay, so that they were still in Santarem when the Queen fled to Crato.

D. Pedro at length became aware of the project of D. Leonor, and in his name the Infante D. Henrique went to menace the Prior of Crato, and bade him appear before the Regent to explain his conduct. The Prior, alleging his age and infirmities, sent his son, Fernão Goes, who, in effect, presented himself in all humility, and asked leave to proceed to Almeirim and communicate to the Queen their resolve not to receive her. He went ostensibly with this object, but in truth secretly to combine with the Queen the manner and day of departure.

However, when the day agreed upon (October 31, 1440) arrived, hesitation assailed the Queen D. Leonor, while the counsels of a Dominican, in opposition to the project of the Queen, actuated on her spirit and well-nigh dissuaded her.

It was already night when the sons of the Prior of Crato, the brothers Goes, arrived, being the eve of All Saints, and found the Queen a prey to irresolution. They were startled and irritated at this change, and bitterly complained. In order not to prove unfaithful to her word, rather than through her own wish, the Queen departed at nine o'clock, weeping bitterly, and taking only her baby daughter, D. Joanna, as the Infanta D. Leonor was ill. Her departure was effected secretly, When she reached Crato, she was magnificently received by the Prior, who delivered up to her the keys of the fortress and pledged to serve her in every way.

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It was past midnight when throughout Almeirim a cry arose, "*Fly for your lives! the Infante D. Pedro is coming to apprehend us!*" The people rushed to the palace of the Queen, but did not find her. Consternation then became general, and some, suspecting the road the Queen had taken, ran in pursuit. One of these was D. Alfonso, the Lord of Cascaes, a man advanced in years, with his wife, D. Maria de Vasconcellos, and their son, D. Ferdinand.

It was about the same hour that the Infante D. Pedro was apprised by Gil Peres de Rezende, Auditor of Santarem, of the flight of the Queen. The news caused a great shock; but he at once energetically provided against this by sending D. Guiomar de Castro to take charge of the Infanta D. Leonor. Other persons were sent to take inventories of the Queen's properties and those of the nobles, while Diogo Fernandes d'Almeida was sent as ambassador to the Queen to beseech her to return, or at least deliver up the Infanta D. Joanna, with instructions, in the event of the Queen refusing to do so, to draw up a protest against such extraordinary proceedings. Diogo Fernandes went, but returned without having seen the Queen, because, he said, she was so firm in her resolve that it would have been impossible to move her; but the Chronicler assures us that being a relative of the Prior of Crato, he was secretly in the interests of the Queen.

The Infante at once wrote to his brothers and nobles of the kingdom, cities, and towns, notifying to them what had taken place, and advising them to be in readiness to defend the person of the King, because by the step taken by the Queen it was evident that she meant to start a civil war. D. Pedro nominated the Infante D. Henrique Governor of the frontier of Beira, D. John that of Alemtejo, and instructed the citizens of the latter province not to furnish Crato with more provisions than should be necessary for the support of the Queen and twenty persons of her suite. He otherwise took prompt measures for stamping out any revolutionary movements which might be attempted by the Queen's party.

In effect, as soon as D. Leonor arrived to Crato she despatched throughout the kingdom letters to affirm anew her right to the regency, and bringing grave accusations against the government of the Infante. No notice was taken of these letters, and in some places the messengers were even ill-treated. Nevertheless, the Infante judged he ought to justify himself, and sent to Lisbon, as the capital of the kingdom, a letter in which he refuted all that had been imputed to him.

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The Count of Barcellos and other nobles of his party, taken by surprise at the prompt, energetic measures taken by D. Pedro, and, moreover, not perceiving any prospect of help from Castille, remained immovable, and thereby placed the Queen in an embarrassing position. Provisions ran short, and the Queen was forced to ask the Infante D. John permission to furnish the garrison, but the Infante refused to do so, and in temperate language reproved her for her acts, which placed her honour, the State, and her reputation at the mercy of the Prior and his sons, who did not bear a good character in the kingdom, and exhorting her to alter her course; but all to no purpose. About this time the Bishop of Segorbe arrived to Portugal as envoy of the King of Aragon, brother to D. Leonor, to propose in the name of his master the bases of an accord between the Queen and the Regent. The latter replied that nought could be done so long as the Queen continued in Crato. The Bishop was unable to persuade her, and thus returned to Aragon without effecting anything.

Civil war was definitely enkindled in the kingdom, and in order to curtail its evils, D. Pedro resolved upon taking the strongholds belonging to the Order of the Hospital, which were under obedience to the Prior of Crato, and sent against the Castle of Belver a division commanded by Lopo de Almeida, he who later on became the Count of Abrantes; against the castle of Amieira another division led by Alvaro Vaz de Almada, Count of Avranches in Normandy, and against Crato itself he went in person with his brother the Infante D. John, and his nephews the Counts of Ourem and Arrayolos. The castle of Amieira quickly surrendered; Belver also, after a brave resistance, on 17th December, 1440. The Queen, who saw this, and that the Portuguese fidalgos took no steps to defend her, sent to Castille to recruit soldiers, for this purpose sending a great portion of her jewels. Soldiers in effect came from Castille commanded by one Alfonso Henriques, who, in order to furnish the town, went foraging, and committed such damage that the whole kingdom was fired with indignation, and D. Pedro hastened to march upon Crato. Many of its inhabitants were of his party, and from these he learnt, on approaching the walls of the city, that the Queen had fled to Castille on the 29th December, 1440, accompanied by the Prior and other nobles, leaving the garrison of the castle under the command of Gonçalo da Silveira. Some of the inhabitants had gone to Alter and gave information to the Chief Commandeur of Aviz, Garcia Rodrigues de Sequeira, who proceeded to take possession



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of Crato, and fortified the town to defend it against the castle, whose governor appeared inclined to resist; but when the Infantes approached with their army, which exceeded 12,000 men, and many cannons and war engines for besieging, Gonçalo da Silveira saw that it would be impossible to resist, and delivered it up. D. Pedro gave the castle to his brother D. John, and the Priory of Crato to D. Henrique de Castro. D. Pedro then proceeded to reduce to obedience the rebel fidalgos, particularly the Count de Barcellos, who vacillated, and, it appears, counselled the Queen, who was in Albuquerque close to the frontier, to enter anew into Portugal through the district of Tras-os-Montes, where he resided. To this spot marched the Infante D. Pedro, and joining the Infante D. Henrique, proceeded towards Lamego, intending to reduce by force the Count of Barcellos. The latter became disquieted at the approach of his brothers, and replied in a hesitating manner to the Queen, who, acting under his advice, was coming to join him, complaining that the Infantes of Aragon were not prompt in aiding her. However, wishing to disguise weakness by arrogance, he sent word to his son, the Count of Ourem, who was coming with the Infantes, to apprise D. Pedro not to cross the Douro, as he might repent it. This message so angered the Infante that the Count of Ourem, deeply distressed, besought him to restrain his wrath whilst he went to confer with his father, and endeavour to move him from his obstinate mood. In this he was unsuccessful, hence the Infantes marched on to Mesão-Frio in order to cross the Douro. The Count of Barcellos, to prevent them from crossing, ordered all the shipping to be submerged, but D. Pedro quickly improvised a floating bridge.

The Count of Ourem, on witnessing the wrath of the Infante D. Pedro, who was generally able to control himself, feared the consequences, and again besought leave to make another attempt at conciliation. This time he was more successful, although Ruy de Pina tells us the Count of Barcellos was conquered rather through the evidence of danger than through the supplications of his son, and he proceeded to Lamego to have an interview with the Infantes, who came forward to receive him with demonstrations of friendship and benevolence. The people rejoiced to see former enmities at an end, when they heard reciprocal expressions of reconciliation and affection manifested, which seemed to guarantee peace and rest to the kingdom.

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On entering the city (end of February, 1441), they conferred together, and D. Pedro kindly listened and accepted the explanation and excuses of the Count, who promised to obey him in future, acknowledge his regency, and withdraw from the service of the Queen. At this conference the subject of the marriage of the young King Alfonso V. with the daughter of the Regent was discussed and arranged, and the project laid before the Cortes, which were held subsequently in Torres Vedras. The union met with the unanimous approval of the Cortes, and a considerable sum was voted for that purpose. The King was in his tenth year when his betrothal was celebrated in Obidos, in May, 1441.

The kingdom being at peace, the Infante D. Pedro endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Queen through the mediation of the Count of Barcellos. But D. Leonor, who was in Madrigal at the time, seemed to be avoiding him, as she still lived in hopes of regaining the regency. Her brothers had attained the height of their power, and were ruling in Spain without rivals, having forcibly taken possession, in Medino del Campo, of the person of the King, who, a toy in the hands of foreign ambitious spirits, allowed himself to be governed by any one who had sufficient energy and strength to rule him. Hence D. Leonor judged herself, for this reason, triumphant, and rejected the concord offered by the Infante D. Pedro as one who held a definite victory in her hands. But this was not her only imprudent act; she furthermore spent the sums raised by the sale of her jewels in enlisting men to serve her brothers, thinking, by so doing, that she would captivate their goodwill, but obtained in return naught but vain promises and appearances of protection.

But D. Leonor, blinded by pride, would not enter into any reasonable conditions. D. Pedro was ready to concede all lands and revenues he held in the kingdom, and the education of her children, in order to secure peace, although he well knew that the Queen would inculcate in the youthful monarch sentiments of odium against the Regent. D. Leonor refused all this, and still demanded the regency, and at her instigation the Infantes sent an embassy to Portugal, which they said would be the last, with threats of war should the government not be delivered up to the Queen. To this D. Pedro replied that he must first consult the Cortes. The envoys were joyed at this, because their intention was no more than to terrify the people. However, D. Pedro put down their joy somewhat by the energetic measures he took, which

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manifested to them that if he wished to hear the Cortes it was not because he feared a campaign or required to temporise. Hence he at once garrisoned and victualled the strongholds of war, appointing governors for the frontiers; troops were raised, ships of war fitted and equipped, and commercial relations with Castille were interrupted. The envoys, somewhat disappointed, viewed all these preparations for war, and became still more disappointed when, on the Cortes being assembled in Evora, at the beginning of 1442, many of the members demanded that war should be made, and at length the three states jointly declared that they would leave the resolution of this affair in the hands of D. Pedro, to whose prudence and tact they fully trusted.

In view of this declaration, D. Pedro simply refused to do what the ambassadors demanded, and declared he was ready to accept a war, which he did not fear, as he was the son of the conqueror of Aljubarrota.

On seeing the turn affairs had taken, the ambassadors, in place of visiting on this small daring kingdom all the horrors of war, acted like the bully in a comedy, that retires as soon as he sees coming sword in hand, he whom he had threatened, and the Castillians effected a ridiculous retreat, after having entered into Portugal, like the hero of Camões.

> "Chafing, yet not eloquent;
> Threatening earth, the ocean, and the world."

D. Leonor, however, once more laid before the Castillian Cortes her grounds of complaint, and another embassy was sent to Portugal, composed of two fidalgos representing the King, and two representatives of the people, in the name of the Cortes of Castille. This was a new phase, but the Infantes of Aragon, to satisfy their sister, were ready to employ against Portugal all and every means of intimidation save that of moving a soldier or spending the smallest coin. Unfortunately for them, they found in their adversary a skilful statesman, an eminent genius, a man of stern metal, who allowed nothing to move him from his purpose, one who was ready to make every reasonable concession, but who, nevertheless, only smiled at their bravados, which did not influence him.

His reply to this embassy was to the effect that he desired the Queen not to return to Portugal, as it would only be an element of discord, but that he was ready to send her in Castille her dowry and fortune, adding 10,000 gold doubles to recompense her servitors.

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The Queen did not wish to yield, but that war be made to Portugal. A council was then held, at which diverse votes were given, but the majority were for peace. Those who combated more forcibly the wishes of the Queen were the Count of Haro and the Bishop of Avila. The council adhered to the opinion of these nobles, and an embassy was sent to Portugal to obtain for the Queen D. Leonor the most favourable conditions. Meanwhile great changes were taking place in Castille to interrupt the negotiations.

The new elevation of the Constable D. Alvaro de Luna produced, as an immediate result, the fall of the Infantes of Aragon, and D. Leonor, in disgrace with the King and Queen, left the capital, and withdrew to Toledo. Here she fell into deep misery, and owed her existence to the gifts in money and provisions of some Castillian prelates and a few noble ladies. Humbled by seeing her hopes thus dashed to the ground, forsaken by the royal court, reduced to live on the charity of others, and engulphed in the depths of an obscure misery, she saw all perspective of a better future in Castille closed upon her, and forgetfulness around her. She then felt a greater attraction towards the country to which she owed her past brilliant existence, and in order to return she essayed to effect a reconciliation with the Regent, through the mediation of the Count de Arrayolos.

She did not wish to return to Portugal as Queen, and end her life as such, she only aspired to reside there as the youngest sister of the Regent, whose wishes would be law to her, and willing to content herself with what he might allow her. D. Pedro, whose heart was never closed to tender, conciliatory sentiments, was already taking steps to meet the wishes of the Queen, when he was apprised of her death, which took place in Toledo, on the 19th February, 1445.

A report was spread that D. Leonor had been poisoned, and which accounted for her sudden death. The enemies of the Regent accused him of doing this, but such an act was incompatible with the nobility of sentiments traditional to the sons of D. João I. Moreover, he had nothing to fear from her, and she appealed to his compassion. It is, however, held as a fact that she was poisoned by order of D. Alvaro de Luna, fearing lest D. Leonor should incite her brother D. Henrique to return to the city of Toledo, from whence he had been expelled, as it appears she had actually combined to do with the governor-general of the city It appears, likewise, that it was the Constable who had the

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Queen of Castille poisoned, as she died in the same sudden manner a fortnight after the death of D. Leonor.

Thus ended, far from the land of Portugal and in the last stage of misery, that proud woman who, in her adopted country, had attempted to kindle the firebrand of civil war, and who, herself a victim to her own intrigues, went to Castille to expiate the errors of her spirit and the crimes of her evil counsellors.

The Regent D. Pedro at once sent to Toledo for the Infanta D. Joanna and her suite, although from many of the latter he had received aggrievances.

Later on, in 1457, D. Alfonso V. had the body of his mother brought from Toledo to the Church of Batalha, where it has remained ever since.

After the death of the two queen-sisters, D. Alvaro de Luna resolved upon expelling the Infantes of Aragon from Castille, and for this object besought aid from Portugal, as had been arranged. D. Pedro decided to send his son Pedro, who was then fifteen years of age, accompanied by many distinguished fidalgos, 2,000 horsemen, and 4,000 foot-soldiers.

Previous to departing for the war, D. Pedro wished his son to be knighted. For this object he invited the Infante D. Henrique to come from Lagos to Coimbra to invest his nephew. D. Henrique at once responded, and the ceremony took place in that city in the Monastery of St. George, from whence the youthful Constable departed for Ciudad Rodrigo.

The King of Navarre and the Infante D. Henrique were surrounded by the King of Castille, D. Juan, in the town of Olmedo, and on learning that reinforcements were arriving from Portugal, resolved to make war, in which they were defeated, and the Infante D. Henrique wounded in the arm, which caused his death.

In Ciudad Rodrigo, the son of the Regent learnt the result of the battle of Olmedo, but proceeded to advance. When the King of Castille knew his resolve, he desired the Portuguese Constable to proceed with his people to the town of Mayorga, where he would await him. In Mayorga D. Pedro was received with great honours and feasts, and it appears that the King of Castille manifested a desire to keep him in his Court, but the Infante son of the Regent departed for Portugal after receiving large gifts in jewels, horses, and other articles of great price. The Portuguese army entered into Portugal by

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the north, and the Regent and King proceeded to Aveiro to receive them.

The year 1446 was approaching. The youthful King D. Alfonso was soon to complete his fourteenth year, the age when, according to the *foro* of Spain, royal princes could emancipate themselves. The Regent D. Pedro hastened to summon a Cortes in Lisbon to arrange this affair. In effect, in presence of the three states, the Infante D. Pedro voluntarily resigned the government of the kingdom and delivered it up to his nephew, to whom on bended knee he kissed his hand and then delivered up the sceptre of justice.

D. Alfonso V. then besought his uncle to assist him in the government of the kingdom until he should be able to direct alone the affairs of the State. The King forwarded this resolve to the Cortes, thanking his uncle for the great care he had bestowed on his training and education, and to the Cortes for its approbation of his marriage with his cousin, the Infanta D. Isabella.

The Count of Barcellos, the natural son of D. João I., went so far as to send to the Cortes, through the intervention of Gonçalo Pereira, some notes against the resolve of the King; but this the Cortes refused to second. Nevertheless, he did not desist from the purpose of insisting with the King and through his own sons to assume the whole government of the kingdom. Thus counselled by his uncle and cousins, D. Alfonso V. demanded the whole royal jurisdiction. Although doubtlessly D. Pedro knew from whence the blow came, he nevertheless replied to his nephew that he was ready to deliver up the government of the kingdom on condition that the marriage should be solemnised with D. Isabel at the same time. D. Alfonso consented to this, and appointed the date for both these celebrations to take place. However, the young King, instigated by the Archbishop of Lisbon, who used to come by night to speak to him, asked the Infante D. Pedro to yield up the government before his marriage. In order to avoid new conflicts, D. Pedro immediately delivered it up. The marriage of the King with his cousin took place in May, 1447, in Santarem; but the feasts held on the occasion were not brilliant, because all things changed in respect to D. Pedro and his family as soon as he gave up the reins of the State. From that moment D. Isabel of Lancaster commenced to be, in effect, Queen, which she held by right since her nuptials, a betrothal made in Obidos, when she issued her first document as such.

Thus terminated the agitated period of the regency of D. Pedro, a

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man of upright principles and a superior spirit, but it was not long before he fell a victim to his good services. He was not far wrong when he spoke those prophetic words to the people of Lisbon when declining to allow a statue to be erected to him.

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# EPILOGUE.

We have already entered a period in the history of Portugal when the events and loftiness of its heroes and their characteristics could only be fittingly treated and appreciated should the chronicler and historian, by a singular predestination, be gifted not only with all the attributes proper and indispensable to an historian of the first order, and which are difficult to be met with in one individual—but, likewise, he must be endowed with a deeply artistic sentiment, which would render him at once a poet, a painter, a sculptor, and strengthened by that grand virility that distinguished the Portuguese of the fifteenth century, such as the warriors of Aljubarrota and of Ceuta, the fearless navigators of the *dark seas*, and of the unexplored waters of the Atlantic Ocean. And, in truth, to write of the great battles and of the extended navigations of that period, above all others notable, without feeling awed at the magnitude of the task, would be equal to giving to the world a new epos, the conception and execution of one of the greatest poems which men have seen since the Hellenic times of antiquity. In order to reproduce the historic individualities of that memorable cycle, in which nature appears so perfect in her work that even a woman like the Queen D. Philippa rises before us and attains gigantic proportions of grandest luminosity unusual in women, however nobly born or educated; and to portray those epic forms, so to say, of that vast Portuguese gallery of the fifteenth century, only an artist whose pencil could trace on the canvas outlines of a majesty and dimensions comparable to the ray which, like a pencil of light, describes on the horizon great dense clouds would be fit to do so. To evoke before our readers the profiles of the sons of D. João I., and of the men that surrounded them, without marring their lustre by the resurrection, would be not to write on paper, but to sculpture in bronze; it would undoubtedly be, as Zeuxis said of his picture, a glorious working for immortality.

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But this wonderful chronicler, whomsoever he might be, should have to be born by a happy anachronism, struck in the moulds of the men of four ages ago: it would be necessary that he should altogether lose the memory and conscience of the times he lived in to go back to the period when his heroes existed. In fact, however much we might concentrate and abstract ourselves to reconstruct historically the past—to-day when the seas are so rapidly furrowed by steamers that in order to know the whole world there only remains that we should persist in our attempts to cut through the frozen waters of the Poles and traverse some dangerous territories—when terrible legends of the seas have fled in terror once and for all centuries ago in face of the prows of the caravels of discoveries; to-day, when artillery crushes by sea or by land the most powerful fleets and the strongest redoubts of the enemy; when telegraphy, by an instantaneous communication, is able to decide the fate of a battle, the destiny of a nation—we can but very imperfectly imagine, even in face of the remaining monuments, what could have been a battle four hundred years ago. Of that monstrous combat of enormous heavy steel armouries, which perchance became mingled and massed together into a colossal barrier on either sides what could have been our perilous navigations on the open ocean full of mysterious terrors, *with some inaccurate needle and some astrolabe which was incorrect*, as Xavier Botelho writes, but which, ere it was preferred to the graduated compass of Pedro Nunes, afforded us important services. Up to a certain point it does not astonish us that in our day, when the face of the globe has been completely altered, that we should scarcely construct the splendid reality of that epoch, truly extraordinary, when the very individuals of that epoch, breathing that especial atmosphere, dwelling in that social centre of which only memories remain, should feel at times doubts whether they would be able to carry out such arduous enterprises and undertakings of such magnitude. It is known, for example, that the soldiers of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira distrusted at times the happy issue of the orders of the General in a cause in which, on the battlefield, he was its most strenuous paladine; we know that in the siege of Lisbon by the Castillians the besieged were prone to rapid changes from hope to despair; and lastly, that the Infante D. Henrique for over twelve years persevered in his determination to double the Cape Bojador, and that Gil Eannes himself, who at length doubled it, often shuddered and hesitated in presence of the disheartening objections which sailors

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placed before him. But in our opinion the glory of our great Portuguese of the fifteenth century would not have been so great but for these hesitations. To ponder and weigh well dangers belongs to the prudent ones; to fly from them is fit for cowards; to know them, wrestle with them, and conquer them, is of heroes.

If writing history is ever an undertaking of grave responsibility, to write the history of this epoch becomes, for the above-mentioned reasons, a task of redoubled seriousness, more especially to us who acknowledge ourselves awed in presence of the vastness of the historic scene laid before us. But though we may feel our own incompetency, we have the will, and shall endeavour, in so far as we are able, to correspond to the invitation and favour of the public.

Before proceeding further in this history we must understand the scene which Portugal was unfolding during the reign of D. Duarte, a veritable drama wherein his own form becomes, if not completely stamped out, at least dimmed by the glory of the personages surrounding him.

In the year 1433, when the homeric form of D. João I. descended from the loftiest throne which a monarch can erect for himself to enter the eternal gallery of history, Portugal, by extending its limits beyond the seas, had reached a degree of splendour which astonished the entire known world, and our small country was casting over the rest of Europe the rays of an aurora so singularly splendid that it filled it with admiration and envy.

It was Portugal that, among all the nations of the world, was taking the initial steps to rend asunder the dark mist which the ocean, then scarcely explored, enveloped the African continent, sealing therefore with the clouds of terrifying legends the secrets of communications between the Atlantic and the seas of the East. We have said, scarcely explored, because there was still a tradition held of the memory of at least two attempts to circumnavigate Africa—attempts which we shall narrate—but in the course of ages this passage or road had, so to say, been allowed to become newly covered with shadows after being once opened—that is to say, if these voyages actually took place, which some writers contest.

It appears that the first of these two voyages was effected by Phœnician sailors paid by the King Necho, who left the Red Sea, and coasting the whole of Africa, returned after three years to Egypt by the Straits of Hercules (Gibraltar). The second voyage is attributed

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to the Carthaginian Hanno, who quitted Carthage with sixty ships of colonists, and which some historians supposed had sighted the Cape Bojador. But whether the priority of these voyages around Africa belongs to the ancients or no, one thing is certain, that even in the sixteenth century the map of the brothers Pizzigani (1367) places opposite Cape Bojador this inscription, indicative of the height of nautical discoveries of that time, "*Caput finis Africæ et terræ occidentalis.*" And in another map, traced out eight years later, a Catalan map mentioned by the Viscount de Santarem, the coast of Africa likewise terminates in that Cape, which proves that the navigation of Africa by the Greeks had not advanced much since the time of Homer figured in the rocks called in our day Gibraltar and Ceuta as the most extreme columns of the world watched over by Atlantes.

If such was the state of African navigation, the exploration of the territory of Africa attempted by the ancient expeditions of the Romans was not more advanced.

It was reserved to a Portuguese prince—although until then no one had borne that title in Portugal, not even the heir to the throne*—the glory of impelling the Portuguese caravels along the western coasts of Africa, and thus preparing the discovery of the road by sea to India. The Infante D. Henrique, fifth son of D. João I., was greatly versed, for his time, in the knowledge of the mathematical sciences, and became the heroic impeller of the great nautical events of the sixteenth century, which afforded such lustre to Portugal. Some historians suppose that the navigations promoted and protected by the Infante date from the year 1412, because at that date commenced the preparations for the expedition to Ceuta, which was the principal basis of all our maritime progress, not only because the passage of the western coast was thereby more free of Moors, as on account of the information collected by the Infante during that expedition.

Other historians contest that date. Azurara places the first expedition ordered by the Infante to the year 1421; and if we credit the relation of Diogo Gomes, the first voyage effected was in 1415, when João de Trasto was entrusted with its execution.

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* Ruy de Pina says in his Chronicle, as follows: "It was this Infante, (D. Alfonso, son of the King D. Duarte), the first of the heirs of the kings of these kingdoms that was called *Prince*, because up to him all others were called first-born Infantes, heirs, &c."

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Many writers follow the opinion that it was after the conquest of Ceuta, in 1415, that the Infante, through the information and knowledge gained of the Moors in that expedition, was induced to carry out his projects. This idea is followed by more recent writers, among them Sr. Alexandre Magno de Castilho, when he says, referring to the taking of Ceuta: "Then did he (D. Henrique) give himself up to acquiring a more *certain and individual* knowledge of the Desert of Sahara, and many phases of those coasts, lands, and people, *by which he was much fired, and resolved* upon executing the daring undertaking inspired by his great genius." Hence, in view of what has been stated, we are inclined to believe that the nautical traditions of antiquity found in Herodotus, Strabo, and others, by nourishing a natural tendency, moved the Infante D. Henrique to take the initiative in our navigations. The author of the "Indice" supposes that about that year, 1412, some pilots, the memory of which has been lost, passed the Cape of Não, and reached as far as Cape Bojador. Azurara mentions various motives which moved the Infante D. Henrique, such as the desire to know lands beyond the Canary Isles, of developing commerce, of knowing how far the power of the Moors had reached, of finding allies among the infidels, of spreading the Christian faith, and the fatality of the destiny of the Infante—a reason in our day ridiculous. But all these reasons may be summed up in the light of a more rigorous criticism by the following: To find the road to India through the West, to find Prester John, to find the Nile of the negroes; or, to simplify it still further: To discover the maritime road to India, to find new lands and discover new people. In effect, to double the Bojador was equal to journeying towards India, and finding Prester John, that mysterious prince who professed the Christian religion, or a similar one: at the same time, to find a powerful ally against the infidels, and open a new path to the commerce of the East, which in those days was done through the Persian and Arabian Gulphs, because, as Azurara observes, to find some populations of Christians, or some ports in which, free of danger, they could navigate, was equivalent to bringing towards the kingdom much merchandize that would find a good market. The tradition of Prester John, both prince and patriarch, began to be circulated towards the middle of the twelfth century, his empire being assigned as situated behind Armenia and Persia; but in course of time the Portuguese changed opinions, and took Negus the Christian of Abyssinia as the

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veritable Prester John, although this opinion is controverted by Guilherme Lejean, who considers him a prince of Central Asia.

Most certainly the taking of Ceuta in 1415 exercised a great influence over the spirit of the Infante D. Henrique, and as a consequence, in the maritime destinies of Portugal. By personally gathering together much information from the Moors respecting lands, coasts, and people, by taking individual surveys of the Desert of Sahara, the Infante brought from that glorious expedition a more vivid enthusiasm for adventure by sea and for the discovery of lands which the Black Sea enclosed within its mysterious mists.

The poetic legend of the Black Sea (Mar Tenebrosa) was to the effect that a certain King of Portugal ordered ships to be prepared and fitted and provisioned for a long voyage, which was to last fourteen years. In effect the ships departed, and at the end of two years they arrived to a darksome region, and to the shores of an unknown and deserted island, where, in subterranean habitations, the seamen found enormous riches. This wealth, however, they dared not touch, owing to some superstitious fear which assailed them. On returning to their ships and embarking to continue their voyage, the sea became so agitated that the dread of the Portuguese navigators was greatly increased. What were they to do? Continue their voyage, or retreat back from whence they came? After some discussion, they decided in council that two of these ships should attack the place, and the third ship to await them up to a fixed time. The term of time expired and no news of the ships, and then the commander of the third ship decided to return to Portugal. When the ship arrived to Portugal and the crew disembarked, they had become so altered and had aged so in the space of twenty-four months that neither the King nor their relatives recognised them.

All manner of terrifying legends rose up and clustered over the whole expanse of that ocean. The dark sea, whose waves were black as pitch, rose up far beyond the horizon where the sun sank. This was the ancient legend, the pagan legend transmitted from generation to generation, which had prevented for a long time the most daring investigations of the Atlantic Ocean from being carried out. Whoever entered it was everlastingly lost; whoever attempted to approach it, should he have the good fortune to return, came back decrepit, and having departed in manhood, would find to his sorrow that the voyage he had thought was only of a few days, had really lasted long years.

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By the side of these legends rose Christian legends, the Celtic legends of the mysterious islands, the isles of punishment, veritable depths of hell, where Judas wept eternally over his infamous treachery, where the condemned, mounted on fiery steeds, broke out into cries of despair whilst pursuing an incessant galloping, while others uninterruptedly wept over their sins of earth.

By this may be seen what efforts must have been needed to overcome all these horrible superstitions which ruled the epoch when the Infante D. Henrique initiated the Portuguese discoveries. But, as we have said, the Infante returned from Ceuta fully bent upon carrying out his resolves, and, as it appears, from the moment of his arrival to Portugal, he strove to promote navigations with the intention of doubling Cape Bojador. The repugnance evinced by the sailors to obey the Infante was, *at first*, very great. "How shall we pass," they said, "the barriers placed by our fathers, or what advantage can accrue to the Infante from the loss of our souls as well as our bodies, which would be really committing homicide?" We have said *at first*, because, subsequently encouraged by the good result of some navigations, it was the sailors themselves who, putting aside the idea of gain, strove ardently to bring the greatest information to the Infante. Azurara tells us that in one of the voyages in which many caravels sailed in convoy, and whose captains were proceeding to trade in the various ports already discovered by the Portuguese, there was one commanded by Alvaro Fernandes, nephew of João Gonçalves Zarco, one of our most celebrated navigators and the discoverer of Sierra Leone. This individual had bidden his nephew not to take heed of making profit, but to continue going on forward in order to bring some news which would interest the Prince. From this may be perceived that all navigators were aware that in order to please the Infante D. Henrique they should, above all things, endeavour to effect new discoveries, and that he would be far better pleased to hear accounts of some new lands than to receive a fifth of the greatest prizes.

In the year 1418 two knights of the house of the Infante João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, offered themselves, should it be agreeable, to proceed and explore the western coast of Africa beyond the Cape of Não. This cape, whether, as is the opinion of the Viscount de Santarem, had been already reached in the time of the King D. Alfonso IV. or not, it is certain that it represents the point of departure of the greatest maritime glories of Portugal, because it repre-

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sented, as we know, at that epoch a terrible barrier. A tempest drove from the coast both our navigators, and impelled their ships to an island to which they gave the name of Porto Santo, because they had found in it shelter after so uncertain a navigation. On returning to Portugal, the Infante was so elated at the good news received that, no doubt to gratify him, many fidalgos offered to accompany to this recently discovered island the two discoverers on a fresh voyage. Among those who offered themselves we find the name of Bartholomew Perestrello. On reaching together to Porto Santo, Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz went to discover Madeira, because they either noticed a dark spot in the horizon which made them suspect the existence of some land near at hand, or because the fresh crops of Porto Santo had been destroyed by a number of rabbits. It appears that, according to the account of Azurara, a simple circumstance had the effect of rendering their first efforts at colonisation a failure. A friend of Bartholomew Perestrello gave him a rabbit when proceeding on the voyage of exploration, and on discovering Porto Santo he released her and left her in the newly discovered land with her little ones which she had given birth to during the voyage, and, as the story goes, he thought no more about the fate of this animal. While on the land Perestrello and those who went with him, finding that the country was beautiful and likely to be of consequence, endeavoured to construct huts and houses to live in, and also prepared some land and sowed crops, intending to return. But the rabbits multiplied to such an extent that they devoured all the crops. In vain did the new colonists pursue a vigorous hunt: the rabbits baffled all their efforts to exterminate them, and the colonists lost all hopes of deriving any result from their new colony.

There rises now a contested point as to the original discoverers of the island of Madeira. Barros, and with him all subsequent historians, tells us that these discoverers were attracted by a black point or rising which appeared in the horizon and remained immovable and always in the same spot, and was very visible on clear days. Persons who have visited the isles affirm that even at the present time, notwithstanding that the island of Madeira is bereft of tall trees, from Porto Santo can be discovered a kind of fog hanging over Madeira. This spot on the horizon arrested their attention. If they did not suspect on that side the existence of any known land, what must have been the dreams of the navigators when, in the stillness of evening, they could see above the extension of the ocean rising up in the horizon this dark change-

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less line? "We should be little acquainted," writes Ferdinand Denis, "with the geographical ideas of the Middle Ages did we not imagine the diverse preoccupations which agitated Gonçalves Zarco and his faithful companions. Antilia and its cities of gold, S. Brandão and its vast tomb in the midst of the ocean, those vague legends which were mingled even with the grand conceptions of Columbus, and to which we shall revert, must have often interposed with their chimeras the vestiges of a far-away land, and the real world which they feared to forsake, those who had already undertaken such large efforts."

"Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira nevertheless quitted resolutely their small island. Embarking in their fragile bark, and accompanied by some ships, they proceeded towards those dark fogs which they descried from Porto Santo. They had barely voyaged towards two-thirds of the space when Madeira appeared before them, with its porticos of basalt and its grand virgin forests, its hills gently rising to the clouds."

But Azurara does not say a word of all this. He tells us, after recounting the circumstance of the rabbits, that on this account the people quitted this island, and proceeded to the other of Madeira, which was forty leagues in circuit, and about twelve from Porto Santo. Thus implying that Madeira, like the Canary Islands, had been discovered during the reign of D. Alfonso IV., by the fact that, as the Portuguese did not find the agricultural conditions of the island of Porto Santo sufficiently prosperous, they confidently proceeded to Madeira as though they were aware of its existence. But if this was actually the case, then the island of Porto Santo must have been already known to the Infante and marked in their maps, and only the attempt at colonisation, and the name given to the island, as the fact of Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz having arrived. The question of the first discovery of the island of Madeira is certainly obscure, and we shall therefore limit ourselves to giving a legend of its discovery, and follow Gonçalves Zarco in his voyage of exploration to the island of Madeira.

On the 1st July, 1419, departed João Gonçalves and Zarco from Porto Santo towards the island of Madeira, and in navigating found a point of land which they called Saint Lawrence, which was the name of the ship which conducted them. Sailing further to the south, they came to a beach or shore, where they anchored, and a knight, by name Ruy Paes, proceeded to land, he being the first who had stepped on the island of Madeira. Continuing to sail around the coast, keeping as

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closely as possible to land, and coming to a bay, they called it Porto de Seixo; and arriving at another, they called it Santa Cruz, where Gonçalves Zarco ordered a cross to be erected with some of the branches broken down by the winds. A small promontory was named, which lay towards the west, Ponta do Garajão, and Ribeiro de Gonçalo Ayres, a river at whose mouth a fidalgo of that name disembarked.

Further on they came to a deep bay, despoiled of trees, but sparsely covered with the herb called fennel (*funcho*), and to this place they gave the name of Funchal. "The navigators," writes F. Denis, "spent the night in their ships, but protected by two small islets which stand at the entrance to the bay. Probably since then, and in their future projects, they designed these charming shores which stretched before their gaze as the spot for the city which, in a short space of time, was to rise in that happy island. What must necessarily have confirmed them in their project of immediate colonisation was what the simplest observation would show them—that no country of the world was more proper than this for an agricultural establishment. No reptile soiled its shores, no wild beast disturbed its tranquillity, and such were the assurances of safety from the peaceful dwellers of those shores that even the very birds allowed the men to approach them, and became the prey of the sailors, whom they had not yet learned to fear."

On the following day they continued their explorations. After giving the name of Porta da Cruz to one of the points of the bay, they sailed on and found a shore whose splendid panorama perfectly captivated them, and to which they gave the name of Praia Formosa. They saw before them, rolling down in a frothy torrent, the limpid waters of a river which flowed into the sea, and which two youths from Lagos attempted to cross by swimming, but they were nearly lost in the attempt, and it became necessary to succour them, and from this circumstance the river took the name of Ribeira dos Accorridos. Further on they came to a large cave or den full of sea-wolves, which afforded some fine sport to the navigators. Many of these animals were killed, and this place was named Camara do Lobos (Chamber of Wolves), from whence João Gonçalves Zarco took the surname of Camara, which was perpetuated in his descendants.

After doubling this last point, which received the name of Ponta do Girão, because here terminated the voyage of the ships around the island, as the navigators sighted the point of Saint Lawrence, from whence they had commenced the circumnavigation. Hence the circle



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was completed, and the whole coast of the island of Madeira known and explored. It was one of those deep joys, those sublime pleasures, which in our days is denied to our generations, that of beholding suddenly, rising from the bosom of the waves, an unknown land, of cruising the length of its coasts, where reigns the majestic silence of a virgin nature, of giving a name to each beautiful shore, to each picturesque rock and cliff, which drew a burst of admiration from those who gazed on it for the first time. But at the present day what can our navigators hope for? Perchance to sight for the first time some fragment of Arctic or Antarctic land, some block of ice where reigns terror and the awe-inspiring silence of regions unvisited by the sun. But in those days, when little by little the corners of the veil were being lifted up which concealed one half of the world from the other half, how many navigators had the ineffable delight of entering for the first time the naves of those magnificent temples wherein is revealed the omnipotence of God, where the leafy tops of the trees form the vaulted domes, studded by the rays of the sun like so many stars, where the aged trunks of trees form majestic columns, where the songs of birds substitute the organ and the choir, the balsamic odour of flowers the incense, the grandeur of immensity the altar, and solitude the priesthood.

When this new island had been reconnoitred, the navigators returned to Portugal, bringing marvellous news of all they had seen. The King D. João I. and the Infante D. Henrique greatly rejoiced at the prospect of new discoveries, and the advantages which would accrue to the country, and the glory it would cast over his reign. Many were the murmurs which the people expressed on hearing the attempts of the Infante D. Henrique, as they wondered that he should risk lives and money in those expeditions, which only tempted God, endeavouring to fathom the mysteries in which He had enveloped the ocean; but all were silenced when the results of these attempts began to appear, when our discoverers began to wrench from that ocean its pearls, which it concealed amid the seething waves.

Then followed the rewards to the navigators. "The King," says Antonio Cordeiro, "took for the fidalgo of his house the discoverer João Gonçalves, and confirmed the surname of Camara—hence he was ever after called João Gonçalves da Camara—gave him a coat-of-arms and escutcheon, and appointed him Captain and Patron of the Jurisdiction of Funchal, for him and his successors; and thus this fortunate

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captain became the chief and first stem of the illustrious families of the Camaras, which became so extended, as we shall see further on.

The newly discovered islands were divided into three captaincies: one, which embraced solely the island of Porto Santo, was given to Bartholomew Perestrello, and the two which comprised the island of Madeira was the just portion of the two discoverers. Funchal, as we have seen, belonged to João Gonçalves Zarco, and Machico to Tristão Vaz Teixeira.

This name of Machico leads us naturally to speak of the romantic tradition which attributes to two English lovers the finding of Madeira. This tradition, narrated for the first time by Antonio Galvão, served to English writers to arrogate to their nation the priority of the discovery, without, however, offering any weighty reasons for its confirmation. Let us see, however, whether it was really the English who were cast on that beautiful isle, which at the present day they call the Flower of the Ocean. If such was the case, this lovely island, which is like an idyll dreamed by the ocean, received its baptism of poetry from the tears of these two lovers.

Edward III. was reigning in England, when a youth of good family, but not a nobleman, fell desperately in love with a beautiful lady of high rank, and whose family was shocked at the boldness of the plebeian. But as love knows no distinction of rank, Robert Machim continued to love Anna Arfet, or Anna Dorset, and the fair-haired damsel, attending rather to the charms of her lover than to the antiquity of his pedigree, corresponded to the love he lavished upon her. This, however, did not soften her relatives, but rather irritated them. Being all-powerful at Court, they were able to obtain from Edward III. an order of imprisonment, which cast the daring lover in prison. Alone and forsaken in the midst of an inimical family, and not having aught else but her tears to resist the tyrannical orders of her parents, Anna Arfet yielded to the instances of those that surrounded her, and consented to a marriage which they imposed upon her with a nobleman of high birth, and wealth equal or superior to hers. It was her father who led her to the marriage altar, like in the Greek tragedy it was Agamemnon who conducted Iphigenia to the altar of sacrifice.

But when giving her hand to the man they had assigned to her, Anna Arfet did not, nor could bestow on him her heart, whereon was indelibly engraved the image of her loved Machim. Her parents judged that once the sacrifice had been consummated, they could safely

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open the doors of the dungeon which held the man who had dared to aspire to the noble hand which was now indissolubly held by the nuptial bonds.

Once out of prison, Robert Machim made inquiries about his beloved one, and found a means of communicating with her which convinced him that her love was unchanged towards him, and she was ready to face any perils to be united to the beloved of her heart. A friend of Machim offered to aid the fugitives. He disguised himself and succeeded to enter the service of the husband of Anna, and with her planned all the arrangements for the flight. Meanwhile Robert was freighting a ship to pass on to France, which was more greatly separated from England by odiums and rivalries than by the tempestuous barrier which the ocean places between Dover and Calais.

Anna of Arfet resided in Bristol, and it was from thence they departed. One night, accompanied by the supposed servant, Anna fled from the house. Robert awaited her on board, and unfurling sails, the British ship departed towards the hospitable shores of France. It appears, however, that Providence wished to punish the rebellion of the two lovers, because scarcely had they quitted the port of Bristol than a tempest broke over them. A fierce north-east wind which blew at the time carried the ship towards the vast Atlantic. The two lovers judged their last hour had come, and thanked God that at least they would have the supreme joy of dying together. But who could depict the feelings of Robert during those long days when the ship, tossed and driven by the storm, was impelled on towards the dark unploughed sea, as though the ship had been darkly attracted by the maelstrom? It must have been a terrible trial to him to see that woman whom he had taken from her luxurious home to afford her in exchange a horrible death in the vast solitudes of the unknown seas. Yet the ship sped on, driven by the storm, and the ocean waves rose up higher and higher, and roared its eternal wailings, and as far as the sight could fathom, nought was seen but wave upon wave fringed with white froth. "Land!" at length sang out a sailor, on perceiving a black line which the experienced eyes of the seaman at once clearly announced as the desired port. Can it be in these heights that there should be land? Perchance is it the famous Antilia, the isle of S. Brandão? Some fantastic continent wherein float spectres and populated by uncouth monsters? But the streak of land meanwhile grew clearer and clearer, until at length the lovers descried the island rising up with its placid shores and green

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trees. They made for this tract of land and disembarked. The examination of the island perfectly fascinated them. For three days did the lovers revel in this island, which our readers may already have surmised was the island of Madeira, when misfortune again assailed them. The crew of the ship had gone, some to explore the interior of the island, while others proceeded along the coast to reconnoitre the bays and creeks and shores. On the third night another tempest broke over them, and the waves rose with mighty power, driving the hapless ship before it until it dashed her against the coast of Africa, where the inhabitants of Morocco took the sailors captive.

And in this island remained Robert Machim with Anna of Arfet and the few sailors who were scouring the interior, with no ship to take them back to known lands, and barely a barge (escaler) in which they certainly would not attempt to brave the ocean waves. This isle, which appeared to them a paradise, now that they could not quit it, seemed to them a hideous prison-house. Deprivation of liberty, like the absence of sun, darkens and saddens the most charming landscape.

Anna of Arfet was unable to battle against all these varied emotions; her delicate organisation which had borne up bravely under the excitement of love and circumstances, now that she had to face a fearful reality, lost its powers of endurance, and after suffering for a time she succumbed and died. Robert Machim suffered a double sorrow, because he suffered for her and for himself. On beholding his loved one expire in his arms, reason well-nigh left him, and five days after her death the sailors who had wandered inland, on their return found him dead on the grave of Anna of Arfet. It appears that on arriving to the island the lovers had erected an altar in thanksgiving for their salvation, and it was at its foot that the sailors buried the lovers. After performing this pious duty the sailors embarked in the frail barque which still remained to them, preferring a probable death to the complete hopelessness of again seeing their native land, and they set sail towards the east, trusting to God and fate.

Meanwhile the survivors of the unfortunate ship from Bristol were carried on to the coast of Morocco, and being taken captives, were cast into dungeons along with other Christian victims of Mussalman piracy. One of these prisoners was a Spanish pilot, called Juan Morales, who became very friendly with the English captives, from whom he learnt the whole story of the new island they had found, and the latitude it stood.

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Years of captivity followed, and the English one by one died, victims of ill-treatment and home sickness, and of the trials they had endured. But Juan Morales, being of a more stoic character, survived them all. In the year 1416 the Prince D. Sancho, youngest son of the King D. Ferdinand of Aragon, died, leaving a large sum of money to be expended exclusively in the redemption of captives in Moorish lands. A long time elapsed before his wishes were carried out, but at length the redemption of captives was commenced, and one of the first ransomed was Juan Morales, and he returned to his native place.

The ship which conveyed Juan Morales was captured by the ship bearing João Gonçalves Zarco, probably on its return from Porto Santo, because Porto Santo had been already discovered. The motive for capturing this ship is not explained, because Portugal and Castille were at peace, and this act could not have been otherwise than an act of piracy. However, in the Middle Ages there did not exist modern scruples, and the continued demands made by the Portuguese Government to the Castillian and *vice versâ*, on account of similar facts, prove to us that these partial violations of treaties were frequent on the seas.

A captive now of the Portuguese instead of a captive of the Moors, Juan de Morales endeavoured to win the good graces of Gonçalves Zarco by revealing what he had heard from his fellow-captives and companions of Robert Machim, and offering to conduct him to that island, as the information he had acquired had been most minute.

Gonçalves Zarco brought the pilot to Portugal and presented him to D. Henrique, and receiving from him the necessary authorisation, he returned with the Spanish pilot to Porto Santo. It was then that the latter explained to Gonçalves Zarco that the black line in the horizon indicated the island of Madeira, and to which he at once conducted him. At the first shore they came to they disembarked, and found the graves of Anna of Arfet and Robert Machim, and the priests who had come in the expedition recited the responses for the dead over the graves of the English lovers. On this spot a church was erected, and in memory of the Englishman, Robert Machim, one of the two provinces into which the island was divided was called by the name of Machico, and this name still exists at the present day in one of the towns.

Such was the romantic legend of the first discovery of the island of Madeira. The discovery of Madeira greatly influenced various branches of public administration, notwithstanding a singular disaster

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which for some years prevented their realisation. We refer to a conflagration which, it is said, lasted seven years, and devoured a great portion of the great trees of the island, and which was thoughtlessly ordered by Gonçalves Zarco, in order to clear a space wherein to found the town of Funchal, now the city and capital. Hence the actual colonisation of the island of Madeira could only have commenced in 1425. The Infante, after dividing the island and assigning the portions to João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, and up to a certain point enriching the soil with the fecundating ashes of the conflagration, sent to Cyprus for slips of the celebrated species of vine which produces the wine called Malvasia, and to Sicily for roots of the sugar-cane, in order to commence important plantations in the island of Madeira, by which he encouraged agriculture, promoted commerce and industry with Portugal. Ferdinand Denis likewise tells us that D. Henrique sent for vines to Burgandy. The culture of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar became, in the course of time, extended to the island of S. Thomé, and later on even to Brazils. The arts, especially architecture, also gained considerably from the discovery of the island, because from the conflagration there was sufficient wood saved to allow Portugal to alter the system hitherto pursued in the construction of high-class residences, elevating houses by increase of floors, substituting them to the Roman and Arab styles

The discovery of the Desert Isles, due also to Gonçalves Zarco, if it had no very great material importance, on account of the smallness and the geological and geographical circumstances of the islands, nevertheless bore its fruit in morally increasing the desire for exploring the western sea, wherein new lands seemed to spring up as though by enchantment. In proportion as D. Henrique received auspicious information from the discoverers respecting the Atlantic, so did his desires increase to promote and activate fresh navigations, more particularly as it had not yet been possible to double Cape Bojador, despite the efforts made to realise this idea.

In the year 1431, the Infante D. Henrique resolved to send Gonçalo Velho Cabral to navigate the West, in order to find some islands which were supposed to exist in that direction. Some authors believe that the discovery of the Azores, like Madeira, took place in the fourteenth century, by Portuguese ships commanded by Genoese pilots, as these islands appear in the Lourenciana Chart of 1351; and no doubt this expedition was sent out by D. Henrique. In effect, Gonçalo Velho

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found the shallows of Formigas, between the isles of Santa Maria and Saint Michael, but gave no faith to these islands. He returned to Portugal with the news of the recent discovery, which would not be of any importance to a less exacting and enthusiastic spirit than that of the Infante, but he, not well satisfied, bade him in the following year navigate in the same direction. Gonçalo Velho departed, and this time discovered the island of Santa Maria, on the 15th August, being the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, for which reason this island, the first discovered in the Archipelago of the Azores, was named Santa Maria.

In passing, we shall just note the religious faith which shines in the greater number of the names given to lands discovered by Portuguese navigators, from Porto Santo up to Santa Cruz (Brazil). Even in our days, when over four hundred years have rolled by, are found deep vestiges of that ancient religious faith among the Portuguese sailors who navigate the most dangerous rivers. Where this fact is more manifestly developed is on the torrential River Douro. Among the most dangerous and difficult points of this river is that of Velleira, formed by sharp rocks which force the river to rush through a narrow gorge. On the roughest shore of this terrible passage, on the high mountain called Salvador do Mundo (Saviour of the World), rises a temple which calls from the sailors and boatmen of that river a devotion which appears to increase year by year. Let us see what they do when they sight the church placed over these frightful crags. "The sailors," says the Viscount de Villa-Maior, "uncover reverently and recite a short prayer. The severe aspect of nature, the sincere devotion of this rude people, the temple of the Saviour of the World erected above the heights, the silence which instinctively all preserve on approaching the Cachão da Velleira, all impose an irresistible respect to that spot."

We shall here give a short sketch of the two explorers to whom, as we said above, were assigned the island of Madeira, divided into two districts—Funchal and Machico.

João Gonçalves Zarco was, it appears, of a good family, and a bravo soldier. He was knighted by the Infante D. Henrique at the siege of Tangiers, from whence he escaped, being at the time already the owner of Funchal. But his maritime undertakings were not limited to the discovery of Madeira, because we find him figuring in the expeditions sent out by the Infante beyond the Cape Bojador.

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João Gonçalves was well versed in the art of navigation, because before he departed on the voyage which had driven him to Porto Santo, he already commanded the caravels which guarded the coasts of the Algarve. He married a lady called Constancia Rodrigues de Almeida, by whom he had three sons and four daughters, who all came to reside in Madeira.*

Tristão Vaz Teixeira was a valiant soldier, but not of such noble birth as Zarco, as Azurara informs us, but he equally distinguished himself by performing feats of arms, particularly during the continual skirmishes with the Moors at the gates of Ceuta.

On account of his singular chivalry, nobility of acts and deeds, says the author of the *Historia Insulana*, he was always called Tristão, without any other surname, and the King gave him for his arms the bird Fenix, which is singularly rare among birds, and in his testament he even then only calls himself Tristão. However, his descendants in the escutcheon joined to the Fenix a Cross and Fleur-de-Lis, the arms of the Teixeiras, and these arms are still to be seen sculptured in the arch of the chapel of St. John, in the principal church of Machico. He married a noble lady, who was evidently some relative, as she was called Branca Teixeira, a daughter of the illustrious house of Villa Real. From this marriage were born four sons and eight daughters.

These explorers, on taking possession of their magnificent possessions, at once, like good Catholics, erected churches in order to turn these lands feudatory to Christianity. In Machico was erected the oldest temple of the island, under the "invocation of Christ," says Antonio Cordeiro. In Funchal, Gonçalves Zarco erected a church under the invocation of Our Lady, and which was called Senhora de Calhaa, owing to the stony character of the spot.

After this they commenced the exploration of the island, which they found cut up by deep rivers. The coast was more fully examined. Some sailors proceeded inland, while the two leaders went by sea. During this exploration they gave the name of Ribeira Brava to the powerful river which they found difficult to traverse: Ponta do Sol to

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* Ferdinand Denis tells us that Gonçalves Zarco was the first who made use of artillery and powder in naval engagements. A well-known poet, Manuel Thomaz, preserved the memory of this curious fact in his *Insulana*, a book rare to find at the present day.

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a point where the rocks from the distance gleamed like the sun. This spot was chosen by Gonçalves Zarco to found a second town. Another place where they disembarked was called Calheta. Further down was later on founded the town of Calheta, which became the illustrious title of Count Simão Gonçalves da Camara. To a small promontory they named Ponta do Pargo, where they caught a fish of that name. Ponta do Tristão was another promontory which the owner of Machico discovered after he had separated from his colleague.

Meanwhile Bartholomew Perestrello returned to Porto Santo, the governorship of which belonged to him; but finding that the plague of rabbits had again overrun the place, returned disheartened to Portugal. Again he was persuaded to take heart and return to colonise the place, founding at last an establishment which continued to prosper, but did not attain the prosperity of Madeira.

Other islands near Madeira were discovered which are called Deserted; but finding that they were rocky and did not possess any springs of sweet water, he did not attempt to populate them, but only placed some cattle and birds, which quickly multiplied. Lastly, thirty miles to the south of Madeira, towards the Canary Islands, are two other large islands, which are called Selvagens (wild), at a distance of three leagues from each other.

Respecting the discovery of the islands of the Azores, or Western Isles, it appears they were visited by Portuguese ships, commanded by the Genoese Admiral, Manuel Pezagno, or Pesanha. The existence of a group of islands, though bearing different names from those given by the Portuguese, being demarcated in maps anterior to the year 1431, appears to prove that the Azores were known, but only in a vague manner. If we credit Jose de Torres, these islands, with the exception of the last two, were already discovered in the year 1439. It is unknown who discovered the island of Terceira. The name appears to indicate that it was the third discovered. Hence, after the discovery of Santa Maria and Saint Michael, it is known that it was found between the years 1444 and 1450, because Saint Michael being already discovered in 1444, there appears a donation made by the Infante D. Henrique in the year 1450 to a Flemish knight by name Jacome de Bruges, to whom he assigns the captaincy of the desert isle, for him to order its population. On this account the Dutch wished to take to themselves the glory of the discovery, but in this document

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of donation not the least allusion is made that this nobleman was the discoverer.

If what Antonio Cordeiro refers be true, a dramatic history is bound to the discovery of the island of Terceira. It appears Jacome of Bruges could not find people to settle in and populate the island. He went on to Madeira, where a friendship sprung up with a fidalgo called Diogo de Tieve, who offered to assist him in the colonisation of the isle. They returned to Terceira, and for a time lived in good fellowship, until ambition instigated Diogo de Tieve to become the only possessor of the island. He forged a letter purporting to come from Bruges, a Flemish city, from whence he took his surname. This letter announced to the owner of Terceira that a rich inheritance awaited him. Jacome embarked for Flanders and was never more heard of. The assassin, if in truth the crime took place, chose for the theatre of his perfidious act the magnificent solitudes of the ocean.

The same uncertainty occurs in the discovery of the island of Saint George. Antonio Cordeiro ascribes its discovery to Vasco Eanes Cortereal, the first owner or donor of the captaincy of Angra, because he was likewise the first possessor of Saint George. This statement is later on contradicted, as he declares that the first to populate the island was a Dutchman called Guilherme van der Haagen, who took the Portuguese surname of Silveira, which he said was equivalent to Haagen in Dutch.

It appears, however, that the many streams which flow in torrents from the high *serra* which stands in the centre down to the sea carried away the seed crops, and Haagen passed on to Fayal, where he established himself, and the captaincy of Saint George was later on given to the donor of Angra.

Antonio Cordeiro gives us the date of its discovery, and says, "It was found on the 23rd of April, the feast of the knight and brave martyr Saint George, and for this reason they gave his name to the island, but it is not known in what year."

The discoverer of the island of Graciosa is likewise unknown. The first populator is known to have been Vasco Gil Sodré, a native of Monte-môr-o-Velho, who, on hearing from the navigators of the beauty of the islands, which on that account had been named Graciosa, passed on to it and began to colonise it.

It is also unknown who discovered the island of Fayal, though it is known that its first owner was a Dutchman, whom the Portuguese

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called Joz d'Utra (Jobst van Heurter). When Fayal was discovered, its sister isle of Pico was found, as it stands about the distance of a league, and is plainly visible on account of the high peak which gives it the name.

Respecting the discovery of Pico there is a graceful legend quoted by Antonio Cordeiro. This historian tells us that the first discoverers of Terceira and Saint George placed in the island of Fayal some cattle, and that a holy hermit, wishful of leading a more solitary life, went to live in Fayal. The dwellers of Terceira and Saint George used to go in the summer-time to Fayal to look after the properties they had taken and their cattle, and to visit the hermit. Finding on one occasion that he was preparing a craft after his own fashion, they asked him what was the object of this ship, and he told them that from the quarter where stood the neighbouring island of Pico there had appeared to him the form of a woman robed in white, and as it seemed to him that it was the Virgin, he was constructing this little ship, encased in skins, and had resolved upon proceeding to it the next time she should call him. His listeners endeavoured to dissuade him, but the hermit paid no heed to them, and finished his little craft, embarked, and sped out to sea, and was never more seen or heard of.

In truth, it seems to us very probable that these first seven islands of the Azores were discovered at an epoch much earlier than it is imagined. The fact that this group was vaguely known confirms our opinion. After finding one island of the archipelago it is not likely that D. Henrique should have allowed eighteen years to elapse without finding them all. The discovery of the islands of Flores and Corvo was certainly much later, because they were separated from the rest, and the ancient maps give no indication of the nine islands which is the total constituting this archipelago.

The island of Flores is supposed by Antonio Cordeiro to have been discovered about the year 1464. He declared that it was so named because the island was found covered with magnificent flowers. The first inhabitants are unknown, but it is an ancient tradition that two Castillians, Antan Vaz and Lopo Vaz, were the first colonists. The same occurred in the discovery of Corvo, and the name was given either because they found a crow or raven, or because the island has that shape. It was in this island that it is said was found the famous statue which revealed America to its discoverers. Mounted on a steed of stone, the figure stood with arm extended towards the west, and

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appeared to indicate to those who leaped on land that a mysterious world was concealed beyond the waves, where the sun sets. The imagination of the people in those times was richer than in our contemporaries. On beholding rising up new lands from the fecund bosom of the ocean, fancy exalted itself and dreamed of marvels, like the ancients dreamt of the Elysian fields when they discovered the Fortunate Islands.

We must now speak of another archipelago of the ocean over which the Portuguese acquired rights more or less well founded. We refer to the group of Canary Islands. Although these had not been consecutively explored, they were known, although vaguely, before the expeditions projected by D. Henrique. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the discovery, or rather re-discovery, of the Canaries (since they were known to the ancients) was due to the Portuguese. For a long time this glory was attributed to the Castillians, yet it is clearly demonstrated that it belongs to the Portuguese, in proof of which stands a letter written by D. Alfonso IV. to Pope Clement VI.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century a Norman noble called John de Bettencourt, accompanied by other adventurers, formed the project of conquering the Canary Islands, which were frequented by pirates and occasionally by some Spanish merchants. These islands were inhabited by a savage population, whose customs were described in a manuscript by Boccacio. This French adventurer landed in the island of Lancerote, and endeavoured to take possession of the others. Unable to do so, he sought the aid of the King of Castille, pledging him homage on account of the islands he had taken possession of, and the King confirmed him in the feudatory sovereignty to the Castillian Crown. With the aid obtained from this vassalage, Bettencourt returned to the Canaries, and subjugated the island of Fuerteventura. He returned once again to France and brought new adventurers, with whose aid he took the island of Ferro. Wishing to end his days in France, he distributed the lands among his companions, and left his nephew, Maciot de Bettencourt, as his representative or viceroy. This Maciot of Bettencourt, after residing some time in the Canaries, unable to cope against the enmity of the natives, went over to Madeira, and in return for some privileges granted by the Infante D. Henrique, ceded to him his rights over the islands. In the year 1424 the Infante sent an expedition to this archipelago, commanded by D. Fernando de Castro, and composed, it is said, of 2,500 men and 120 horsemen. D. Fernando

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conquered a part of the islands, and would have conquered all but for the deficiency of provisions and the hostile attitude of the indigenous tribes. D. Henrique desired to send other expeditions, and in order to secure the proprietorship of the islands, he asked his brother D. Pedro to aid him, he being at the time Regent of the kingdom, by appointing him proprietor, which he did, and, moreover, expressedly forbade all persons of the kingdom to do business with the Canaries unless with the permission of the Infante, and assigned to him one-fifth of all that came from the islands. But the King of Castille intervened against the pretensions of the Infante, declaring himself the legitimate lord of the islands in virtue of the vassalage rendered by Bettencourt. Portugal insisted, founding its rights on the submission made by Maciot de Bettencourt. At length, after a prolonged discussion, Castille won the day. The King of Portugal was loth to start a war when Providence was laying at his feet new provinces, and ceased to claim the possession of this archipelago, which definitely belonged to the Castillian Crown.

After the taking of Ceuta, the Infante adopted the custom of sending every year some caravels beyond the Cape Não. Some Portuguese historians, such as Galvão Faria and Sousa, and Damiano de Goes, maintain that to the caravels of D. Henrique belongs the glory of having first doubled the Cape Não. The Cape Bojador was the limit of the navigation of that time. Besides the superstitious terrors which the legends of the Dark Seas infused into Portuguese navigators, and the erroneous suppositions concerning the sea which bathed those coasts, they were terrified at the idea of having to alter their course and proceed towards the west. The sailors insisted that beyond this Cape there did not exist either people or any habitations, the land being no less sandy than the deserts of Lybia, where there exists neither water nor tree nor green herb, and where the sea is so shallow that for a whole league the water is no deeper than an arm's length. Such is the relation by Azurara. Twelve years the Portuguese spent in these vain attempts. In order to excuse themselves to the Prince for not daring to double the Cape, the navigators would take their revenge by attacking the Moors of Granada and the Arabs of Africa, and would not return to Portugal unless bringing some prey taken from the infidels. It was from one of these attempts that resulted the finding of Madeira.

One of the knights of the Infante who more ardently desired to

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double Cape Bojador was Gil Eanes, of whom we know nothing but that he was born in Lagos. In 1433 he departed, intending to seek the dreaded promontory, but disheartened by these terrors, returned to Portugal without proceeding beyond the Canary Islands, but bringing a few captives to compensate for his fears. D. Henrique on the following year sent him again in the newly furnished ship. Gil Eanes pledged this time either to double the Cape Bojador or die. In a short space of time he returned, surprised that he should have found it so easy to accomplish the feat which all had dreaded. The Infante received him with every demonstration of joy and welcome, and knighted him, bestowing upon him a rich recompense.

The spell had been broken and the barrier raised which for so long a time had stood before the imagination of the men of the West, and which afforded access to those unknown regions, alleging that by the dauntless gaze of a man of courage the pillars of Hercules and the symbolical statues erected by the fears of Arab geographers had been broken down; the veil being rent by the prow of the barque of Gil Eanes, the phantoms had fled towards more remote regions, pursued constantly by the daring Portuguese to the furthest horizon, until at length they had dissolved in mists lost in the abyss of legendary lore. But it is not the simple fact of doubling Cape Bojador which confers glory on Gil Eanes, it is having intrepidly confronted the fears which terrified his contemporaries, and of having opened a path to Portuguese expeditions.

On reaching to Cape Bojador, Gil Eanes despatched a boat to land, but could find no trace of inhabitants. Wishing to bring, nevertheless, some sign of the newly discovered land, he gathered some herbs, known in Portugal by the name of Roses of St. Mary, or, as Denis supposes, the flower called Rose of Jericho. Like the heroes in the romances of chivalry, he penetrated unknown perils in new regions in order to cull this marvellous flower. Like to the branch of gold gathered by Eanes, which opened to the hero of Virgil the entrance to the Elysian fields, so did the Rose of St. Mary prove the talisman which opened to the Portuguese the paradise of India.

The Infante, unwilling to allow the ardour of his knights for discovery to cool, projected another expedition. In this the navigators went fifty leagues beyond Cape Bojador, and reached a creek which they called Angra dos Ruivos. They found no houses on the land, but traces of inhabitants and camels. They returned to Portugal, bringing this news, which was received with joy by the Infante.

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In 1436 the Infante D. Henrique, fired by the news of vestiges of men and camels being found in this spot, sent the navigators in the same direction, bidding them make every effort to acquire the language, capturing some of the dwellers and bringing them to Portugal. Gonçalves Baldaya proceeded in the same craft as formerly, and reached a place supposed to be the Rio do Oiro (River of Gold). This was no more than a bay, and here he anchored. He landed with two horses, and bidding two youths called Hector Homen and Diogo Lopes de Almeida to mount them, bade them explore the land. These youths started and found a group of nineteen men, armed with assegais, who fled as soon as they beheld the horsemen. They took refuge in a crevice, where they fought the young men and wounded one of them in the foot. On the following day Alfonso Gonçalves Baldaya, with some of the crew, went on land to find and capture some of the natives, but they had fled into the interior so precipitately that they had left their things behind, which were taken by the Portuguese. But as their principal aim was to capture a prisoner, Baldaya proceeded more than fifty leagues to the south, until he reached Ponta da Galé, but was unable to find any native, and only found some nets made from the fibre of trees.

He returned very dissatisfied to Portugal, but his expedition was not altogether fruitless, because he had discovered 170 leagues of coast beyond Cape Bojador.

From this until the year 1441 there was an interruption in the discoveries. The unfortunate expedition of Tangiers, the death of D. Duarte, the discords which followed during the minority of D. Alfonso V., withdrew the attention of D. Henrique from the undertaking he had so much at heart.

In 1441, when affairs were a little more tranquil, D. Henrique ordered a small ship to be armed and manned, and appointed Antão Gonçalves to proceed to Rio do Oiro and bring oil and skins of the sea-wolves which abounded there. When he arrived to the place, Gonçalves summoned all the crew and officers, and declared to them that he thought they might gain glory and be highly commended were they to bring some captives from that land. This resolution was applauded, and in effect they proceeded along the coast until they found a man bearing in his hand two assegais, who followed a camel. They fell upon the man and captured him, despite a desperate resistance. They also captured a Moorish blackwoman in sight of a group of men whose slave she was.

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These men attempted to rescue her, but retreated in view of the martial aspect of the Portuguese. They then returned to their ship, taking with them these two prisoners. But here an extraordinary event awaited them. In this port where Antonio Gonçalves anchored, another ship likewise ported. This ship was Portuguese, and commanded by a knight of the Infante, called Nuno Tristão. It was a strange event that two Portuguese ships should meet in these remote regions, and to the explorers of that epoch the apparition of a sail in the distance was an event well-nigh impossible. Hence the joy of Antão Gonçalves may well be imagined.

After the first greetings, Nuno Tristão informed Gonçalves that the Infante had sent him to prosecute the discoveries beyond the Ponta da Galé, and on hearing of the prize taken by Gonçalves they were fired with emulation, and resolved together to proceed and take further captives by night, which they did, and among them caught the chief, called Andahú. The language spoken by them was unknown even to the Arab interpreter whom Nuno had brought with him. The chief alone understood Arabic, and from him they learnt that these people were Azenegues, inhabitants of the coast of Sahara, between the coast of Morocco and that of Senegambia. The proofs of courage and skill afforded by Antonio Gonçalves were so signal that the officers and crews of both ships unanimously besought Nuno Tristão to knight him. Hence from that circumstance the port or bay where the two caravels had anchored was called Porto do Cavalleiro (Knight's Port). Wishing to enter into negotiations with the Azenegues, he sent the Arab interpreter to land; but the Azenegues behaved treacherously, although they retained the chief as their prisoner. Then both ships weighed anchor, Nuno Tristão in order to continue his voyage of discoveries, and Antão Gonçalves to return to Portugal with the captives. On returning, when passing opposite the Ponta da Galé, he descried a promontory formed of white cliffs, and named it Cabo Branco (White Cape).

The return to Portugal of Antonio Gonçalves with the captives caused great joy to the Infante; but notwithstanding that the chief Andahú was treated with the greatest kindness, he pined to return to his native land, and besought Gonçalves to take him back, promising a good ransom.

It was on this occasion that the Infante D. Henrique sent an embassy to Pope Eugenio IV. to apprise him of the new discoveries,



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beseeching him to grant indulgences to all who should die in those undertakings. This boon was immediately granted. At the same time the regent D. Pedro, his brother, conceded to him a fifth of what might accrue to the King, meanwhile ordering that no one should be able to equip ships to proceed to those parts without permission from the Infante.

Urged by the pleadings of Andahú, Gonçalves proposed to the Infante to return to the Rio do Oiro and obtain a more ample knowledge of those lands. The Infante acceded to his request, and bade Gonçalves endeavour to find some information about India, and also respecting the famous Prester John,* the monarch who followed the law of Christ and lived among pagans.

Again did Antonio Gonçalves depart to the Rio do Oiro, taking with him a German knight called Balthazar, a nobleman of the household of the Emperor Frederick III. He had come to combat the Moors in Ceuta, but on beholding the activity of the Infante D. Henrique in promoting navigations, he desired to take part in them. War and strife was common to all Europe, but the especial pleasure of discovery was only in Portugal that it could be found.

On quitting Lagos a terrible storm overtook them, and the ship of Gonçalves had to return to port. Again they set sail towards Africa, and reached the Rio do Oiro, where he sent on land the chief Andahú, in order that he should arrange about his ransom; but he never more appeared, taking, moreover, with him all the rich robes the Infante D. Henrique had given him. In compensation, however, many Azenegues came to arrange the ransom of the two youths who had remained as hostages, for which they gave ten black slaves, a large quantity of gold dust, a dagger, and many ostrich eggs, some of which were still fresh and good when brought to the Infante. Gonçalves returned to Portugal with the negroes.

In the year 1443 Nuno Tristão departed in a caravel to discover the coast beyond Cape Branco, and reached an island which he named Gete,

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* This tradition of Prester John is most ancient, but his kingdom occupied various positions in maps, going from India to Africa, until it became fixed in Abyssinia, where in effect Christianity exists since remote times. In a document of the twelfth century, found by Mr. Thomassy in the Library of Nancy, it is recorded that the Patriarch of the Indies had come to Rome. The reigning Pontiff was Calistus II., and the arrival of this personage from India produced throughout Italy a great surprise.

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and which is known at the present day as Arguim.* At Arguim, Nuno Tristão captured fifteen of the natives, who were passing in rafts from this place to another island, which Tristão called the Island of Garças, from the great number of herons which abounded there, and he then returned to Portugal. The discovery of the coast of Sahara was now completed, and that of the coast of Senegambia had commenced.

These undertakings and expeditions, projected and carried out by the Infante D. Henrique, had not been effected without great resistance and opposition, and when he began to populate the deserted islands of the Atlantic and to send out ships with orders to pass beyond the Cape Bojador, there arose great murmurs against him, the people complaining that he wasted wealth and risked valuable lives in attempts of small value and profit. But when the cultivation of these islands began to yield its fruits, and when from the lands beyond Bojador came slaves to the kingdom in numbers, the popular feeling altered its tone, and accusations became turned into praises and discontent into avarice.

It was Diniz Dias, shieldbearer in the service of the late D. João I., who had the boldness to repair to the coast of Senegambia, or land of negroes, in order to pursue the discoveries initiated by Nuno Tristão. In the year 1445, when the expeditions were multiplying, he left Portugal with the firm resolve of not returning until he should visit the land of the negroes. He passed Cape Branco, the mouth of Senegal, and arrived to a cape he named Cape Verde, on account of the luxuriance of vegetation which it presented. He captured some negroes and returned to Portugal, where he was received with signal honour by the Infante, not on account of the importance of the capture, but what he valued more highly—the extension of discovery.

The coast of Senegambia was now discovered, the mouth of the celebrated Senegal passed, the country of the negroes entered, and the position of Guinea rectified, although the limits which were afterwards attributed had not yet been reached.

Seven months after the departure of João Fernandes on his African exploration, three Portuguese ships went forth to meet him. These were commanded by Garcia Homen, Diogo Alfonso, and Antão Gonçalves, the last being the chief commander of the expedition. A violent

* At this place the Infante, in 1448, ordered a fort to be constructed. This fort was taken by the Dutch in 1638, then by the English in 1675, by the French in 1678, then again by the Dutch in 1685, once more by the French in 1721, and by the Dutch for the third time in 1722.

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storm separated them, and Diogo Alfonso, the first of the three to reach Cabo Branco, placed a wooden cross which subsisted down to the time when Azurara wrote his book. After planting the cross, the other two ships arrived, and Antão Gonçalves proposed to leave their caravels there and the captains to proceed in their barges to the island of Arguim. This was done, and during the three days they were absent they took over twenty blacks. On their return to the ships they found that the caravels, in obedience to orders, had sailed towards the island of Arguim, but as they did not know the exact position, they proceeded more to the south, and on anchoring they perceived a man running along the coast. This man was no other than João Fernandes, who, wild with delight, had sighted his countrymen, but was greatly distressed that he could not reach the caravels. On that occasion, however, the barges appeared, and João Fernandes was received with extraordinary joy. This spot was called the Cape of Rescue (Cabo do Resgate). From thence Antão Gonçalves proceeded with the three ships as far as the island of Tider, where they had a fierce combat with the natives. Returning to Portugal, Gonçalves touched at Cape Branco, where he took sixty natives, and finally ported in Lisbon.

The narrative of João Fernandes is very interesting. He tells that the first thing the natives did was to strip him of his European clothes in exchange for a raiment similar to what they used, called *Alquice*. These were nomade shepherds, the land was nearly all a sand desert, with few trees, few flowers, and sparse grass. The trees which were most numerous were the *Palma Christi*, palm-trees and various thorns.

These inhabitants, which professed the Mussalman religion, were called Alarves, Azenegues, or Berbers. Their language differed both in writing and speech from that of other Moors.

END OF SEVENTH BOOK.

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# THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

## BOOK THE EIGHTH.

### 1447—1481.

### REIGN OF D. ALFONSO V.

**Acts of aggression against the Infante D. Pedro—The ex-Regent retires from Court—Intervention of the Infante D. Henrique—Fresh persecutions against D. Pedro—Arrival of the Duke of Braganza—Resistance of the ex-Regent—Journey of D. Pedro from Coimbra to Alfarrobeira—Incidents on the road—The two armies approach and war is declared—Death of the Infante D. Pedro—The last Portuguese Knight—After the battle—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor—Character of D. Alfonso V.—Dawn of the Renaissance—Letter of the Marquis of Santilhana—Literary education of the King—Resentments of the Infante D. Ferdinand—The taking of Constantinople by the Turks—Political state of Europe—Marriage of the Infanta D. Joanna—Death of the Queen D. Isabella—Project of a crusade against the Turks—Correlative facts—The taking of Alcacer Seguer—Heroism of D. Isabella de Castro—Guadalupe—Arzilla—Tangiers—Continuation of the Portuguese discoveries—Death of the Infante D. Henrique—Marriage of Alfonso V. with D. Joanna—The battle of Toro—Departure of Alfonso V. to France—Character of Louis XI.—Alfonso V. wishes to proceed to Jerusalem—He returns to Portugal—His death.**

The state of the kingdom of Portugal at the time when D. Alfonso V. definitely grasped the sceptre has been already sufficiently described, as well as the germs of discords which had been sown between the Infante D. Pedro and his nephew, fostered by the resentment of the Count of Barcellos.

The illegitimate son of D. João I., as soon as D. Pedro delivered up to Alfonso the government of the kingdom, departed to the town of Chaves in war guise, and traversing the cities of Oporto and Guimarães, the town of Ponte de Lima, and other places of that district, deprived

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the servants of the Infante D. Pedro of their respective appointments, and ordered the fortresses to be guarded and watched as though in effect war had been formally declared between the young King and the former Regent.

The Count of Barcellos, whom the Regent in 1442 had created Duke of Braganza, and the Count de Ourem, secretly charged one Barredo, who was of the Royal household, to foment a calumnious intrigue between the King and his uncle. Through the intervention of Barredo, it was arranged that the King should have an interview in Torres Novas with the Count of Ourem, and in this interview they induced the King to dismiss D. Pedro from the Court, as otherwise, they urged, he could never be entirely freed from the yoke of the Infante, whom, they affirmed, desired to reign and exalt his own sons.

D. Pedro was aware of what passed, and simulating great tranquillity of spirit, which he certainly could not possess in this hour of persecution and vengeance, he hastened to meet his nephew in Santarem, where he besought leave to absent himself from the Court, as he desired to attend to his own house, which he had abandoned in the interest of public affairs.

As D. Alfonso had not at that moment his wretched councillors at his side, he received his uncle with all that expansion proper to his youthful age, and gave him leave of absence, and passed a receipt in full for all the time he had served as Regent.

D. Pedro then retired to Coimbra, but suspecting some ambuscade from the Duke of Braganza, he had a numerous escort to accompany him as far as Thomar. As soon as the Duke and the Archbishop learnt that the Infante had departed, they raised up supposed resentments in the spirit of the King against the Infante D. Pedro—intrigues which had been furthered by the former servants of the Queen D. Leonor, whom the regency of D. Pedro had prejudiced in their ambitions.

We must here mention the intervention of the Infante D. Henrique in this affair, as narrated by Ruy de Pina: "The King quitted Santarem for Lisbon, where the Infante D. Henrique, who was in the Algarve, hastened to reach in order to speak to him, because he felt that the life and honour of the Infante, his brother, had been assailed by his enemies, and were in peril. His accusers brought against him falsely, that in his ambition for reigning, he was guilty of poisoning and fratricide, that D. Leonor had been poisoned by his orders, as also

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D. Duarte, and the same fate awaited the King unless some term was put to his insolence."

Although D. Henrique defended him, yet he did not do so with that firmness and brotherly ardour which he ought to have shown, and all historians are one in censuring his conduct. But even this cold, half-hearted defence was of no avail, and those who surrounded him found a way to prejudice the spirit of the King against D. Henrique.

But in the midst of the general apathy of the friends of D. Pedro, one only remained active, faithful, and heroic, ready to immolate himself to save the life and honour of the noble Infante, and incapable of collusion with the enemies of this just man, of double dealing under any consideration, of a moment's repose while there was a question of defending a friend and a loyal man. This individual—one of the noblest found in our annals—was Alvaro Vaz de Almada, Count of Abranches in Normandy, and Knight of the Order of Jarreteira. He had been knighted by the Infante D. Pedro in the Mosque of Ceuta, and the duties of fraternal love and dedication which this ceremony imposed, he fulfilled in all its fulness.

The Count of Abranches was at that moment in Ceuta, but as soon as he learnt the intrigues which were rising against the Infante D. Pedro, his beloved friend, he resolved to proceed to Lisbon in the hope of repressing the calumny, which during his absence had assumed great proportions. On being apprised of the arrival of the Count, the enemies of D. Pedro endeavoured to induce the King to forbid his entrance into the capital. But Alfonso V., although at an age when credulity is blind, had been educated in the chivalrous traditions of his grandfather, and enthusiastically admired Alvaro Vaz de Almada beyond all others. But the enemies of the Infante did not lose hope, and sent word to the Count de Abranches that should he insist upon entering the capital, he would be taken prisoner as conniving in many acts of the Infante. Alvaro Vaz fearlessly presented himself at the Court at the very moment when the King, surrounded by many fidalgos, was discussing affairs relative to his uncle. The enemies of the Infante were perfectly amazed at this daring act of the Count de Abranches, who, in presence of the King and Court, laid before them with stern calmness the services performed by the Infante D. Pedro, his virtues and deeds, alluding to the threats by which they had attempted to intimidate him, and concluded by challenging

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solemnly the enemies of the Infante, and provoking three of them to come forward and fight himself alone.

The conspirators felt themselves vividly embarrassed, and, in order to withdraw the King from the influence of the Count of Abranches, they took hurriedly D. Alfonso V. to Cintra, where beneath its leafy shades and favoured by distance, they could counteract the threats and reprimands of Alvaro Vaz de Almada. In effect, in Cintra they succeeded better to dominate the young impressionable spirit of D. Alfonso V., and induced him to publish a warning to all fidalgos and knights of the kingdom not to visit the Infante D. Pedro, and another *warning* to all the favourites of the Queen D. Leonor who should consider themselves wronged in their interests by the Government of the Infante, to send in their claim for indemnification, which was actually done without any process of verification. Lastly, the enemies of the Infante were able to obtain from D. Alfonso V. an order prohibiting the Infante D. Pedro to return to the capital without previous authorisation, or to quit his lands.

When the King left for Cintra, the Count of Abranches and the Infante D. Henrique had departed for Coimbra to visit D. Pedro. This interview of the three could not be otherwise than shadowed by such manifest indications of rupture with the King. In effect, it was not long before aggressions, as we have said, broke out on the part of the King. The Infantes, however, sent an intermediary to their nephew, D. Alfonso V., beseeching him to revoke such baseless orders. The King evaded the reply, by promising to send it by another person. The two brothers then separated: the Infante D. Pedro proceeded to the Castle of Montemor-o-Velho, and the Infante D. Henrique to the town of Soure.

When D. Pedro was in Montemor-o-Velho, he received a messenger from the King bearing a species of treaty of alliance between the King, the Duke of Braganza, and the Infante. This treaty must necessarily be grievous to D. Pedro, because in it there was an allusion to the faults he was not guilty of, and this treaty must needs be signed by him. It was one more intrigue and weapon of his enemies, as, if he refused to sign it, they would accuse him of disobedience to the King. The Infante saw the snare and signed the treaty. They were disarmed, but his enemies directed their aim to another direction, and urged the King to send Diogo da Silveira to the Infante to reprehend him for supposed crimes, especially of preparing for war in his castles of

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Montemor and Coimbra. The Infante ordered the castles to be shown them, in order that they should be convinced that no extraordinary preparations had been effected; but, despite all this, the King still persisted in persecuting the friends of the Infante. He deprived Alvaro Vaz of being Alcaide of the Castle of Lisbon, and the son of the Infante D. Pedro the office of Constable of the Kingdom, which office the Count of Ourem desired for himself, but which he conferred on his brother, the Infante D. Ferdinand.

Yet still more fierce grew the conspiracy of the palace against D. Pedro around the youthful King, and D. Alfonso V. sent to his uncle, demanding the surrender of all the arms he possessed in the arsenal of Coimbra, and which the Constable D. Pedro had brought from Castille when he proceeded to aid the King D. João in fighting the Aragonese princes.

The Infante D. Pedro perfectly comprehended the aim of this demand. Should he accede, he would remain with no defence; if he refused, he would fall into the trap of disobedience and rebellion, and then the indignation of the King would seem just and reasonable. The Infante excused himself as skilfully as he could, but the King insisted. Then the Infante replied that the King had no need of the aid of arms, either for the interior of the kingdom or out of it; and whereas, in view that his arms of innocence were insufficient for defending himself against his enemies, he besought him to leave him those of steel; but should the King not be satisfied with this, to give him time to order other arms from abroad, or allow him to redeem them by money.

The Count of Arrayollos, who had been appointed the Governor of Ceuta after the death of the Count of Villa Real, came to the Court. It appears the Count of Arrayollos intended to effect a reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew by endeavouring to bring to the capital the Infante D. Pedro, in order that he should personally defend himself. The Count of Arrayollos wished to show himself grateful to the Infante, who had appointed him, and he was fully informed of the whole intrigue by letters received from his uncle, D. Pedro. But the Duke of Braganza, his father, and his brother, the Count of Ourem, were on the eve of gaining the cause, and it did not suit them to allow any one to oppose them. Hence they invented a story that the Moors had surrounded, or were about to besiege Ceuta, and therefore the Count of Barcellos was forced to return immediately to Africa. The

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conspiracy was therefore gaining ground, and it was now of no avail the counter action of some friends of the Infante D. Pedro, and his own letters to the King, in which he expressed his loyalty and respect, and reminded him of his love when bringing him up, and bade him never forget that he had wedded his daughter, most certainly with the object of perpetuating his *life and royal generation*.

D. Alfonso V., when by himself, seemed disposed to listen to his uncle, but very quickly would the palace intrigue again involve him in its web.

Towards the beginning of October, 1447, the King proceeded to Cintra, and the Count of Ourem, thinking to find another snare for the Infante D. Pedro, insinuated to the King that it would be convenient to summon to the Court the Duke of Braganza, and bade him come in war guise, as he should have to cross the lands of the Infante D. Pedro, because, should the Infante prevent his passage, the King would come upon him.

D. Pedro, on knowing what was passing, took counsel from those around him, and, following the opinion of the Count de Abranches, resolved upon combating the Duke by force of arms, in view that so opportunely the hour of vengeance and of settling affairs had come. The Infante D. Pedro furthermore sent word to his brother D. Henrique who was in Thomar, of what he proposed to do, as he, though he had another road, intended to pass through the town of Louzã without first asking permission to do so.

The Infante D. Henrique replied that he, the Infante D. Pedro, should do nothing without interviewing each other.

Wishing, however, to right himself, the ex-Regent sent a message to the Duke to the effect that he marvelled greatly at his proceedings with him, and the Duke cunningly replied that he was going to the Court by orders of the King through public roads, and that he would not allow his men to cause any damage to the lands of the Infante D. Pedro. The latter replied that to proceed to the Court it was not necessary that the Duke should traverse his lands with 1,600 horsemen and many foot-soldiers, and that should he insist on so doing he would be forced to stop his passage.

The Count of Ourem, who was aware that the Duke was accompanied by a great number of men who were not partial to him, and who were only recruited for the occasion, besought the Infante D. Ferdinand, brother to the King, and who was married to a granddaughter of the

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Duke, to write letters to the fidalgos who were to accompany him to be very careful in this expedition. This Infante was young and fiery, and he not only wrote the desired letters, but offered to go personally to aid the Duke; this offer being made by letter sent by the bearer, Alvaro de Faria. The spies which the Infante had placed on the roads apprehended the bearer of the letters, which were read by the Infante.

On returning to the Court, Alvaro de Faria reported what had taken place in the blackest colours, which led the King at once to suspend the pensions he paid him, meanwhile writing to the Infante bidding him not to attempt to molest the Duke on the road.

The messenger of this royal order on returning to the Court spitefully told the King that the Infante D. Pedro had declared open rebellion. It was an artful way of stirring up the conflagration, which the King at once published in the kingdom in order to turn public opinion against the Infante. But the truth was that D. Pedro told every one, including D. João Manuel, the Bishop of Ceuta, that he would freely allow the Duke to pass if he came as a peaceful friend, but not otherwise.

Meanwhile the Infante D. Pedro waited in vain for his brother D. Henrique, who, instead of proceeding to Penella where the ex-Regent was, went to the King in Santarem—a fact which has been censured, and to which no easy explanation has been afforded, unless it was that the King had sent for him on purpose to prevent his aiding the Infante D. Pedro.

But time was speeding, and yet the journey of the Duke was not effected. The King sent word to D. Pedro to return to Coimbra, from whence he was not to depart without his orders, and to allow the Duke freely to pass. To this D. Pedro replied that he would be pleased to allow him to pass if he came as a friend, but that if he, the King, reprehended him, with far greater reason should he reprehend the Duke, as between them there was difference of position; but that at least in presence of royal justice he should place them in identity of circumstances and rights.

Assisted by the protection of the King, the Duke resolved upon performing his journey with his soldiers, and the Infante resolved upon departing from Penella to Louzã, from whence he proceeded in war guise to Villarinho. At that place he learnt that the Duke was in Coja, protected by the Bishop of Coimbra.

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In Villarinho the Infante ranged his men in form of battle, entrusting the vanguard to his son Jayme and the Count of Abranches, and reserved the command of the rearguard to himself. On advancing up to the town of Serpiz, he learnt that the Duke was near at hand. The Count of Abranches, impelled by his natural ardour, desired to see the enemy's camp, and on his return advised the Infante to begin the battle that same day, because the troops of the Duke were disheartened and undisciplined. The Infante, however, was of opinion to await the Duke and to rest that day, and also that the Duke might not allege that he had been attacked without notice.

The illegitimate son of D. João I. knew, however, that his camp had been explored by the scouts of the Infante, and that his own people marched but coldly to the combat, as many of them were really in favour of the Infante; and, not wishing to retreat because he had been told that D. Pedro had ordered all the bridges and ships of the Mondego to be rendered useless—which really was not the case—he resolved to cross secretly the Serra da Estrella, which lay to the left. This he effected with great difficulty, owing to the bad roads and the snow, and it was during this journey that he took a violent cold, which left dire effects for the rest of his life.

When those he left behind knew of this proceeding they were truly disheartened; moreover, feared the Infante would come upon them. They therefore endeavoured to fly in the direction of Covilha, forsaking their baggage, which the shepherds of the Serra took possession of, many of them perishing on the road.

The Infante was only made aware of the resolve of the Duke when he had proceeded four or five leagues. D. Pedro was joyed at this incident, which prevented an effusion of blood. Others, especially the Count of Abranches, were disappointed, and advised the Infante to proceed to the ambush of the Duke; but the Infante refused to follow the counsel, and, before retiring to Coimbra, he dismissed with grateful words those who had mustered around him to defend and aid him.

These events occurred during Lent of 1449. The enemies of the Infante D. Pedro designedly feasted the Duke of Braganza on his arrival to the Court, which was then in Santarem, not only to cover up the cowardice which had induced him to alter his road, as also to place the ex-Regent in an apparently false position. Some even endeavoured to fire the spirit of the young King by saying that he ought to show

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himself offended at the proceedings of the Infante D. Pedro, and not with the Duke. This opinion was, however, overthrown in council by the Infante D. Henrique, who declared that he would never consent that it should be said that any son of D. João I. had or could injure his king and liege-lord. The enemies of the Infante D. Pedro recoiled for a moment at this intervention of D. Henrique, but nevertheless the intrigue was rekindled. Up to a certain point, the chronicler, Ruy de Pina, lays, in a great measure, the responsibility of previous events to the *nonchalance* of the Infante D. Henrique in this affair.

Day by day the gravity of circumstances became greater. The King ordered that throughout the kingdom preparations of war should be made to combat the Infante, giving letters of pardon to all refugees who would wish to accompany him, and bidding those who sided for D. Pedro to quit him. The ex-Regent was accused of disobedience and disloyalty to the King.

The Constable D. Pedro was in the town of Fronteira when he was informed that the King, suspecting that he might receive aid from the Master of Alcantara, was about to surround him and besiege him. He immediately passed on to Marvão, in order to resist. He was advised, however, not to aggravate the position of his father by a resistance which could have no good effect, in view of the disproportion of forces and the want of means. Whether this advice was perfidious or not is not known, but the Constable D. Pedro departed for Valencia de Alcantara, where the Master received him discourteously, leaving in Marvão an alcaide, who delivered up the castle to the one whom the King sent to demand it.

Meanwhile at the Court the intrigue had assumed grave proportions, and hostilities were about to break out. The Queen wished to warn her father by letter that her husband intended to depart on 5th of May (1449), to besiege him, and that in the event of the Infante D. Pedro being conquered, one of the three following fates awaited him: "A shameful death, perpetual imprisonment, or exile for life out of the kingdom."

The Infante disguised his emotion in presence of the bearer, and calmly inquired after the health of the King and Queen, but as soon as the messenger departed, he opened his heart to his friends and besought them to give him their individual advice as to what he should do.

The opinions of his counsellors were divided into three groups:—

First, that of D. Alvaro Alfonso: That D. Pedro ought not to go

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and seek his death, but await it. To fortify himself in Coimbra, whose siege would be a long one, giving thus time for reflection to the King, and that by the mouth of Buarcos he could easily be delivered in case of need.

Second, that of the brothers Azevedos, and the brothers Coelhos: That the Infante pass on to the Province of Douro, where he would find aid from various fidalgos, and where the King could not easily follow him.

Third, that of the Count of Abranches: That he ought rather to die an honoured, glorious death than live a miserable existence and dishonoured; that he should ask the King permission to justify himself of the accusations of his enemies, and take from them their apologies, and should this demand not be accepted, then to defend himself and die on the battlefield like a good soldier and a brave knight.

This latter counsel was the one adopted by the Infante with apparent calmness of spirit.

Meanwhile the womanly heart of the Queen was being torn asunder between the husband and the father; moreover, she was soon to become a mother, and her feelings vibrating under opposite sentiments and bitterest anguish, endeavoured to arrest the great catastrophe which she felt imminent. The Queen fell on her knees before the King and besought mercy for her father. The King gently raised her to his arms and promised to be merciful if the Infante besought his pardon. The Queen asked leave to apprise the Infante of this, and the King consented.

The first thought of the ex-Regent was to refuse to ask pardon for supposed crimes, but remembering that between him and the King stood his daughter in the most critical position of life, he decided to agree to the proposal. But when the reply reached the Court, Alfonso V. had already been newly heated by the intrigue which was around him. He had repented of his weakness in regard to his wife, and sought a pretext for refusing the proffered favour. This pretext he found in a phrase of the letter from the Infante, which was as follows: "This I do, lady, rather to please you, and because you have so bidden me, than because I deem it in reason for me to do." The King then replied, that as the repentance of the Infante was only forced or feigned, he would not accept it. Hostilities were therefore recommenced. Meantime, some friends of the Infante D. Pedro pleaded that he should not depart in war guise, but rather await the

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result, whether good or bad. This was especially urged by two religious, Friar Antão, the Prior of the Monastery of Aveiro, and Friar Deniz, who later on became the King's Confessor, and these succeeded in winning the consent of the Infante to allow them to arrange the concord; D. Pedro even promising as a guarantee of his word that his sons should remain as hostages with the King.

Friar Antão then immediately departed to the Court, but intrigue had preceded him, and he was prevented from seeing the King and deliver his letters to him.

As no satisfactory reply came from the Court, because, in truth, Friar Antão had none to give, the Infante prepared to depart before the 5th of May, the date when the King had fixed to besiege him in Coimbra. The King no doubt had this intention, but the unavoidable difficulties of raising men and arms in such a short space of time would render it little probable that he should be able to lay siege at that date. However, they apprised the King that the Infante had resolved upon attacking him in Santarem, which news greatly pleased the Duke, since it appeared that fate was bringing to his hands his enemy. The King being forewarned, placed frontier captains in the castles around Coimbra.

On the 5th of May the Infante quitted Coimbra with his army, although experiencing grave financial difficulties, which his partisans supplied with loans. His son, D. Jayme, was entrusted with the command of the vanguard. The Infante, whose forces comprised 100 horsemen and 5,000 foot-soldiers, with much baggage, oxen, and beasts, before departing from the city, attended divine service in the cathedral, the churches of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara. After these religious acts he bade adieu to his wife and proceeded calmly to spend the night in Egoa. In the Infante's camp two flags waved—one bore the motto, "*Lealdade,*" and the other, "*Justiça e Vingança.*" Around these flags slumbered peacefully brave fidalgos, such as the Count of Abranches, who had linked their destiny to the fate of arms of the Infante D. Pedro; yet this sacred and sworn pledge was unable to deprive them of peace of mind and body. But in the soul of the Infante D. Pedro a great wrestling was taking place at that hour, anguishing thoughts that in that journey would certainly result mourning for the wife and the daughter.

On the following day the Infante D. Pedro divided his men into companies, and then informed them that his aim was to proceed as a

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loyal servant of the King to ask and obtain justice. He recommended them to abstain from robbery and evil, and to pay fairly for all provisions they should take, and bade them take no notice of what they should hear, however disagreeable it might be. They then started on their march, and when near the Monastery of Batalha, the Ranger, who had been formerly surgeon to D. João I., attempted to resist the Infante, but the monks would not allow this, and opening the doors, sent word to ask him how he would wish to be received, to which the Infante replied that they should await him chanting the psalm, "*Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi in protectione Dei Cœli commorabitur.*"

D. Pedro then assisted at mass in the church of the monastery, and lingered some time before the sepulchre which he was to fill some day in the chapel of the founder. He then continued the march to Alcobaça, where he was most genially received by the friars. On reaching the Rio Maior, about five leagues from Santarem, the Infante summoned a council to discuss whether it was expedient that he should proceed personally to the Court or send emissaries to the King to demand justice. The general opinion was that he ought to retreat to Coimbra, since it was a sufficient victory to have come so near his enemies without their having intercepted his way, and should he proceed further and pitch his camp in the olive plantations of Santarem he might very easily be envolved by the troops of the King, while should he desire to march upon Lisbon he might very probably not find the former goodwill and welcome.

The Infante replied that he had no wish to approach so closely to the King as to appear he had come to combat him, but nevertheless he did not wish to retreat; therefore, on reaching the bridge of Loures, he would turn by Torres Vedras and Obidos to Coimbra; and he furthermore told his men that meanwhile the Queen and D. Henrique might perchance enlighten the spirit of the King. This was a manner of fostering hopes in the hearts of others, but which in his own, as was evident, no hope really existed.

From Campo Maior the Infante proceeded to Alcoentre at the time when in Lisbon it was known that D. Pedro was coming to take refuge in that city. Behind the army of D. Pedro ever followed the scouts of the royal troops to spy the direction of the march and at times addressing to them insulting epithets. The Infante advised and enjoined his men to bear up their taunts with the greatest patience.

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On the 16th May, D. Pedro reached Alcoentre. He then was told that the King had surrounded Ayres Gomes da Silva, who was entrusted with the guarding of the wood and herbage for the needs of the army. As soon as the Count of Abranches learnt this, he immediately departed with other knights, and speedily broke through the siege which the King's men had placed around Ayres Gomes. The enemies of the Infante fled so precipitately that many fell into a lake—it is said to the number of thirty. The others were taken to D. Pedro, among the latter being a servant of the Infante D. Henrique, called Pero de Castro, whom the Infante sharply reprehended, and, taking a truncheon, knocked him on the head; other knights who stood by also gave him blows until he dropped dead.

Some of the knights of the King, such as the Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, were able to escape, owing to the swiftness of their horses, but were pursued for a great distance by the Count of Abranches and other knights.

The news of these facts inflamed the wrath of the King, who inferred that the Infante would fall upon Lisbon, and therefore ordered the city to be strongly garrisoned, and from Santarem at once departed an army of 30,000 men—cavalry and infantry—which was, the chronicler tells us, "the largest number of warriors that up to that time had been mustered in the kingdom."

The counsellors of the King advised him to proceed slowly on the march, because by that means the nearer the Infante should approach Lisbon the greater danger would he run, on account of his retreat being cut off.

The Infante was in Castanheira when he learnt that the King had left Santarem. He struck the camp, saying that he was marching upon Lisbon. This he said with the object of inspiring a greater confidence into his own people, many of whom were disheartened. But in effect the Infante stopped near Alverca, on the border of Alfarrobeira, and disposed his camp with admirable order.

On the 20th May the army of the King arrived and pitched their camps. The Count of Abranches sallied out with some knights to reconnoitre the forces of D. Alfonso V. He was greatly astonished at the number and strength of the troops. However, he disguised his impressions to the troops, but told the truth to the Infante D. Pedro.

The ex-Regent might yet save himself by flight, but this he would



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not do. It is manifest that he intended to seek his death, as also the Count of Abranches, both having pledged to die together.

D. Alfonso V. had resolved upon not fighting his uncle on the day he arrived, but ordered his kings-at-arms and buglers to sound and publish the call of war, threatening all the fidalgos who served the Infante with their arms to quit his service, or else be severely punished. No one obeyed this order, but, to the contrary, some of the King's people passed on to the service of the Infante, among them Fernam de Fonseca, the Alcaide of Lisbon, João Vogado, Rodrigo de Arnellos, and Gonçalo Fernandes.

Both camps were impatient to commence the battle. Without express orders, they nevertheless began to shoot at each other; some archers of the King's camp, who had concealed themselves in a plantation near the water, shot their arrows unperceived into the camp of the Infante, while Alvaro de Brito Pestaña, commandant of the infantry, ordered fire to be made on the troops of the Infante, causing thereby much damage.

D. Pedro, wishful to respond to the provocation, ordered some bombards to be discharged, and a stone hurled by one of them fell close to the royal tent, which caused much confusion in the camp of D. Alfonso V., as it was feared the King had been wounded.

This incident caused great indignation in the army of Alfonso V., and without awaiting further orders the army rushed to attack the camp of the Infante, where the shock was so great that many of the soldiers grew disheartened and fled. D. Pedro, who was on horseback, now dismounted, and flinging off his heavy mail, rushed to the weakest point to defend it. The friends of the Infante, who saw him in the most dangerous part of the affray, implored him to retire, but D. Pedro took no heed, and it really appeared as though his ardour grew in proportion as he saw the men fall in numbers slain and wounded. It is said that he alone slew ten shieldbearers, but this may be only one of the heroic legends of the epoch. The chronicler recounts to us the rapid result of this encounter of Alfarrobeira. "The Infante when thus engaged in the combat was wounded in the breast by an arrow, which pierced his heart through, and without having before or after received any other wound. He received his death with every sign of perfect contrition and great repentance for all his sins, affording a pious hope for the salvation of his soul. These signs induced the Bishop of Coimbra, who at once attended

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him, to give him absolution, as there was no time to make his confession, as he in his last moments devoutly besought, but on that same morning he had confessed and been absolved, and made his testament, hence it clearly appeared that he died as he had ever lived, a good Catholic and a Christian, a loyal vassal, and servitor of the King. He was in the fifty-seventh year of his age."

At this stage of our narrative it is needful to speak of one of the most notable figures of the Middle Ages in Portugal. The battle of Alfarrobeira, although it does not possess any great military importance, must, however, be held as the last act of the chivalrous cycle among us. The Infante D. Pedro and Alvaro Vaz de Almada, his bosom friend, close, so to say, the golden and ivory door of the medieval traditions of Portuguese history. We have spoken somewhat extensively of the Infante D. Pedro, let us say a few words of his faithful friend.

Alvaro Vaz de Almada was the son of Joanna Eannes and João Vaz de Almada who was knighted by D. João I. after the battle of Aljubarrota, and who later on, by reason of personal troubles, proceeded to England, where he died. He also played an important part in the taking of Ceuta, where his sons Alvaro and Pedro also took a part.

It was at the taking of Ceuta that Alvaro Vaz de Almada appears for the first time. He was there knighted by the Infante D. Pedro after the conquest; it was there, likewise, that his brother Pedro Vaz de Almada received previously a similar honour at the hands of the Infante D. Duarte, the heir to the crown.

It was after the conquest of Ceuta, in 1415, that it is supposed João Vaz de Almada withdrew to England with his two sons, Alvaro and Pedro. The space of time which elapsed from his departure to England until the hapless expedition of Tangiers was gloriously employed by Alvaro in the campaigns of Henry V. against France, which recommenced in 1418. The services he rendered this King and to his dynasty are incontestably proved by documents to which we shall have occasion to refer, and which are most curious. After Henry VI. was acclaimed King of France and England in 1422 at the age of eight months, Alvaro Vaz de Almada must have returned to the kingdom, because in 1423, eight years after the taking of Ceuta, D. João I. nominated him Captain-General of the kingdom. At the request of Alvaro Vaz the letter of appointment was confirmed by another from the King D. Duarte, given in Almeirim on 5th January, 1434.

The post of Captain-General of the Navy was continued to be held

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by the descendants of the receiver until the time of the King D. Sebastian, when he conferred it on D. Ferdinand de Almada, great-grandson of Alvaro Vaz, in a letter given in Evora on 25th August, 1573.

In the disastrous expedition of Tangiers in 1437 appears for the second time our brave Captain Alvaro Vaz, practising prodigies of valour, where he was wounded in the arm; then we find him combating in the first regular battle ordered by the Infante D. Henrique against the Moors. In the second combat against the Moors he continued to signalise himself, but it was in the tumultuous embarkation of the troops when they withdrew from Tangiers that he more greatly distinguished himself, together with the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, who was later on created Count of Marialva. On the return from Tangiers, it was Alvaro Vaz who became truly noteworthy for the manner in which he disguised his sorrow for the disaster, as we have seen when describing the affair of Tangiers. We must here add that, according to the testimony of the chronicler Pina, the King D. Duarte died before he had had time to confer on Alvaro Vaz all the favours he had intended, and that it was from England and not from Portugal that this famous captain received the greatest honours. For a great length of time it was supposed that Alvaro had been created Count of Abranches by the King of France, and a Knight of the Order of Jarreteira by the King of England, but it has been ascertained, without a shadow of doubt, that both these favours were granted by the English monarch, Henry VI. At that date (1445), Abranches was comprehended in the dominions of the Crown of England ever since the conquest of this kingdom by William the Conqueror, and it continued so until it was reduced by the arms of the King of France, Charles VI. But Henry VI. was still Duke of Normandy in 1445, and it was as such that he conferred, as he could do so, the title of Count of Abranches on D. Alvaro.

The affair of Alfarrobeira had a rapid and sorrowful termination. It appears that D. Pedro and the Count of Abranches had sworn to die together, and the life of the Infante was linked to that of Alvaro by a sacred vow, and for a knight an indissoluble one.

When D. Pedro was thus struck dead, Alvaro could do naught but seek his own death. Ruy de Pina, in his characteristic language, tells us: "The Count of Abranches was riding in another part of the camp, and attending, like a good and experienced knight, to his army, and resisting the many affronts which assailed him, when a youth ran up to

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him weeping bitterly, and said to him, 'Count, what are you doing? The Infante D. Pedro is dead.' Then the Count, who was well aware that this news was an embassy of death which came to claim his life, yet with an unmoved face and stout heart replied: 'Hold thy tongue, and do not say a word of this to any one.' Then setting spurs to his horse, he proceeded to his tent, and without perturbation he asked for bread and wine to strengthen himself, and grasping his arms to honour his burial, which was the earth whereupon he was to fall, he sallied out on foot into the camp, which had been on every side conquered and entered into by the King's troops. As soon as he was recognised they fell upon him on all sides; but he first with a broken lance, and afterwards with his sword, wounded all those who approached him, and in this way he fought for a long time, like a skilful and valiant knight, to the great surprise of those who saw him, yet he was not himself wounded. At last, worn out, he threw himself on the ground, crying out loudly, 'Oh, my body! thou canst fight no more, and thou, my soul, it is time!' And thus he laid himself down, saying, 'Now, boys, come and take your revenge.' Then his body was pierced and wounded, and his soul very quickly went to join that of the Infante, as he had promised to do. Then a friend did what he ought not—he cut his head off and took it to the King, to ask for promotion and the honour of knighthood, and the body remained on the ground cut up to pieces, until by the appeal of João Vaz de Almada, his foster-brother, who was ranger of the King, he buried him in camp, and later on gave him an honoured sepulture. Then the rest of the fidalgos and noblemen who were with the Infante abandoned the defence of the stations which had been entrusted to them, and rushed pell-mell throughout the camp, killing and wounding until none remained."

Such was the last page of the biography of the renowned Captain Alvaro Vaz de Almada, who in death so gloriously manifested the grandeur of his whole life, an example of military valour and loyal friendship. In all the events of his life he manifested the ardour of his spirit. Honour and religion he defends with his arms, his most cherished motto being, "Sooner die great and honoured than live small and dishonoured." The race of heroes seems to have ended with the death of this extraordinary man. D. Pedro was a soul worthy of Alvaro Vaz; it was the complement of his own, and they thoroughly understood one another.

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Alexandre Herculano adds in his *Panorama*, "When D. Alvaro fell dead, it was the symbol of expiring chivalry."

This simple phrase is worthy of a poem. And, in truth, Portuguese chivalry expires with D. Alvaro on the plain of Alfarrobeira.

Alvaro Vaz received condign sepulture in the principal chapel of the Monastery of San Domingos in Lisbon, wherein had been buried his grandsires.

Death saved him from a vexation which was reserved for the partisans of the Infante who survived the battle of Alfarrobeira By letters of D. Alfonso V., dated 10th of October, they were deprived of all benefices, dignities, offices, honours, prerogatives, exemptions, privileges, liberties, &c., this law being revoked some five years later by Royal Letters of 20th July, 1455.

Rebello Silva, writing on the above episode, concludes with the following words, which enclose a lofty philosophical conceit: "The blood spilt in Alfarrobeira claimed an avenger. D. João II., inheriting the odiums engendered at the epoch in which he was born, was the man predestined to fulfil in the generation of persecutors and assassins of his grandfather and mother, the terrible threat which makes the children responsible for the crimes of their parents."

"The execution of the Duke of Braganza on the Plaza of Evora, the fall and ruin of his house, the inconsolable widowhood of his wife, the exile of his sons, and his immense power levelled to the ground were the slow but inevitable effects of the justice of Providence."

"Thirty-four years had barely elapsed, and already on the scaffold had the head of a grandson of the Count de Barcellos fallen at a sign of a grandson of the Infante D. Pedro."

The death of the Regent and of his friends had therefore been avenged.

Let us return to D. Pedro. His body was left on the battle-field until night, when some men of humble condition—writes the chronicler—carried it to a lonely house, where it was laid with other corpses for thirty-six hours. The enemies of the ex-Regent, who were the courtiers of Alfonso V., insinuated to the youthful King, that as this had been a pitched battle, it was customary to leave the spoils of war of any importance for some time on the field of battle, in testimony of the glory of the conqueror. Hence, as the body of the ex-Regent was, so to say, the *principal spoil* of the battle, it was irreverently left for three days, and on contemplating it thus despised, those who gazed upon it must have

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remembered the words of the ex-Regent when declining the honour of a statue being erected in Lisbon.

The Queen D. Isabel experienced, as was natural, a violent emotion on receiving in Santarem the news of the death of her father; and to this grief was added the natural fear that upon her head would fall the vengeance of the enemies of D. Pedro. She was, as it were, alone in the world, exposed to the intrigues of the Court, without any one she could depend upon as a friend, not even her husband, for it was he who had been the blind instrument of the death of her father.

The widow of the ex-Regent, when she received the news at Coimbra, was fearfully shocked, and stricken with fear and dread. She went from monastery to monastery, beseeching them to save her and her children from death, one of whom, D. Jayme, was taken prisoner in Alfarrobeira along with many fidalgos who had maintained the cause of the Infante D. Pedro.

At the end of the three days destined to celebrate the victory of Alfarrobeira, D. Alfonso V. raised the camp and departed for Lisbon, accompanied by the Court. As might be expected, the palace intrigue began to work against the Queen, urging the King to believe her a suspected and dangerous person, and advising him to revenge himself and put her away for another wife.

But the youthful King loved his wife, as may be inferred from some passages of the chronicler, and not only did he repulse the intrigue of the Court which conspired against her, but solaced her grief in Santarem, bidding her meet him in Lisbon.

The position of D. Isabel in this event was truly deplorable. She was either to come, crushing in her heart her just resentment as a wife or else be lost for ever. She came robed in *modest mourning*, says Ruy de Pina, in order not to leave off mourning for the death of her father, yet, at the same time, not so deep as to anger Alfonso V.

The enemies of the Regent required, however, to justify his death to the foreign courts, and therefore drew up an exposition of the supposed crimes committed by D. Pedro, and sent it to the Pope and some Christian princes; but the impression this document effected was totally opposed to what they intended. Madame Isabel of Burgandy, as the sister of the ex-Regent was generally called in Europe, hastened to send to Portugal an ambassador charged with claiming condign sepulture for D. Pedro in the Monastery of Batalha. The King refused this petition, and then the ambassador replied that in that case, to

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command that the remains of the Infante be delivered up to him to be conducted to Burgandy. The remains of D Pedro were at that time placed in the church of Alverca, from whence Alfonso V., fearing lest they should be taken away, sent them to the castle of Abrantes, entrusting their custody to Lopo de Almeida, who later on became the first Count created under that title.

Later on, the remains of D. Pedro were taken to Lisbon and placed in the monastery of Saint Eloy by order of the Queen D. Isabel, who never desisted from pleading with her husband to justify and re-establish the memory of her father. In the year 1452, D. Isabel made her will, and in a clause ordered that the remains of her father should be taken from Saint Eloy and translated to Batalha. But the Queen lived to assist at the translation of the remains, which took place in 1455. She, however, survived but a short time, dying in December of that same year.

Yet the embassy sent by the Duchess of Burgandy produced some effect, because the Infante D. Jayme, son of D. Pedro, who had been taken prisoner in Alfarrobeira, was released. Whether from the effects of family griefs, or through natural inclination which he had been hitherto unable to follow freely, D. Jayme took holy orders, and in 1453 was elected Bishop of Array. The Duchess of Burgandy summoned him to her Court, and later on sent him to Rome, where Pope Calixtus III. created him Cardinal in 1456, under the title of Santa Maria in Porticu.

Meanwhile, as might be expected, the promoters of the war against the Infante D. Pedro strove to obtain from the King the rewards of their infamy. D. Alfonso V. gave Guimarães to the Duke of Braganza, who had often besought it from the Infante D. Pedro, and he would have likewise granted Oporto, but the inhabitants obstinately opposed it. The inhabitants of Portalegre also opposed the grant of their place to the Count D. Sancho, as Alfonso V. had projected.

When the dismal tragedy of the battle of Alfarrobeira was ended, the King passed on with his Court to the palaces of S. Francisco, in Evora, and he was so charmed with the city and its situation that he resided there the greater portion of his life.

At the commencement of the following year, 1450, Alfonso V. received the ambassadors of Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, asking in marriage the hand of his sister D. Leonor. D. Alfonso V. came from Evora to Santarem to summon a Cortes, in order to lay

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before them the question of the marriage of his sister. The three states approved the demand of Frederick III., and the preparations for the departure and embarkation of the princess were at once commenced, which took place in the month of October, 1451, with the greatest magnificence. The Emperor proceeded to await the arrival of his bride in Siena, from whence they proceeded to Rome, where Pope Nicholas V. consecrated and crowned them.

With the history of the marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor is linked a romance of love,* which is found sketched in "Evora Gloriosa."

"The marriage of the Empress D. Leonor, sister of D. Alfonso," says Rebello da Silva, "was celebrated with such pomp, and the voyage to Italy with such display, that twenty-four years later the conqueror of Arzilla lamented the excessive liberality and superfluous expenses he had incurred, imputing the fault to his youthful age and small experi-

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* The Blessed Amadeus, known formerly as D. João da Silva, was the son of the famous frontier governor of Ceuta and D. Isabel de Menezes. João and his sister D. Brites (or Beatriz) da Silva, were educated under the tutorship of their uncle, João Gomes da Silva. The children were brought up so carefully that they soon manifested what they would be in mature age. D. Brites entered as a child, and then as maid of honour in the service of the Infanta D. Isabel, daughter of the Infante D. João, and grandchild of the King D. João I. Her brother, after his studies in human letters and the arts worthy of his birth, entered the service of the King D. Duarte, where he had many occasions of seeing the Infanta D. Leonor, his daughter, and was so charmed with her rare beauty that, within the limits of the respect due to so sovereign a person, he dedicated to her all his worship and thoughts. Thus for a length of time he lived, content with the bliss of serving his star; but when the year 1449 approached, and he knew that D. Leonor was the promised bride of the Emperor Frederick III., and that she was proceeding to a distant land, he fell into despair at the thought of losing her presence. However, there arose one gleam of hope. His aunt D. Guiomar, the Countess of Villa Real, was appointed first lady of the bedchamber of the new Empress, and he took advantage of this to accompany his relative to Italy, and thus still behold the Empress.

D. João embarked, in 1452, in the fleet, and accompanied the Empress to Seina, where Frederick, with Ladislaus the King of Hungary, and Albert the Archduke of Austria, awaited her, and from thence proceeded in the suite to Rome, where he was present at the marriage and coronation of Leonor and Frederick by the Pontiff. But during the sacred ceremonies which took place, God touched the heart of D. João da Silva with a ray of divine fire, such as converted Saul into Paul, and he began to know that God whom he had ignored, and he experienced emotions never before felt, so that he saw himself in a light hitherto never experienced; and feeling stricken with sorrow and shame for his past errors, he resolved upon loving none else but his God and Lord, as the only One Who was worthy of being loved. With this firm resolu-

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ence, and besought his successors, with the aid of the clergy and people, not to refuse to liquidate the dowry of his sister, towards which he had already paid the Emperor 7,000 crowns."

This waste of money of the nation was not one of the least errors of Alfonso V., whose reign commenced, as we have seen, by acts which were not calculated to captivate public sympathies. For the time being we have before us a child animated by a certain chivalrous spirit, but completely sacrificed to the demands of the palace intrigues, moved principally by the Duke of Braganza, whose house was becoming enormously benefited by the donations received from the Crown.

As regards his physique, Rebello da Silva affords us the following sketch: "He was tall and elegant and well-proportioned, and in his youth Alfonso V. realised the idea of majesty and dignity of the monarch. His fair, rosy countenance and oval face showed, like D. Duarte, the foreign origin of his grandmother, D. Philippa of

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tion our João da Silva quitted the Vatican, and wishing to express what he felt, he took the name of Amadeus, and leaving all the pomps and vanities of the world, he assumed a coarse garb and interned himself in the Apennines, to join in its melancholy caves the hermits called of Saint Jerome, where in their company he spent a solitary life, until, by divine revelation, he was bidden to quit this rule and follow the Seraphic Order. For this object he proceeded to Assissium, where he received the habit of Saint Francis, and so great were the prodigies which, by God's grace, were performed by this servant of God that the Duke of Milan, Francisco Esforcia, who had no heirs, besought the Superiors of the Order to send him this wonderful monk to Milan. Friar Amadeus went to Milan, where he suffered more from the honours which the Duke showered upon him than from the continual penances he performed. He obtained for him from God the desired heir, and he founded, close to the city, a small convent, under the title of Our Lady of Peace, in which he introduced the new reform which is called "of Amadeus." From thence he was summoned to Rome by the Pontiff, Sixtus IV., who not only ordained him priest, but appointed him his confessor; and, moreover, consulted him upon the gravest affairs in the government of the Church, because he was illumined by such superior lights that his words were uttered as from an oracle. The Pope assigned him for his residence that portion of the Janiculo which is now called Montorio, which the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, sanctified with his blood and consecrated by his martyrdom; where, with the alms of the Portuguese Infanta D. Isabel, who was already Queen of Castille, wife of D. Juan II., he founded a convent, which is still preserved, and wherein many apostolic men, following the footsteps of its saintly reformer, led an angelic life. At the death of Pope Sixtus IV., the Blessed Amadeus retired to his little Convent of Peace, where he wrote his "Apocalypse" and renowned prophecies; and after spending some years in the most saintly exercises, he passed to a better life, to enjoy the rewards of his labours, on the 10th August, 1482, and is venerated on our altars with the glory of beatification.

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Lancaster, tempered by Southern vivacity. His long and well-developed beard, and the straightforward, gentle look of his eyes, encouraged all around him. With age he became very stout, and to hide this he began to use loose garments. Educated in the austere school of the sons of D. João I., the monarch and captain, whose labours were in many respects the lessons of kings, he profitably studied letters and arts such as were learnt in those times, and were reputed indispensable for a perfect education."

"The letters and arts as were learnt in those times," writes Rebello da Silva. It was at that time the epoch of the first dawn of the Renaissance. "The Renaissance of Europe," observes Lopes de Mendoça, "owes it all to the renaissance of Portugal of the fourteenth century. But for the Infante D. Henrique and his observatory at Sagres, Columbus would not have discovered America, nor Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Storms (Cabo das Tormentas), to show the amazed nations the road to India." A document of this epoch clearly reveals the intellectual state of the Spanish Peninsula, which announces on this side of the Pyrenees the luminous germs of the dawn of the Renaissance. We refer to the celebrated letter of the Marquis de Santilhana addressed to the son of D. Pedro, also called D. Pedro, and Constable of the kingdom, a letter supposed to have been written between the years 1445 and 1449. No doubt a friendship had sprung up with the illustrious Marquis, the great authority of Provençal literature and of Italian poets, during the time when his father went into Castille.

The son of the ex-Regent besought the Marquis, through Alvaro Gonçalves de Alcantara, for a copy of his literary compositions, principally his poetical ones.

The Marquis commences by expressing the paucity of his productions, and endeavours to compensate for it by an interesting dissertation upon the history of literature.

He first gives an epitome of the primary versifiers among the Greeks and the Romans, showing that poetic science was especially loved of God, and by all the human race. He furthermore speaks of the various subjects to which rhyme and metre are applicable, and passes on to speak of the modern poets who cultivated poetry, Petrarch, Boccacio, Guido, and Dante, who so elegantly wrote the three comedies of the *Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradisio*. He then proceeds to Provençal poetry and its influence in Spain. He demonstrated the ability

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of the people of Catalonia and Valencia for poetry, and gives a dissertation on the various forms of metre, and their origin, as employed in Castille. In a paragraph of his letter he says: "I remember, in my youth, when a minor in the care of my grandmother, Dona Mencia de Cisneros, among other books, seeing a large volume of 'Cantigas Serranas,' and Portuguese and Gallician, the greater number of which were from the King Don Denis of Portugal (and I believe, Senhor, he was your great-grandfather), whose works were greatly lauded as being subtle inventions, and graceful, gentle words. There were others of Joham Xoares de Pavia, of whom, it is said, had died in Gallicia through love for an Infanta of Portugal; and of another, called Fernant Gonzales de Sanabria. After these came Basco Peres de Camões and Ferrant Casquicio, and that great lover Macias, of which are known only four songs, but these are certainly amorous and of most beautiful words."

He then occupies himself with the songs of the Castillian poets, and concludes by alluding to the preface of his "Proverbios," where the Infante would find correlative notices to the subject, and exhorting him to cultivate poetry, in order that his pen may be always employed, so that when Atropos should sever the frail thread of his life, he should obtain Delphic honours as well as martial ones.

From what we have said may be inferred that the Renaissance of the Spanish Peninsula preceded the Italian, which became European. The Marquis of Santilhana was the precursor of the Medicis. He resuscitates, in order to form the history of poetry, the Greek models, Achatesio, Millesio, Phesecides, Siro, and Homer; he quotes among the Latin ones, Ennio and Virgil. It is in this way that the Castillian fidalgo mentally evokes to come close to him the best poets of antiquity, like Cosmo de Medicis drew towards him, in later years in Florence, some of the first Greek artists.

"From this gathering of the sages," says Jules Zeler, "like to the Trojan horse, if we may so use a comparison of the time, came forth all that legion of champions of antiquity, who propagated and spread throughout the whole of Europe the knowledge of the primary works of Greek and Latin literature. All the means he could possibly gather together, Cosmo placed at his service. He made use of his commercial relations to send to the far East, and to the most remote convents of the West, for numerous manuscripts, which constituted the foundation of the library which later on became so renowned under the name of

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the Mediceo-Laurenciana. Many sages gave up their private libraries, among them Aurista, Niccolo Niccoli, and others."

It is undoubted that in the letter of the Marquis de Santilhana is perceived that literary tendency which must needs culminate in the reconstruction of Greek and Latin antiquity, of resuscitating paganism in Art, giving to the Madonnas the plastic beauty of mythological Venuses.

Alfonso V. had been educated in this literary focus under the direction of his uncle, who visited Europe and "traversed the seven parts of the world," who saw and studied. Besides this, he found in the royal palace the nucleus of a library organised by his father, who cultivated letters. He found already formed the codification of the national laws, which was of manifest advantage to his elevated position as head of the State. With all these educational elements, Alfonso V. could not be otherwise than an enlightened spirit in relation to his epoch and his official position.

As we said, the King had a great predilection for Evora, where he preferred to reside. Here likewise lived his brother, D. Ferdinand, who was then about eighteen years of age and was already married. It appears the Infante demanded from the King certain loans, which did not meet with favour, because we find D. Ferdinand secretly fitting a caravel on the Guadiana. He departed from Evora, proceeding to the Algarve in order to embark—whether to make war in Africa or to visit the King of Naples, from whom he expected to inherit, as he had no direct heir, is not known for certain. However, when on the following day D. Alfonso V. knew by chance of the departure of his brother, he hastened to trace him, but on learning that he had embarked from the Algarve, he sent emissaries to Ceuta, in order that the Governor should guard the Strait of Gibraltar in such a manner as to prevent the passage of the Infante. In effect, the Governor of Ceuta, Count D. Sancho, put forth to sea and met the caravel of D. Ferdinand and brought it to Ceuta, where he made known to him the King's orders. The Infante insisted that he did not wish to return to the kingdom, but remain as frontier governor in Africa. It was truly a family quarrel. The Count judged he ought to inform the King of what passed, and Alfonso V. consented that he should remain as frontier governor of Ceuta, and sent him some fidalgos to be with him; but a great pestilence broke out in Ceuta, and the Infante decided to return to Portugal, where the

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King received him willingly, and gave him the towns of Beja, Serpa, and Moura.

But all these events in the political history of Portugal are insignificant in view of the great European event which took place about that time, and which definitely marked the advent of the Renaissance, the inception of modern history. We refer to the invasion of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The Roman Empire of the West had been invaded by the barbarians of the North, but the East survived, whose capital was Constantinople, for the space of a thousand years; that is to say, the ten centuries of the duration of the Middle Ages.

Let us trace how the Roman Empire of the East was crushed out at this epoch.

The Turks, proceeding from Altai, had invaded India, Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor. In the year 1325, the chief of one of its smallest tribes had taken possession of Prussia, and his son had effected a conquest on the European margin of the Hellespont (Dardanelles). But it was principally upon Constantinople that the Turks fixed their gaze. A Sultan attained to submit Macedonia and Bulgaria, and rendered Wallachia tributary.

Years after, Bejazet I. fought on the Danube a fleet of French crusaders, which were routed in the battle of Nicopolis, but Tamerlan having been summoned to succour the Greeks, Bejazet was routed in the battle of Ancyra.

Encouraged by the rapid dissolution of the Empire of Mongol, the Turks again turned their thoughts once more towards Constantinople, which was the great barrier that prevented them from penetrating into Western Europe. At length the hour of conquest sounded for the Crescent. Mahomet II. surrounded Constantinople with 260,000 men, a colossal artillery, and an important fleet.

On the 29th May, after three days' slaughter, Constantinople fell into the power of Mahomet II., became constituted the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and called Stamboul by the Turks.

It was this enormous human wave which had rolled from the rugged paths of Central Asia, impelled by the fanaticism of religion, which had proposed to itself to invade the whole world, following the device placed above the Crescent, the symbol of its religion: *Donec totum impleat orbe.* Let us glance at the political situation of Europe at this juncture.

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Towards the south-east the Ottoman Empire extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Archipelago to the Danube, and in Asia as far as Mount Taurus. Likewise to the south-west, but to the north of the Ottoman Empire were the Greco-Slav and Magyar States. On the valley of the Danube there were six other Christian States, which were so many barriers for the Turks—Bulgaria, the capital of which was Nicopolis; the kingdom of Servia, half conquered, and whose capital was Semendria; the kingdom of Bosnia, which was tributary to the Turks, the capital being Bosna-Serai; the principality of Moldavia, likewise tributary, its capital Jassy; the principality of Wallachia, its capital Bucharest; and the kingdom of Hungary, the most considerable of all the six States, with Transylvania. To the east stood Russia; to the west of Russia, Poland, which extended, on the side of Russia, up to Polotzk and Smolensk, after its reunion with Lithuania, the capital being Cracovia.

The Teutonic Order dominated in the provinces situated to the south and east of the Baltic—Prussia, Livonia, Corlandia, Esthonia, &c. Kœnigsburg was the capital.

The Scandinavian States were to the north of Europe. The severance of the Colmar union had effected the disappearance of the three kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the two last being joined together.

To the north-west of Europe were the British Isles, comprehending the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

To the west of Europe the kingdom of France, in which still subsisted six houses of royal blood—Burgandy, Brittany, Anjou, Bourbon, Orleans, and Alençon.

The Holy Roman Germanic Empire to the centre of Europe—Germany of our day, with the exception of some regions of the north which belonged to the Teutonic Knights.

To the south-west of Europe was the Iberian Peninsula, comprehending five kingdoms—Granada to the south, Portugal to the south-west, Castille and Leon in the centre, Aragon to the north-east, with its possessions of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples, and that of Navarre to the north.

Lastly, the Italic Peninsula, which was divided into a great number of States, the principal ones being Naples and Sicily, belonging to Navarre. In the centre the States of the Church (the capital being Rome), the small republic of Lucca and Sienna, and the republic of

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Florence. On the north the republic of Venice, the duchy of Milan, the republic of Genoa, the duchy of Mantua, the duchy of Modena, the duchy of Montferrat, and the duchy of Savoy.

Such was the political state of Europe at the moment when Mahomet II. took Constantinople, and alarmed the whole of Christendom.

The relation given us by Collas of the character of Mahomet and the conquest of Constantinople is very interesting, and by it we fully understand the gravity of the situation and epoch.

"The new Sultan," says Collas, "did not possess either the greatness of soul or the moderation of his father. He was a lover of letters, knew six languages, was well versed in history and astrology, and protected the Venician painter, Bellini; but these gifts, rare to find among Mussalmans, were not sufficient to soften the ferocity of his character."

Such was the man upon whom devolved the charge of taking Constantinople. The series of miserable Emperors of the East was about to be closed by a prince worthy of a better destiny. Constantine Draguzes had ascended to the throne in 1448, possessing virtues unusual to find. It was with legitimate anguish that he foresaw the future: the efforts to reconcile the Greek Church with the Latin one had proved futile, and vainly, in the Council of Florence (1439), had John Paleologo marked the reunion; it was condemned by the peoples which were to find themselves alone in presence of the Mussalmans.

Mahomet II. had raised a fortress opposite Byzantium (Constantinople). Constantine had addressed a dignified but sad letter, beseeching moderation; but the Sultan hastened to follow the last instructions of his father.

The preparations were formidable. Mahomet ordered cannons to be founded of immense calibre; he ordered the defence of the place to be studied, and commenced the siege with 300,000 men and 300 sails. Constantine could only oppose a weak defence; that immense city could only raise on that supreme day 4,960 defenders, to which joined 2,500 Venetians and Genoese.

Europe was forsaking this city, which was abandoned by its own; it had been attacked many times, and must inevitably fall. But on the sea the strife was prolonged, and the Mussalmans attempted in vain to force an entrance into the port, defended by chains and ships; but Mahomet resorted to an expedient which would appear incredible

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in our day, were it not for the testimony offered us by history. He opened a road four or five miles long, and placed well-greased planks, over which eighty galleys were slipped, and these the Greeks, to their amazement, found in the morning anchored in the port.

The general assault was fixed for the 29th May, 1453. Mahomet appealed to the soldiers, stimulating them with ideas of ambition, fanaticism, and cupidity. The issue of the battle was not long disputed, and Constantine, finding that his cause was lost, flung himself before the besieger, and there met his death. The Turks then ceased to slaughter the populace, which no longer offered a resistance, and the fever of plunder now took possession of them. They hurriedly imprisoned within their ships 60,000 persons of all ranks and descriptions—priests, men, women, children, the aged—who were all reduced to slavery, after suffering great brutality at the hands of the Turks. The libraries, paintings, sculptures—all the inestimable treasures of ancient civilisation were destroyed. Some of the outlying districts escaped the devastation, and these were admitted to capitulation under conditions relatively moderate.

Notwithstanding the acts of vandalism which succeeded the assault, and the destruction of a great number of the principal works of art, Mahomet was singularly struck with his conquest; and when, three days later, he officially entered Constantinople, touched, perchance, with a feeling of melancholy, to which the rudest natures are subject in presence of an enormous catastrophe, he recited the verses of a Persian poet, "The spider wove its web in the dwellings of kings, and the roving owl hooted on the roofs of Asrasoab."

The victims sacrificed during the intoxication of triumph were not the only ones, and notwithstanding the promises solemnly made of clemency in regard to the conquered ones, a great number of the most illustrious persons were condemned to death in the stronghold of Almeidan.

Mahomet, who styled Constantinople a diamond set between two emeralds and two sapphires, established his residence on the same hill as Constantine the Great had chosen for himself. Wishing to respect the terms of capitulation, he conceded to the Greeks their churches, with the privilege of celebrating unmolested their services and offices of religion, their sacraments and funerals, and invested the Greek Patriarch Gennadius with all the usual honours. But as it was permitted to employ violence, he converted eight churches into mosques,



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among them that of Santa Sophia, and thus the panegyrics of Allah, as well as the sevenfold prayer, were intoned from the heights of the minarets. He constructed the palaces of the Dardanelles; he demolished the walls of Galatha on the land side; he reconstructed those of Constantinople, to which he transferred from Asia five thousand families; and lastly, whenever he took a city on the borders of the empire, he sent for workmen and artists from across the Bosphorus.

The taking of Constantinople definitely established the dominion of the Turks in Europe, but there was still wanting numerous provinces to be conquered before it would attain the limits of the empire which had just fallen. Mahomet, who had publicly announced his intention of giving his horse a feed of oats on the altar of Saint Peter at Rome, set to work actually to exterminate the infidels, and for this object convoked his vassals.

We have now reached the solemn moment of the advent of modern history. Having said the above, which we judged indispensable in order to comprehend the epoch we are about to enter into, we shall take up at this opportune point the history of the reign of Alfonso V.

Pope Nicholas V., who then ruled the destinies of the Church, had at heart the project of a crusade of all Christendom against the Turks, when death assailed him. He was succeeded by Calixtus III., who at once endeavoured to realise the project of his predecessor, and appealed to all the kings and Christian princes, among them Alfonso V. of Portugal, who promised to aid him in this war against the Turks by sending him 12,000 men annually. However, as the expenses of such an expedition were very heavy, and Calixtus III. died, D. Alfonso V. desisted from this undertaking—a course which was followed by other European princes. Moreover, another circumstance was taking place in Portugal. This was that when the King of Fez learnt that D. Alfonso V. was about to leave the kingdom, he prepared to besiege Ceuta, a fact he actually carried out; but the city offered such a persistent resistance that the King of Fez raised the siege, but with the intention of again beleaguering it with better provisions of war.

At this juncture the situation of Portugal became very complicated. No less than three warlike expeditions threatened the peace of the kingdom. On one side the French were causing great damage by sea to the Portuguese shipping, for which reason the nation's commerce was greatly injured; on the other hand, the affair relative to the Turks

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was still pending, and the expedition against them publicly announced; and lastly, the hostile attitude of the King of Fez compelled the King of Portugal to effect a prompt reprisal to save the possession of Ceuta. In order to resolve these questions, Alfonso V. summoned a council. As to the first question, it was resolved that it was inexpedient to send out a fleet on the sea without a precise aim, subject to a thousand dangers and entailing an enormous expense. As to the second, the majority were of opinion that D. Alfonso V. would not be seconded in the undertaking, and a defeat would be nearly certain. This resolution was opposed by the Marquis of Valencia, who urged that the King could make war to the Turks by land rather than by sea; but it appears this proposal of the Marquis was only a pretext to withdraw the King from the company of his wife, fearing some future vengeance, as he had contributed to the death of the Infante D. Pedro. Lastly, as to the third question, the Council were in favour of an expedition to Africa, especially directed against the King of Fez, whose ambitious projects against Ceuta it was imperative to crush out.

A domestic event occurred to bind the ardent spirit of the young King to his wife. The Queen was about to become a mother, and this fact exercised such an influence over the spirit of Alfonso V. that she was able to calm down the anger of the King against the memory of her father D. Pedro, and drew from him a promise that the body of the Infante should be removed to the family vaults in the Church of Batalha. In effect, the mortal remains of D. Pedro were conducted from Abrantes to Lisbon, and from Lisbon translated solemnly to Batalha, the Infante D. Henrique being entrusted with the direction of the ceremony. The King and Queen proceeded to Batalha in order to receive the body, the whole Court assisting, with the exception of D. Pedro, the brother of the Queen, who was still exiled in Castille; the Infante D. Ferdinand, brother of the King, and the Marquis of Valencia.

On the 3rd of May the Queen gave birth to the Infante D. João, who was baptised a week after in the Episcopal Church of Lisbon, and a month later declared by the three states legitimate heir to the crown, and as such they pledged their oath of allegiance.

To the feasts which were held in Lisbon on the occasion of the baptism of the prince D. João were added those of the marriage of the Infanta D. Joanna, sister of the King of Portugal, with the King of Castille, Henrique IV., who had been divorced from his first consort,

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D. Blanca, daughter of the King of Navarre, Juan II. The King of Portugal was unable to endow his sister, but Henrique IV. gave her a marriage portion of 20,000 gold Aragonese florins with the mortgage of Ciudad Real. The treaty of marriage was ratified in Segovia, and the royal wedding took place in Cordova on the 21st of May. Concerning this Infanta, who was a posthumous child, and dowered with singular beauty, history has at times been severe, accusing her of grave faults, committed not as Queen of Castille, but as the wife of Henrique IV.

After having reinstated the memory of her father and of those who perished with him, and having assured the succession of the dynasty by the birth of the prince D. João, her first child of the same name having died, the Queen D. Isabel of Lancaster succumbed to the great sorrows which had embittered her short existence. D. Isabel died in Evora on 2nd December, 1455, at the early age of twenty-three. She left a will, to which we have had already occasion to mention, and although there was some deficiency of legal formalities, D. Alfonso V. ordered it should be carried out. D. Isabel was interred in the Monastery of Batalha. The spirit is stirred with compassion as the historian follows step by step the ephemeral existence of this hapless Queen, D. Isabel of Lancaster, who seems to have lived but to suffer, and whose womanly tears were many times mingled with the jewels of her crown as queen.

The principal scene of the glory of D. Alfonso V. was in Africa. He was surnamed by Portuguese history "the African," and Africa was ever his "promised land," the beacon towards which all his thoughts were directed, and when ambition prompted him to take another path, and he turned towards Castille, there was in his spirit a kind of unwilling turning away which acted on his character and diminished his warlike energy. The brave knight of Arzilla could not accustom himself to European wars. Alfonso V. had always the desire of continuing the work of his grandfather, and of taking revenge for the captivity of his uncle during the reign of his father. Ceuta for him was a stimulus, Tangiers a revenge, and Africa demanded it. In truth, he was the great conqueror of Africa, and chosen by Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo as the hero of his poem.

In 1457, Pope Calixtus III. charged the Bishop of Silves to urge the King of Portugal to attack the Turks by sea as soon as possible, in order to direct the forces with which he threatened to invade Hungary. In order to obey the Pope, D. Alfonso went so far as to send embassies

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to some of the European Courts to confer with them upon the organization of the crusade, and for which purpose he himself was preparing his troops, armaments, and ships; but the reception his ambassadors met with was cold and reserved.

With the object of preparing means for this crusade against the Turks, Alfonso V. ordered "a coin to be issued to which the cross and the Papal bull gave the name of Cruzado," and he further ordered that the weight of it be so full that the new coin should be circulated without difficulty.*

D. Alfonso V. consented to allow his brother-in-law, the Infante D. Pedro, to return from his exile in Castille, in order to take part in the crusade. The Duke of Braganza, after the death of the Queen, ceased his opposition to the family of the ex-Regent, because it was the influence of the Queen that he had especially dreaded. In effect, D. Pedro returned to Portugal and was reinstated by his brother-in-law and cousin in his office of Master of Aviz.

In view of the result of the embassage against the Turks, Alfonso V. was counselled to desist from this subject for a time, and turn his attention to Africa, where he could equally afford signal services to religion. A council of ministers was held, and it was at once decided to proceed to Tangiers with five thousand men, besides assistants and seamen. A terrible pestilence broke out in Lisbon, which led the King to delay the expedition against the Moors. The King then proceeded to Alemtejo, where he was apprised that the French were causing grave damage to the Portuguese ships, and he at once charged Ruy de Mello to guard the coast with twenty warships and other craft. Meanwhile, news from Ceuta informed the King that the King of Fez was preparing to take that African city, which induced Alfonso V. to hasten his expedition to Ceuta, unless the King of Fez should desist from his intention of besieging it. Alfonso V. departed from Setubal, on the 30th September, 1458, in the direction of Tangiers; the fleet, commanded by the Marquis of Valença, leaving Oporto, and from the Algarve the squadron under the command of the Infante D. Henrique. On reaching the

* Ruy de Pina, in his Chronicles of the King D. Alfonso V., says that such was the enthusiasm manifested by the King for this holy undertaking, that he ordered the coin of Cruzados to be struck of the finest gold, and in weight and value above all ducats of Christendom, in order that in remote lands and kingdoms they should be freely circulated, because in the time of the King D. Duarte, his father, no other coin was struck in gold but escudos of debased gold, which coins could only be passed in foreign countries at a risk and loss.

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Bay of Tangiers, it was, however, decided to proceed and take Alcacer Seguer, which was actually effected. The Moors endeavoured to prevent the landing of the Portuguese, but were bravely repulsed. The Portuguese took the city and castle, and in this feat of arms the Infante D. Henrique greatly distinguished himself. The Moors were placed in such straits that they had to retire, with their women, children, and goods, the retreat being protected by the Infante D. Fernando. On the city being evacuated, the mosque was purified, and D. Duarte de Menezes, the natural son of D. Pedro de Menezes, first captain of Ceuta, was appointed governor, and became one of the most notable heroes of the African wars.

After having adopted the title, in virtue of his conquest, "D. Alfonso, by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarve, and Lord of Ceuta and Alcacer in Africa," the youthful monarch departed for Ceuta.

The chronicler tells us that, on beholding in the horizon the turreted walls rising up of the ancient city of Count Julian, on seeing unfolding before him amid the mountains the magnificent city of Ceuta, and comparing the conquest of D. João I. with his own diminutive one, he was unable to resist a feeling of sadness.

But, small as it was, Alcacer Seguer was to be nevertheless fiercely disputed. The King of Fez was coming with succour when he learnt that it was too late, and then he determined to besiege it. This intention was made known to Duarte de Menezes, who at once advised the King D. Alfonso V., and he immediately sent aid. The council was divided in opinion as to whether the King should depart for Portugal, as he had intended, or remain in Africa. The affairs of the kingdom were demanding his presence in Portugal; yet, on the other hand, his departure might be taken as a cowardly act, just at the moment when the King of Fez was in campaign. However, D. Alfonso V. sent to the King of Fez, who was in Tangiers, two fidalgos to challenge him in his name; these emissaries were Lopo d'Almeida and Martim de Tavora. The Moorish King, when apprised of their mission, would not allow the ship which conducted them to approach the shores, but fired upon them. The reply was conclusive. These fidalgos returned to apprise the King, and then proceeded to Alcacer to join many noble volunteers who had gathered there, under the command of the heroic D. Duarte de Menezes; and D. Alfonso V. returned to Portugal to prepare aid to relieve Alcacer, but he found

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the kingdom deficient of resources, and the people ill-disposed to aid him.

On the 13th November, the King of Fez pitched his camp opposite Alcacer. If we credit Ruy de Pina, the Moorish army numbered thirty thousand horsemen and many foot-soldiers. The siege which then commenced immortalised D. Duarte de Menezes, and rendered his name the terror of Mauritania. During this second siege the wife of the Governor, D. Isabel de Castro, arrived to the Bay of Tangiers from Portugal to join her husband, D. Duarte de Menezes. He sent word to her before she disembarked that she had better return to Evora, where she could live at peace, as it would be impossible for her to do so there. D. Isabel replied that, as a daughter of D. Fernando de Castro, she did not fly from dangers, and desired him to guard the landing, as she wished to disembark and endure the inconveniences of the siege rather than her yearnings alone, and sooner die a glorious death amid the dangers than live an inglorious life in her drawing-room.

In effect, D. Isabel landed beneath a shower of balls and arrows, an example of valour which greatly inspirited the Portuguese soldiers. This landing was effected on the very day, the 2nd July, 1459, that the King of Fez arrived to take Alcacer. With her own hands, and those of her ladies, they tended the wounded soldiers. These chivalrous fidalgos were joyed at the prospect of combating for their King, their God, and their lady-loves, and for this reason, says the chronicler, many in Portugal were desirous of voluntarily breaking lances in these illustrious tournaments. The Moors nevertheless, who well knew by experience how sharply the Portuguese sword could fall, would not attempt to approach too close to the shore, and confided rather in the power of their bombards, with which, in effect, they destroyed the walls; but D. Duarte so promptly repaired these breeches that the Moors, losing all hope, again raised the siege after fifty-three days, and departed, followed by the taunts of the Portuguese, whose chief, D. Duarte, sent letters to tell them that they acted in a cowardly manner by not daring to come forward and fight hand to hand. The Moors replied by insults, but they would not resolve upon accepting the challenge.

The successive defeat of the Moors during the twice repeated sieges, and the intrepid constancy of D. Duarte, had won popular praise, and in order to reward his services the King nominated him, with full

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applause, Count de Vianna do Minho, when he came from Alcacer to Portugal. This Governor, D. Duarte, had commenced to show his bravery at the age of fifteen in Ceuta, when under the orders of his father. He was in the expedition of Tangiers in 1437; in 1438 he was appointed chief ensign and Alcaide of the Castle of Beja. He accompanied the Constable D. Pedro to Castille against the Infantes of Aragon, and was held in highest esteem by all, for which reason Alfonso V. appointed him Captain of Alcacer-Seguer.

D. Alfonso V. continued in Evora, ever preoccupied with African affairs and in furthering his conquests. He held a Cortes in Lisbon, where they besought him to curtail the enormous expenses which burthened the State, and voting 150,000 gold doubles to defray the Crown rentals.

Two years later, in 1462, Alfonso V. returned a second time to Africa, with the object of conquering the city of Tangiers. A terrible storm prevented him from approaching the shore, and the King was compelled to remain in Ceuta, and as he found he had not sufficient men to warrant him in attacking Tangiers, he resolved upon entering the possessions of the Moors by land. But, more daring than prudent, Alfonso V. interned himself in the Serras of Benacofu, where he was surrounded by the Moors, and from whence he would never have escaped but for the singular heroism of Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, the Admiral of the Fleet; D. Duarte de Menezes, Count of Vianna, and others, who perished to save the life of the King.*

D. Alfonso then retreated towards Tetuan, and from thence to Ceuta, where he created the son of the deceased Count of Vianna, Count of Valença and Loulé. On returning to Portugal, D. Alfonso V. started on a pilgrimage to Guadalupe, where he had an interview with Henrique IV. of Castille and the Queen D. Joanna, when projects of marriage were discussed, but which were not realised.

The most ardent desire of Alfonso V. was to take revenge for the disaster which had occurred to him in Benacofu, but years passed before he was able to realise this warlike yearning. At length, on the 15th

* The body of the Count of Vianna was cruelly dismembered by the Moors, so that only a finger was found. This small portion was brought to Portugal and preserved in the rich mausoleum which the Countess erected in the convent of S. Francisco de Santarem. This precious monument at the present day serves as the partition wall of the stables in the Artillery Barracks of the now profaned church of S. Francisco.

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August, 1471, D. Alfonso appointed the Duke of Braganza Governor of the Kingdom, and embarked in Setubal with the prince D. João, and headed a fleet composed of 28 ships, furnished with 24,000 men.

This numerous squadron reached the shores of Tangiers, but owing to the roughness of the sea the army were unable to land; hence the ships proceeded to the stronghold of Arzilla, some seven leagues to the west of Tangiers. The surging of the ocean and the efforts of the Moorish soldiers rendered the landing a difficult one, and resulted in the loss of a galley, some caravels and crafts, and the death of nearly 200 men; among them, eight fidalgos. The stronghold was then laid under siege and the camp was struck, and after three days the whole of the troops effected the landing without meeting opposition from the Moors. The first to land were the Counts of Marialva and Monsanto, followed by the King. The rampart walls were then bombarded by the Portuguese, and so great was the desire for war that oftentimes the combat became undisciplined, and at times the King thought all was lost, and he even promised to send his statue in silver as an offering to Our Lady of Espinheiro of Evora, a vow which he fulfilled later on, when he sent an equestrian statue in silver.

The Portuguese succeeded in capturing the mosque from the Moors, although it cost them much bloodshed and the life of D. João Coutinho, Count de Marialva. When this conquest was effected, they proceeded to take the castle, and so great was their haste to do this, that, without awaiting scaling ladders to be set up against the walls, the soldiers, with lances and staves, climbed up the walls and towers. In the courtyard of the castle the combat grew fierce. In this encounter gloriously perished the Count de Monsanto and D. Alvaro de Castro. After taking the castle followed the occupation of the city, the chronicler calculating that two thousand Moors were slain and five thousand taken captive. The loss to the Portuguese was much smaller, but nevertheless it was relatively great.

Ruy de Pina tells us that the city was sacked and delivered up as a siege of war, its value being estimated at 80,000 gold doubles. The King would not retain any plunder of war, but allowed the soldiers to have it all without demanding the usual royalty.

D. Alfonso had fought with undoubted valour and always in the front ranks. The prince D. João likewise had given proofs of heroism and bravery, although but sixteen years of age. Indeed, both King and Prince had fought like simple soldiers, and their swords were blood-

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stained to the hilt. D. Alfonso V. felt that he could not choose a better occasion for knighting his son. The mosque was purified and consecrated, and transformed into a church under the invocation of Our Lady of the Assumption. The clergy awaited the Royal personages, and with psalms and hymns of triumph conducted them to the spot where the slain body of the Count de Marialva had been laid, covered with a cross. Turning to his son, with tears in his eyes, D. Alfonso V. pointed to the dead man and said: "My son, may God render you as good a knight as he who lies at your feet." Then he proceeded to knight him. On this same occasion D. Alfonso V. conferred the title of Count de Marialva on the brother of the deceased knight, D. Francisco, and the title of Count of Monsanto on D. João de Castro, the son of the late D. Alvaro.

Within the castle they found fifty Christian prisoners, who were all restored to liberty, and two women, and a son and daughter of Muley, the Sheik of Arzilla, who was absent, engaged in civil wars, when his city was besieged and taken. Muley subsequently ascended the throne of Fez. A governor was then named for the newly acquired Portuguese stronghold, this important charge being given to D. Henrique de Menezes, Count de Valença.

In this way, after 220 years that the Moors had held Arzilla, it fell into the power of the Portuguese. Arzilla was one of the finest possessions of the Moors in Africa, embellished by imposing buildings, a most flourishing commerce, and the cultivation of the sciences, and held arsenals and military establishments. Its inhabitants had often caused serious losses to the Christians of Ceuta and Alcacer. Beneath the Portuguese sceptre its population considerably increased, not only on account of the garrison and a permanent border guard, but likewise by reason of the many merchants who established themselves there, in order to trade with the rest of Africa. Moreover, as the territory of Arzilla was most fertile, the city attained great prosperity.

The city of Arzilla was already occupied by the Portuguese when the King of Fez arrived to succour the Africans. Finding that it was too late to save the place, he besought the King of Portugal to enter into negotiations for a truce of twenty years. This was actually effected, but which excluded the strongholds, which might be taken and retaken without holding the treaty broken.

But the Moors were so terrified at the sudden capture of Arzilla by the Portuguese that the defenders of Tangiers abandoned the city.

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This fact appeared so incredible to D. Alfonso V. that he sent the future Marquis of Montemor, at the head of a numerous army, to investigate the truth of this news. He returned with a confirmation of the fact, and a few days later Alfonso V. entered, without meeting any resistance, that very stronghold where his best warriors had been defeated, and which had been the cause of so many disasters. Nevertheless, D. Alfonso was not satisfied. For him, the veritable hero of the romances of chivalry, to enter triumphantly into a fortified place without being by the sword, lost a great part of its glory; and he felt almost humbled as he thought that it had not been necessary to unsheath his sword to conquer a city from whence he had, a few years previously, retreated full of sadness. It seemed to him that his mission had not been fulfilled as avenger of the misfortunes of his uncle, the Infante D. Ferdinand, and that those walls ought to have been conquered by sheer force, which had twice over been the sepulture of so many noble Portuguese.

He appointed Ruy de Mello, who subsequently became Count de Olivença, commander of the place. The mosque was transformed into a cathedral-church, because Tangiers was already a bishopric *in partibus infidelium*, the titular bishop being the Dean of S. Vicente of Lisbon, who now took possession of his episcopal charge.

Two other important cities with their adjoining territories were added to the Portuguese dominions in the north of Africa. In the States of Barbary, from whence had come the invasion which had inundated the whole of Spain, the Portuguese flag waved over four strongholds and fortified places, viz., Ceuta, Alcacer-Seguer, Arzilla, and Tangiers. For this reason, D. Alfonso V. judged it justifiable to adopt the title which his son, D. João II., and his nephew, D. Manuel, were still to increase—"D. Alfonso V., by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarves, on this side and beyond seas in Africa." This title he had won by his brave sword. From Tangiers he went on to Silves, and from thence returned to Lisbon, where Alfonso V. and his son received a most enthusiastic welcome from the people.

But among those who had taken part in the glorious conquest of Arzilla and the subsequent possession of Tangiers, the brave form of D. Henrique is wanting. Two years after he had wielded his brave sword of Ceuta before Alcacer-Seguer, the Infante D. Henrique died in Sagres on the 13th November, 1460. He was the last of the sons of D. João I., of that heroic generation which performed such grand

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deeds, and he, the greatest, was the last to descend into the grave and disappear from the scene of this world. He left the completion of his task to others, but nevertheless his name will ever be immortal. The new actors who followed were also moulded for working glorious deeds. Portugal was still further to extend the path of the capital in the persons of the sons and grandsons of the noble sons of D. João I.; but, however great their deeds might be, they only followed the impulse given by these chivalrous men, by these epic giants. In all the heroic deeds which we shall have further on to narrate, we must always turn our eyes back to the past to find the primary cause, in the epoch of D. João I. In following step by step the discovery of the new road to India, we must ever reverently bend before the form of the Infante D. Henrique, as likewise we must bear in mind in the taking of Arzilla, that the first canto of that African heroic poem, continued by D. Alfonso V., was inscribed with the sword of D. João I. on the conquered walls of the fortress of Ceuta.

By order of his nephew, D. Alfonso V., the remains of the Infante were translated to the church of Batalha.

A year later the Duke of Braganza died, to whose title and inheritance succeeded D. Fernando, Marquis de Villa Viçosa, his second son. The Infanta D. Catharina, sister of the King, also died about this time. She was rightly called the "hapless bride," as she was about to wed D. Carlos, the Prince of Navarre and Aragon, when he died, and she then entered the monastery of Santa Clara of Lisbon, from whence she was to leave to marry King Edward of England when a fever assailed her, which terminated mortally. Another Portuguese Infanta died about this epoch—D. Joanna, daughter of D. Alfonso V., who is surnamed "the Saint." Ruy de Pina informs us that she entered the monastery of Odivelos at the age of eighteen, but from her cradle she was sworn heiress of the Crown, as there was no male succession, and therefore the title of princess was given to her. This lady was very pious from her tenderest years, and refused all offers of marriage proposed to her. D. Alfonso V. desired to marry his daughter to the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XI., then to Maximillian, son of the Emperor Frederick and of D. Leonor of Portugal, and later on to Charles VIII., King of France, and lastly to Henry VII., King of England. This saintly princess bequeathed all her wealth to the convent, and even to this day is preserved the cell she occupied. She died on 12th May, 1490.

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In the year 1472 the prince-heir to the throne of Portugal, and successor of Alfonso V., married D. Leonor, the eldest daughter of the Infante D. Ferdinand, and therefore cousins.

When the King of Castille, Henrique IV., was apprised of the marriage of the prince D. João of Portugal with D. Leonor, he feared that his sister, D. Isabel, who had married the King of Sicily, should come to dispute the power, as the heiress of the throne of Castille was considered by many to be illegitimate, and was ironically called the "Beltraneja." He desired to form an alliance which would assure a direct line of succession.

With this object he endeavoured to form this alliance by wedding D. Joanna to D. Alfonso V. of Portugal, and sent for the purpose various embassies to Portugal. This proposal was enthusiastically received by the King of Portugal, who nurtured the idea of uniting the two kingdoms under one crown, and, in fact, becoming the King of the whole Spanish Peninsula.

A meeting of the Kings of Portugal and Castille took place on the frontiers of Alemtejo, and the proposal was definitely accepted of the marriage of Alfonso V. with his niece D. Joanna, despite the protests of D. Isabel, sister of Henry IV., and consort of Ferdinand, King of Sicily, who had married against the wish of her brother.

Notwithstanding the accord, many obstacles arose to the marriage, proceeding principally from fear of future wars with D. Isabel, who styled herself Princess of Castille, and whose cause was defended by many powerful Castillian magnates. Hence during the lifetime of Henrique IV. this marriage could not take place. At his death he left in his testament a declaration that D. Joanna was his daughter, and heiress of the kingdom of Castille, and appointing the King D. Alfonso to govern these States, beseeching him to accept the said government and marry the princess.

In Portugal opinions were divided. The prince D. João maintained that the King should wed D. Joanna, and at once enter Castille to revindicate his supposed rights. The Archbishop of Lisbon and the Marquis of Villa Viçosa opposed this opinion. Then an arbitrator was chosen to conciliate both opinions, and an ambassador was sent to Castille to gain information as to the number and importance of adherents to the cause of D. Joanna.

This envoy returned to Portugal with favourable accounts respecting the partisans of the Infanta, and Alfonso V. resolved finally to

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enter Castille, ordering preparations of war to be made for the following spring of 1475, at the same time sending Ruy de Sousa to apprise D. Isabel and her husband of his resolve, to which they replied, bidding him respect their rights and not enter into the kingdom which belonged to them.

The prince D. João daily instigated his father to make war on Castille, because his daring spirit loved warlike adventures; but fearing the lavish expenses which the King would incur with this war, he obtained from D. Alfonso V. a document wherein he declared that all gifts and donations which he might bestow on any individual of a higher sum than 10,000 reis, unless signed, consented to, and approved by his son the prince, would be of no value.

The Portuguese finances were truly in a deplorable state in this year, when war was declared with Castille. Alfonso V. was compelled to ask loans from his vassals, and to raise money on the treasury for orphans, which, later on, was paid back by D. João II.

At length Alfonso V. entered into Castille with 14,000 infantry and 5,600 cavalry. The prince D. João accompanied the King to Castille, and then returned to the kingdom.

In the city of Placensia the King D. Alfonso V. met his niece D. Joanna and the nobles of her suite, and there and then betrothed her, and both were proclaimed and sworn to as King and Queen of Castille ere the marriage was realised, owing to the dispensation from the Pope not having arrived.

At this place it was resolved that the Portuguese army should proceed forward to the city of Toro, and place the castle under siege. The monarchs of Castille, in order to animate the resistance, came in person, and pitched their camps along the river Douro, near the city. But the siege was so close that the King of Castille raised the camp and withdrew to Valladolid. This event disheartened those who followed the party of Fernando and Isabel, and the castle of Toro surrendered to the King of Portugal.

Alfonso V. proceeded to Samora, where the Archbishop of Toledo awaited him, and left the Queen there while he went on to Burgos, in order to take the castle. On his way he took the town of Baltenas, and imprisoned the Count de Benavente, and desisted, for the time being, from proceeding upon Burgos, but sent some men to take the town of Cantalapedra, which they succeeded in doing.

Meanwhile the prince D. João remained, governing the kingdom

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with singular energy and prudence, as he had to attend to numberless urgent affairs, the least of which was certainly not that of sending money for defraying the expenses of the army of his father.

About this time a Castillian knight took by assault the town of Orguella, close to Campo Mayor, and the Infante at once sent some of his men to retake it. Alfonso V. then withdrew to Samora, where he had left the Queen for the winter, sending for the Prince-heir to come to him, as he had business affairs of State to confer with him. D. João was hastening to obey his father, and had already gone as far as Miranda do Douro, when Alfonso V. sent word that there was a plot in which he should fall a victim if he passed the bridge of Samora, and therefore to withdraw to Portugal. This bridge had two towers, one on each end, and the governors of these forts had combined to hem in the Prince-heir, with his suite, when crossing the bridge. This was the treacherous plot which awaited him. Alfonso V., in his indignation, attacked the Castillians, and from this fact he learnt that he could not depend on the loyalty of the inhabitants of Samora; therefore, he removed to Toro, where the Alcaide received him graciously.

The Prince-royal was exceedingly grieved at this attempt on his life, and sought to take revenge for it. He retired to the city of Guarda and summoned a council, wherein it was resolved to send further aid to D. Alfonso V., and for this object it became necessary to take all the silver from the churches and monasteries, excepting such as was actually indispensable for divine service. Loans were also raised among private people, yet all this was done, says Ruy de Pina, amid the wailings and sorrow of the people. The prince, having prepared all things, nominated his wife regent of the kingdom, and departed in the month of January, 1476, for Castille, to join his father, the King, and strengthen his army, and on his way sacked the town of San Felizes and took it.

Meanwhile the King D. Fernando and the Queen D. Isabel entered Samora and laid siege to the castle, which was in favour of the King of Portugal. The desire of D. Alfonso was to fly to the aid of the fortress, which D. Fernando was disputing inch by inch. But on the arrival of the Prince at Toro this idea was abandoned, and instead they beleaguered the bridge on the other side of the river, thus causing D. Fernando and the people of the city great mischief.

The Queen D. Joanna remained in Toro, guarded by some fidalgos, and the King and Prince pitched their camps in some fields

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adjacent to the bridge. Then envoys of the King of Castille joined the emissaries from the King of Portugal on an island of the river Douro, in order to endeavour to effect some conciliation between the two monarchs, but all to no purpose. D. Alfonso, wearied out by these long delays, and fearing want of resources, withdrew with his army to Toro, trusting that he would be soon followed by D. Fernando, when some occasion would present itself for combating. But the army of D. Fernando, suspecting some treachery, delayed to follow Alfonso V., a portion of whose army had already entered the city of Toro, when the men of Castille approached.

The Portuguese army was then divided into two corps—one commanded by the King and the other by the Prince. Alfonso V. then harangued the soldiers and proceeded to battle, the length of the river being occupied by the royal standard of Ferdinand the Catholic; "but not his person," says Damião de Goes, "because he wished to save himself following the advice of his own, and proceeded to a height, accompanied by some of his best men, in order to save himself, should the issue of the battle be against him." "When the two armies," he continues, sighted one another, a king-at-arms of D. Ferdinand approached to challenge D. Alfonso V. to battle, to whom the King of Portugal replied: 'Tell the Prince of Sicily that it is high time we should meet and not be sending challenges.' The day was declining, dark clouds covered the heavens, and a dense drizzling rain was coming down: the Prince D. João, following the advice of his father, attacked the five small wings to the cry of Saint George and Saint Christopher, while D. Pedro de Menezes attacked the sixth wing, the first to break through the enemy's ranks being Gonçalo Vaz de Castello-Branco."

The Castillians were unable to resist the impetuous attack of the most brilliant portion of the Portuguese nobility. Their ranks were broken, with great loss of men and many wounded, and the survivors rushed to the centre of the army, where the royal standard waved.

Alfonso V. and his followers, headed by the Count de Faro, were already involved with the enemy, combating as usual in front of his hosts, and exposing himself with heroic indifference. The combat continued for an hour, and the victory was still undecided, when the left wing of the army of D. Ferdinand, commanded by the Cardinal of Castille and the Duke of Alva, rushed to strengthen the royal battle. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Count de Monsanto, who were in the rearguard with their own men and the divisions of the Duke de

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Guimarães and of the Count de Villa Real, as soon as they perceived the movement of the Castillians, advanced promptly to reinforce the King, and the battle grew fiercer than ever.

But an event now took place which assigned the victory to the Castillians. The greater number of the men in armour and horsemen, and the close column of musketeers and the warriors of Alfonso V., became disorganised in the Portuguese ranks. The royal standard, forsaken by its defenders, despite the desperate bravery of the ensign, Duarte de Almeira, fell into the power of the enemy.

When Alfonso V. beheld the royal standard torn down and the soldiers in disorder, he endeavoured to rush into the enemy's ranks in order to find a glorious death; but the Castillian knight, Juan de Porraz, D. Gomes de Miranda, the Prior of San Martino, and the Count de Caminha, D. Pedralvares de Soutomayor, and other knights would not permit him to do so. The night was darksome and stormy, and fearing to meet on the road some of the Castillian forces which might prevent him entering into Toro, they fled towards Castro Nuño, whose alcaide was Pedro de Mendanha.

A great number of Portuguese perished while crossing the Douro in their endeavours to retreat to the city of Toro. This was the greatest loss sustained. Some Spanish writers compute the loss at 1,200 men.

Meanwhile the prince D. João, on knowing the defeat of his father, endeavoured to muster together the Portuguese who had gone in pursuit of the enemy, and called together the fugitives by lighting bonfires and sounding clarions. He continued on the battle-field till day-dawn, intending to offer a new battle to the Castillians; but the army of Ferdinand the Catholic retreated during the night as soon as they were aware that the King had retired to Samora. The prince D. João wished to remain three days on the battle-field, but the Archbishop of Toledo persuaded him that by being three hours he would fulfil perfectly the exigencies of honour. On the following day the Prince entered Toro, where he found the deplorable relics of the central Portuguese army, and where he was relieved in mind on finding his father the King safe, since he had judged his life had been sacrificed in the battle.

We said above that the royal flag had been torn despite the bravery of D. Duarte de Almeida. This brave knight found himself surrounded by a host of lances, against whom he dexterously defended himself, but a slash cut his right hand off, then with the left he grasped the royal



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standard, another slash deprived him of his left, and grasping with his teeth the flag, he still resisted, his eyes blazing with fierce energy, mutilated, yet with undaunted heroism. The Castillian soldiers who surrounded him, actuated by fierce passions, covered him with blows, until at length the ensign fell to the ground exhausted and dying. But the standard had not yet been altogether lost. A Portuguese shieldbearer meets the Castillians carrying it in triumph, and actuated by a generous impulse he plucks it from the hand of the Castillian and rushed back with it to the Portuguese army. This shieldbearer was Gonçalo Pires. But Duarte de Almeida was not dead, and he was conducted to the enemy's camp, where his wounds were attended to, and then sent to a hospital in Castille. After many months he returned to Portugal. While in Castille he was greatly honoured by the King Ferdinand, who ordered the arms belonging to Duarte de Almeida to be hung up in the cathedral of Toledo, and although a prisoner he was treated in Samora with the highest distinction. In Portugal he was allowed to add the name of Bandeira to his surname.

Notwithstanding the many deeds of valour practised by the Portuguese in the battle of Toro, and the small importance of this war in a military point of view, which cannot be considered as one of those terrible wars between two inimical armies which profoundly alter the fate of peoples and nations, the cause of Alfonso V. and Joanna was lost on the Castillian battle-field of Toro.

As will be seen by the hurried sketch we have given, a deep hopelessness took possession of the spirit of Alfonso V. He wished to seal by suicide the stormy period of his pretensions to the Crown of Castille. "It is fully admitted," writes Rebello da Silva, "that in the battle-field of Toro was decided the cause of the two rival princesses, and fortune smiled on the husband of D. Isabel, and that Alfonso V., after risking his life in the vanguard of his lances, not as a king and a general, but as a knight who is perfectly indifferent to the greatest dangers, beheld his squadrons broken up, his standard trailing on the ground, and his adversaries victorious.

"In that supreme moment he desired to die, and, spurring his horse to the centre of the Castillian strength, would certainly have ended, like D. Sebastian in Alcacer, his career of foolhardy adventures, pierced through by his enemies, had not the Count of Caminha and other Portuguese and Spanish fidalgos prevented him, and well-nigh forcibly removed him from the scene of the defeat, and by a side path conducted

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him to Castro Nuño, whose alcaide, Pedro de Mendanha, possessed his entire confidence."

Hence it is certain that the battle of Toro did not command a military importance sufficient to positively resolve a great international question. "Therefore," continues Lopes de Mendoça, "the battle of Toro, in which both adversaries proclaimed themselves conquerors, may at first have seemed decisive as regards the actual question at issue, nevertheless it was no more than a success of war sufficiently doubtful for either party, and insignificant for resolving so grave a strife, were it not that the cause of D. Alfonso V. was already virtually lost by the successive defection of his partisans, by the national repugnance for Portuguese dominion, and by the influence which Isabella was daily gaining among the popular classes.

"An event occurred which at once imparted an incontestable superiority to Isabella. Acclaimed Queen of Castille and Leon in Segovia, on the 13th December, 1474, she immediately took possession of the treasury of the kingdom, which had been entrusted to André Cabrera, and was kept in the fortress of that city. The co-operation of this individual at this difficult juncture was considered so important that Oviedo does not hesitate to affirm that he could have made a Queen of the Princess Isabel or the Princess Joanna, whomsoever he should approve.

"Hence Isabella, from the beginning of the war, had more resources at command than Alfonso V., and by skilfully employing these means she was able to draw to her party the principal representatives of an avaricious, corrupted aristocracy, which, during the reigns of D. Juan II. and Henrique IV., had become veritable *Condottieri*, offering their sword to the party which could better subsidise their services."

And, in truth, D. Alfonso V. was forsaken by the Castillian grandees, who at first had followed the cause of D. Joanna, the only one who continued faithful being the Archbishop of Toledo.

The prince D. João returned to Portugal in despair at the result of this affair, in which he had deeply involved himself.

D. Alfonso remained in Castille, without forces, without hope; and he even endeavoured to lay a snare for the Queen D. Isabel when she passed from Madrigal to Medina, appealing for aid to Louis XI. of France, with whom he desired to form an alliance for this purpose, and actually returned to Portugal, and from thence proceeded in person to France.

Alfonso V. departed from Lisbon with a fleet of sixteen ships and

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2,200 men, and a suite of 480 fidalgos, in the month of August, 14[illegible]. Fearing lest the powerful fleet of D. Ferdinand in the Bay of Biscay should offer him some affront, he did not proceed that way, as he had intended, but by the Mediterranean, and landed at Marseilles.

The fleet was driven to harbour at Lagos, where a French squadron commanded by M. de Coulon, offered Alfonso V. homage, and whom he received splendidly, and thanked him for the aid he had offered him some time previously at Ceuta, when it was doubly assailed by the Castillians and the Moors. From Lagos he went on to Ceuta, and from Ceuta to France, but meeting stress of weather, was unable to land at Marseilles, as he had intended, and went on to Collioure, where he dismissed the Portuguese ships, and was received by an envoy from the King of France.

From Collioure he proceeded to Perpignan, where he was received by the local authorities with signal honours. From Perpignan he went on to Narbonne, Montpellier, Besiers, and Nimes, following on towards Leon, and on the road the Duke of Bourbon came to meet him. D. Alfonso did not enter Leon, owing to the pestilence then raging, but in Rouen he received another envoy from the King, who was sent to welcome him. After this he went to Bruges, where he rested for several days, and fresh envoys from Louis XI. were sent to attend on him. The place assigned for the meeting of the two monarchs was Tours, and to that city Alfonso V. proceeded; but Louis XI., on the pretext of a pilgrimage, left various of his Court to receive the Portuguese King. The King of France undoubtedly wished to prepare scenic effects, and render his presence greatly to be desired and sought for.

When Alfonso was told that Louis XI. was approaching, he wished to come out on the road to meet him, or at least on the staircase, but the King of France sent forward two noblemen before him to dissuade Alfonso V. from carrying his courtesy to such a length. In this act is perfectly revealed the character of Louis XI. He had made himself desired and waited for, but now he manifested himself deeply courteous and almost humble. This trait is eminently characteristic of the King as he is traced before us by historians, and even by romancers. His reign was a daily combat, as Augustin Thierry tells us, for the cause of unity of power and social equality, but a combat sustained in the manner of savages, by craft and cruelty. From thence, observes this historian, results that mixture of interest and repugnance which is excited in us when studying this character so strangely original.

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At length the two monarchs met in a drawing-room. The *mise-en-scene* of this interview is curious. "The King of France," says Ruy de Pina, "entered with a skull-cap on his head, having thrown off his hat and two large hooded cloaks. He was arrayed in a short tunic of common cloth, and from his waist-band hung a long sword with steel ornamentation; around his neck a scarf of yellow camlet, and breeches of white, embroidered in many colours; top boots and spurs. Both Kings, with caps in hand, bent low and embraced one another."

As may be perceived, besides its originality, the *toilette* of the King of France was far from magnificent. To this is added a certain tone of humility which well befitted at the present moment this great diplomatist of the fifteenth century, to attract towards him his unwary victim.

After some time spent in general conversation, the two sovereigns withdrew to a chamber, where Louis XI. proposed to Alfonso V. what he judged he ought to do. First—"That the Portuguese monarch should ask of the Duke of Burgandy, who was then at war with the Duke of Lorraine, to help him against Castille, or at least pledge himself not to attack the King of France, who was in favour of the Duke of Lorraine, so long as Louis XI. should war in favour of the King of Portugal."

The enmity existing between the King of France and the Duke of Burgandy was long and violent. This duke had deprived the Duke of Lorraine of his states, and the latter was secretly aided by Louis XI. against the common enemy.

"When D. Alfonso V.," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "innocently desired to reconcile these two implacable adversaries, the Duke of Burgandy had besieged the city of Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, which declared for its legitimate lord. Louis XI. laughed *dans sa barbe* at the attempt which the innocent Alfonso V. was about to make, and probably expected it would somewhat illude Charles of Burgandy; meanwhile that his troops were secretly joining those of the Duke of Lorraine, and he waited, like the sinister raven, for the first sounds of a defeat to pounce upon the prize of the battle-field and revel with its possession. Charles of Burgandy had one only child, a daughter, and Louis XI. hoped, with some good reason, to clutch the inheritance."

Secondly—That Alfonso V. obtain from the Pope the necessary Apostolic dispensation for marrying his niece, D. Joanna, in order that

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he should be able to "aid him with less responsibility," says Ruy de Pina.

This was one other *ruse* of Louis XI., as he was well aware that Ferdinand and Isabella would place great difficulties in Rome. It was a means adopted for delay, and a palliative expedient.

At that time Louis XI. was perfectly aware of the chivalrous credulity of Alfonso V. He, therefore, commenced to make him promises and offers. He told him that the Castillians were always ready to sell their strongholds, hence that it would be better for him to purchase than to capture them. That he might reckon upon any sum he should require for that object.

In order to win the dispensation for the marriage of Alfonso V. with his niece, D. Joanna, an embassage departed for Rome, composed of three representatives from the King of Portugal, who were animated by the best faith, and two representatives from the King of France, who naturally carried private instructions for the Pontiff.

Meanwhile, Alfonso V. departed for Nancy in order to interview the Duke of Burgandy, who, as we have said, was at war with the Duke of Lorraine, and had encamped in Lower Germany.

Historians are divided as regards the manner in which Alfonso V. was received by the Count of Burgandy, son of Philip the Good. The Portuguese historians narrate this memorable interview as follows.

Alfonso V. arrived to the camp on the 29th of December, 1476. The days were numbered of the turbulent drama of the existence of the son of Philip the Good. His fidalgos were discontented, the soldiers wearied out, and treachery was involving him in its toils, because a Neapolitan, the Count de Campo Basso, in whom he placed implicit confidence, had already come to some understanding with the enemy. Notwithstanding all these doubts which assailed him, Charles amiably welcomed the King of Portugal. "They embraced each other," says Schœffer, "on the river covered with ice. The Duke, when informed of the designs of Alfonso, afforded him a clear knowledge of the character of the King of France. He represented him as one bereft of faith or virtue. In order to further prove his words, it sufficed to mention a fact. Whilst Louis was counselling Alfonso, this excellent prince who was solely actuated by peace and friendship, to proceed to Nancy, he was at the same time sending a numerous army to support the Duke of Lorraine. 'But,' added Charles of Burgandy, 'I hold the King of France in such small esteem, that with alone a page I would

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not hesitate to make war to him and gain the victory.' Nevertheless, whereas the King judged an alliance with Louis to be both desirable and advantageous, he would not stand in his way, and manifests himself favourable to his guest, and promised not only to maintain peace and friendship between them, but also fulfil all engagements which, at the bidding of Alfonso, he had contracted with the King of France. Then Alfonso departed for Paris, where Louis had invited him."

So far the Portuguese historians as narrated by Schœffer. M. de Barante gives a diverse account of the conference. According to him, "D. Alfonso V. found a prince unwilling to listen to his reasons. The Duke, as an only reply to his projects of peace and concord, proposed to him to shut himself up with the garrison of Pont-à-Mousson, in order to defend the city against the Duke of Lorraine, who was coming from Switzerland with his army, whilst he went forward to await him before Nancy and combat him.

"The King of Portugal, who had come with no such intention, was amazed at this reception, and at the little sense displayed by the Duke, and excused himself as well as he could by saying that he was not armed and had brought no warriors with him. On the following day he departed."

It is certain that Alfonso was perfectly disheartened, and events followed with fearful rapidity. The Duke of Lorraine arrived, and the Duke of Burgandy, instead of awaiting him on the entrenchments, proceeded to meet him on the open field; the treachery of Campo Basso was proved, and the terrible Swiss manifested their military superiority, and on the 5th January, 1477, Charles the Bold was defeated and slain on the battle-field. D. Alfonso V. at once perceived that his death was a deplorable event for him, and became stricken with sadness, which inspired suspicion in the French, who began to view him with distrust they who previously were so full of joy at this happy success.

Nevertheless, the death of the Duke of Burgandy at first proved beneficial to the affairs of Alfonso V. The Pope, to whom he had sent an embassy beseeching a dispensation for his marriage, had, influenced by Ferdinand of Castille, resorted to delay; but when informed of the death of the Duke of Burgandy, and supposing that Louis XI., delivered from his formidable adversary, would actually aid his Portuguese ally, granted at last the dispensation, but employing a subterfuge: he declared that as this was solely done to please the King of France, he would grant him the dispensation, which he could make use at his good

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pleasure. But the King of France had at this juncture other affairs to think about.

And in effect, as soon as he knew of the death of the Duke of Burgandy, he cast himself like a falcon on the unprotected provinces of his enemy, without taking any notice of the direct heiress, Maria de Burgandy, as though no such person existed. Negotiations, treacheries, gold lavishly spent, and even force of arms—all things did he employ to grasp the greater portion of the spoils of Charles the Bold. He sent to the cities of Burgandy emissaries charged with favouring the annexation, and for this end choosing those who formerly had lived in the ducal court, and among them Philip of Commines. The King removed to Arras, in Picardy, in order to be closer to the diplomatic field of action.

To Arras the King D. Alfonso sent the Count de Penamacor to ask an interview with Louis XI., which was at once granted, with all deference and honours; nevertheless, deeds did not follow promises. On that occasion Louis XI. cared naught for Castille, Portugal, and its wars; Burgandy was all he thought of.

After this interview in Arras, Alfonso V. began to comprehend that he had been no more than a simple dupe in the hands of Louis XI. From Arras, Alfonso went to Honfleur, where he remained the whole month of September a prey to a violent moral strife, which ended in wishing to retire from all worldly greatness and proceed to Jerusalem with the firm purpose of never again returning to Portugal. The whole of this time Alfonso spent in religious exercises and writing private notes, which he carefully locked up in a case of which he alone had the key. These notes were supposed to be a species of codicil or appendix to the testament he had made.

At length, one morning in September, 1477, the King went out riding as usual, accompanied by Soeiro Vaz and Pedro Pessoa, six pages, and two outriders, bidding his chaplain to await him on the road at a given spot, where in effect he joined him. On arriving to the spot, Alfonso V. bade one of the outriders to go back to Honfleur and deliver up to those who had remained in charge of the place the key of the case, in order that they should open it and read what he had left, and forward the contents as directed.

At Honfleur the nobles were beginning to feel some disquietude at the prolonged absence of D. Alfonso V. when the messenger arrived. But astonishment and terror succeeded the first feeling of alarm on reading the purport of the papers he had left behind. Alfonso V. had

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addressed a letter to the King of France, Louis XI., complaining of his bad faith, and that, disheartened and disillusioned of the vanities of the world, he abdicated the crown in favour of his own son, and departed as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in fulfilment of a former vow he had made. Another letter was to his son, the prince D. João, informing him of his resolve and bidding him accept the crown and proclaim himself King. A third letter, most affectionately written, was addressed to the fidalgos who had remained in France, apologising for thus leaving them, and bidding them obey the Count de Faro.

If the grief of the Portuguese was great and bitter, no less was that of Mr. de Lebret, a French noble whom Louis XI. had placed near Alfonso V., and who was responsible for the person of the Portuguese monarch. He upraided the Portuguese for their negligence, and nearly distracted, he sent emissaries in every direction with orders to prevent D. Alfonso V., wherever he might be traced, from departing, but treating him, nevertheless, with all respect and highest deference.

At length he was discovered in a small village on the coast by a Norman nobleman called Robinet-Bœuf. The King, in order better to disguise himself, slept and lived with his servitors, but this Norman noble quickly recognised him, and being in bed asleep, he awakened him, apologising for so doing. This noble proceeded quietly and secretly to summon the villagers, who mustered around the house where D. Alfonso V. had taken up his quarters, and thus prevented his departure. He then sent messengers to the Count de Penamacor, the Count de Faro, Mr. de Lebret, and to Louis XI., to acquaint them of his successful capture. The faithful Portuguese fidalgos hastened at once to the village, where they kissed his hand and weepingly implored him, with Mr. de Lebret, to desist from his project of flight. Meanwhile Louis XI., on receiving the letter from the King of Portugal, feeling somewhat ashamed of being the cause of that sad resolve, and especially distressed at what the world might say of him when it became aware that through his bad faith he had cast into despair so noble and loyal a prince, addressed Alfonso V. a letter full of promises and consoling words, by which he endeavoured to heal the wounds he had himself opened.

Alfonso V. allowed himself to be persuaded, but refused to continue any longer in France. Unwilling to return to Honfleur, he embarked in the bay of the Hogue for Portugal in a small ship which he freighted. Although well satisfied at getting rid of a troublesome guest, Louis XI.

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wished to afford some pomp to his departure and show him some honours in order to disguise before the eyes of the world the perfidy he had been guilty of. A French squadron, commanded by George le Grec, was at once equipped to accompany the ship of the King of Portugal, and quitting the coasts of Normandy in October, 1477, arrived in Cascaes at the middle of November.

Some of the ships composing the fleet, unable to keep together, reached Portugal before the royal one, thus D. João II. was apprised of the arrival of his father. D. João had already been proclaimed king. It is said that D. João II. was strolling on the banks of the Tagus, close to the palace of Santos, accompanied by D. Ferdinand, Duke of Braganza, and D. George da Costa, later on created Cardinal of Alpedrinha, when he was told that his father was approaching Cascaes. He turned and asked his companions what he should do in that event. The Duke replied that the duty of D. João II. was to receive Alfonso V. as his king and father. Then D. João II. stooped, and picking up a stone, cast it on the waves of the Tagus, which for a length of space skimmed the surface of the water. D. George da Costa then whispered into the ears of the Duke, "That stone must not strike me on the head." On the following day he departed for Rome, where he attained to great honours and importance.

In this movement of indignation, in view of the weakness and changeableness of his father, who yielded to the craft of Louis XI., is perfectly manifested the firm, austere character of D. João II.; and it is also comprehensible in him that after the first impression had passed away, he should proceed to receive his father at Olivas, and respectfully deliver up to him his title as King, of which he was already in possession. Such characters as those of D. João II. possess a deep sense of their duty, although to fulfil it they should sacrifice themselves.

Alfonso V. on his part, ashamed of the circumstances which surrounded him and of the vacillations of his own spirit, desired his son to retain the title of King, reserving to himself alone the title of the Algarves and the conquests of Africa, but the Prince would not consent to this.

After residing some time in Lisbon, Alfonso V. withdrew to Montemor-o-Novo, and from thence to Evora, and it is passing strange that after so many broken illusions he should still cherish the idea of actually continuing the war with Castille, which was limited to a few incursions: and of effecting definitely his marriage with D. Joanna.

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The Prince firmly opposed these plans, especially that of his marriage. He insisted, however, upon his father reassuming the sceptre and the crown.

Whilst D. Alfonso V. was vainly soliciting aid from France, which was not actually refused, his partisans in Castille, now completely disillusioned, beheld their cause lost and successively forsook him. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, through the mediation of the King of Arragon, effected a reconciliation with Ferdinand and Isabella. The Castillian fortified places which had espoused the cause of Alfonso V. successively surrendered, and the only ones which remained faithful, owing to the chivalrous fealty of its governors, were the strongholds of Toro, Canta la Piedra, Siete Iglesias, Covillas, and Castro Nuño. The alcaide of Toro was Juan de Ulloa. At his death his widow, Maria Sarmiento, continued to hold the fortress, with singular constancy, assisted by the Portuguese fidalgo, the Count de Marialva. The Castillians, however, succeeded to enter the city by surprise, guided by a certain priest, and the Count de Marialva was forced to withdraw with his troops into the castle of Castro Nuño, and Maria Sarmiento remained enclosed in the castle of Toro within the captured city. Nevertheless she did not surrender. The Queen Isabella came in person to beleaguer her, because Ferdinand had been obliged to proceed to Biscay.

Then took place the singular event of two heroic ladies being placed opposite one another. At first Isabella resorted to gentle means, but her adversary manifested herself constant and unmoved, even alleging that she had pledged fidelity to Alfonso V., and that it was he alone who could release her from her pledge. Then Isabella ordered an assault to take place, but was repulsed. It was only when she found that she had no able men left in the garrison, that aid was not forthcoming from Portugal, that provisions were failing, and that to prolong the resistance was no longer possible, that Maria Sarmiento capitulated, and this capitulation was effected in a most honourable manner, stipulating that all who had taken her part should be reinstated in the full possession of their riches, honours, and privileges.

This honourable capitulation proves, moreover, the generosity of the Catholic sovereigns, who knew how to appreciate the nobleness of soul of Maria Sarmiento, and they ever after held their heroic adversary in the highest esteem and consideration.

Ferdinand then endeavoured to besiege the other strongholds.

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Siete Iglesias surrendered after a siege of two months. Canta la Piedra resisted for three months, and the garrison, which was Portuguese, withdrew to Portugal with all arms and baggage.

But prince D. João, who was preparing meanwhile to continue the war, sent two detachments to the frontier. One body entered through Badajoz, and the other by Ciudad Rodrigo. Such was the devastation they effected in Castille that the Catholic sovereigns hastened at full speed to defend it. D. Ferdinand went to direct the siege of Castro Nuño, the Queen to Badajoz, and the Master of Santiago to Ciudad Rodrigo. Castillian troops invaded Portugal and met with sanguinary reprisals. A fierce war, useless and devastating, desolated the frontier provinces, and the people of the border-line beheld their fields cut up, their villages set on fire, for no definite end or any serious motive, but simply at the beck of an obstinate, fickle King, who, at the time, was meriting from Philippe de Commines the contemptuous designation of "*Ce pauvre roi de Portugal.*"

But the prince D. João perfectly comprehended that Portugal, owing principally to the low state of her finances, was not in a condition to continue an open war with Castille.

The chief Alcaide of the town of Moura, Lopo Vaz de Castello-Branco, tried to revolt against the King of Portugal, because there was a ferment of undiscipline working in the country which was stimulated by the fluctuations of the royal power vested in Alfonso V. Later on it needed the iron character of D. João II. to place things in their former state, and to wrestle with nearly the whole nobility of the country. Lopo Vaz de Castello-Branco paid with his life for the boldness of his proceeding. It was one more manifestation of the character of the prince, who never left the rebellion of his enemies to pass unpunished.

In this unfortunate strife with Castille, Portugal had once again to figure. The case was this: the Countess of Medellim, who followed the cause of the princess D. Joanna, was besieged in her strongholds by the Master of Santiago, of Castille, and besought aid from Alfonso V. In effect Portugal sent succour, the small expedition being commanded by the Bishop of Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes. The Master of Santiago fought the Bishop close to Merida, and the Bishop was vanquished, wounded, and taken prisoner, owing to the disproportion of the two armies, that of Castille being far superior. The guarding of the bishop was entrusted to a Castillian knight, who allowed himself to be suborned,

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and therefore the Bishop D. Garcia de Menezes, although able to fly, retreated to Medellim, where, with the remnants of the expedition, he continued for a long time besieged, until the treaty of peace was effected.

Agitation reigned supreme in both countries, and in both countries likewise the speculators of the occasion did not cease from drawing the greatest possible profit under the circumstances, in the mercenary point of view. This state of things was grave for Portugal, and likewise a source of anxiety to Ferdinand and Isabella. Then were secret negotiations started for peace, even to the point of the Queen of Castille, Isabella, having an interview in Alcantara with her aunt, D. Beatriz of Portugal.

In this interview the first combinations for peace between the two nations were discussed. Later on another interview took place in Alemtejo between the plenipotentiaries of Portugal and Castille, in which it was laid down that the peace should be perpetual. The stipulated conditions were as follows:—

1. That D. Alfonso cease to entitle himself King of Castille and Leon, and Ferdinand and Isabella sovereigns of Portugal.

2. That D. Joanna lose all titles assumed by her, neither styling herself Queen or Infanta, excepting in the event of a marriage with the prince D. João of Castille being effected with her.

3. That the former treaty of peace made with D. João I. should conveniently be revised and modified.

4. That the cities, towns, and castles which had been taken from either kingdom, as well as all prisoners, to be restored, set at liberty, and pardoned.

5. That in respect to certain specified persons and knights, especial capitulations be made, and that the strongholds which may have been erected on the frontiers of either kingdom be demolished.

6. That the sovereignty of Guinea, from Capes Narn and Bojador up to the Indies inclusively, with all adjacent seas, islands, discovered and undiscovered coasts, with their treaties, fisheries, and ransoms, as also the island of Madeira, and the Azores, Flores, Cape Verde, and the conquest of the kingdom of Fez remaining *in solido* and for ever to the King of Portugal, and that the Canary Islands and the kingdom of Granada remain *in solido* to the Kings of Castille and their successors in perpetuity.

7. That, as a further security of this treaty, the Infante D. Alfonso,

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grandson of Alfonso V., when he should attain the age of seven years, to wed the Infanta D. Isabel, the eldest daughter of the sovereigns of Castille, assigning the dowry of the princess and the manner of payment.

8. That, at a stated period of time, D. Joanna and the above-mentioned Infantes be placed as hostages in the town of Moura, under the power of the Infanta D. Beatriz.

9. That the prince D. João, son of the sovereign of Castille, on attaining the age of seven years, wed that lady, who would then take the title of princess, and be adequately dowered; but should the said prince D. João not desire to marry D. Joanna, she would remain free on receiving an indemnification.

10. That Joanna be at once placed as hostage, as above said, or else enter one of the five monasteries which should be specified, and remain there one year of novitiate, at the end of which to choose either to marry or become a nun.

This peace treaty was published in September, 1479; and in virtue of this treaty D. Joanna, losing the title of Queen and Infanta, entered the monastery of Santa Clara of Santarem. She was in her seventeenth year, and she had already experienced all the bitterness of fate; she had already lost all the illusions of youth. She had witnessed the convulsions of civil war, and she had seen that dismal passions would not heed her life so long as the dreams of ambition be realised. In Moura she would be so near her enemies, and would find but a poor protection from her friends! Hence she preferred the convent. Of her own will, but with her heart deeply stricken, she assumed the habit of Saint Clare, and allowed the wealth of her magnificent tresses, which were now her only diadem and crown, to be cut off.

The year of probation passed, and the hapless princess declared that she desired definitely to profess in the Order. There was, however, a moment of hesitation. Suddenly before her youthful eyes passed charming visions of the world she was leaving—its pomps and feasts, its loves and power and riches, all its joys and all its splendour. She withdrew from her lips with trembling hand the chalice she was to drink; but when this was known to the prince D. João, the implacable politician, he hastened to confirm her in her resolves, and speak to her of immortal hopes and the joys of sacrifice. The temptation passed quickly, and Joanna, once again full of resignation, bowed down her young head to allow the symbol and diadem of death—the veil of the spouses of Christ—to be fastened on her brow!

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The sacrifice had been consummated, the vows of her executioners were crowned. The prince D. João could now dream that a stroke of fortune would suffice to clear the path to the throne, by the death of the son of the Catholic Kings, and to encircle the brow of his son D. Alfonso and his daughter-in-law with the crowns of Spain and Portugal. This dream of fate was realised. The beloved child of the Catholic sovereigns died in the flower of its youth, but previous to his death the son of the prince D. João, the Infante D. Alfonso, fell a victim to a dismal disaster.

Ah, if when the powerful King D. João II., with heart torn by anguish, followed along the shores of Santarem the corpse of his beloved son, he had raised his eyes to the latticed windows of the convent of Santa Clara, and could have seen behind the grating the pale, sad form of a poor nun, who in the world had been called D. Joanna, Queen of Castille and Portugal, would it not have been for him a vision of piercing remorse, as the formidable incarnation of Divine vengeance? But this mysterious avengement did not end here. Isabella the Catholic, who so coldly had sacrificed to her ambition and security her hapless niece, saw fate successively wrench from her arms her son D. Juan and her daughter D. Isabel, in the icy clasp of death, in the flower of their youth, and her other daughter, D. Joanna, a victim to insanity! Singular coincidences! Mysterious combinations of darksome shades! But the people, with their good sense, corrected the decrees of the kings and the resolutions of the nobility; the people, who in those days represented, so to say, in the greatest tragedies of history the chorus of the Athenian tragedies, commented with two words upon these hapless plans, and Joanna, from whom the great and the Kings had wrenched all titles, conferred upon her another title, more brilliant, purer, more noble—the title of the Excellent Lady. Meanwhile that to Joanna, the daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, to whom her parents had bequeathed the title of Queen of Spain, and for whom they endeavoured to win the higher title of Empress of the Holy Empire, the people surnamed Joanna the Insane.

The peace of Alcaçova was signed advantageously for Portugal, but the Castillians endeavoured to evade its fulfilment, and resorted to dilatory measures and to new conditions. Alfonso V., angered by disappointments and tortured by the voice of conscience, which accused him of the sad fate he had subjected D. Joanna, wandered

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about the kingdom, leaving its government entirely in the hands of his son. This prince was an individual of another mould, and Louis XI. could not illude him. To the diplomatic subterfuges of the Castillians he replied with a formal intimation of delivering up the Infanta D. Isabel, or consider the war newly declared. This resolve, confirmed by the movements of the army, ended all their delays and hesitations.

D. Alfonso, feeling sad, and depressed by physical and moral ailments, proceeded to Beja to meet his son, in the spring of the year 1481, and had a long interview. He endeavoured, in the first place, to pacify the discords which had commenced between the prince and the house of Braganza, but to his endeavours he only received evasive replies. In the second place, he made known his intention of summoning in Estremoz a Cortes, at the end of the year, in order to definitely abdicate and resign the government, and then retire from the world by withdrawing to the convent of Varatojo, which he had founded near Torres Vedras, and end his days there, as a lay brother, in peace. Ever since the profession in religion of D. Joanna his spirit had been shadowed by sadness.

D. João attempted to dissuade him from his purpose, but D. Alfonso was not to be dissuaded. At the beginning of summer he went to Cintra, the spot of his predilection, but an attack of fever assailed him, which became serious. D. João hastened to his father's bedside, but found him in a dying state. On the 28th August, 1481, D. Alfonso V. expired in the same chamber where he had drawn his first breath, and his remains were transferred to Batalha, where they still lie in their temporary tomb.

The Excellent Lady survived him many years, and died in Lisbon, in the year 1530, at the age of sixty-eight.

In the reign of D. João III. it was permitted her to reside outside the convent, and she came to dwell in the palace of Alcaçova, in Lisbon.

In her will she ordered her body to be buried in the monastery of Veratoja, arrayed in the habit of Saint Francis. She signed her will, "I, the Queen,"* a title of which she had been deprived, but

* A facsimile of this signature may be seen in "Rainhas de Portugal," by Benevides. Her will is found in "Provas da Historia Genealogica," tom. ii., p. 76; and in this same volume, p. 60, is found the "Manifestos dos direitos de D. Joanna ao throno de Castella," as also the description of the persons who composed her household.

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which proves that the hapless princess never resigned herself to the expoliation of which she had been the victim. By her testament may be seen who were the persons that had remained faithful.

Alfonso V., says Schœffer, more a knight than a general, and more a warrior than a monarch, deserved as a man to attract towards him all sympathies. His customs were pure; temperate at table; he led a regular life, his conduct stainless towards his consort, and, after he lost her, drew the esteem of all towards him. He was a lover of science, and honoured all those who pursued it, and all wise men were summoned around him. He possessed a highly cultivated mind, and his tone of voice was musical and authoritative; nevertheless, his spirit, though bright, was not deep, and he often yielded to weakness, and allowed himself to be swayed by passionate impulses. He was not of a sufficiently strong will to be able to rule his spirit with firmness in the affairs of government, and to repel the impulses of unreflecting sentiments, and the seductions of projects nourished by fancy. The virtues which rendered him worthy of love in his private life produced a very different effect in a prince seated on the throne, and even dismal in their consequences to himself and to the country. He was generous and grateful, even to the point of prodigality; his countenance was imposing, and his figure admirably proportioned.

Alfonso V., above all things else, desired two objects in life—the crown of Castille and the possession of the strongholds of Moorish Africa. What forces he had at command he applied to realise these favourite plans. If in these he did not afford to the world any great proofs of his wisdom and tact as a politician and a king, he at least signalised his personal courage as a warrior, in which he was trained, and followed in preference to any other disposition. Had the prosperity of his people been equally his aim, if his energy had been fixed on this point, instead of outside the kingdom, to spend his forces and those of the State, he would have been a benefactor to his people. But Providence still watched over Portugal, and to D. Alfonso V. succeeded D. João II. The change was sudden and violent, and equity laments this want of equilibrium. The death of D. Alfonso V. was lamented by the great rather than by the lowly, because the great received from him many gifts and concessions, the humble but scant justice and were burthened by continued imposts which rendered wars necessary. His son, the King D. João, on the contrary, was beloved by the lowly and detested by the great.



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Vanity and obstinacy were, as a man, his most salient defects, his defects as a king we have already shown. Through vanity and obstinacy he stained the first years of his reign with the death of his uncle, D. Pedro; through vanity and obstinacy he was visited on African shores by disasters which could have been avoided; and through obstinacy and vanity he entered into a badly organised war against Castille, and which he continued to wage even when all elements of success had begun to fail. But history forgives him sufficiently his errors as a monarch and defects as a man when it beholds in him the intrepid knight at the head of the brilliant nobility of Portugal. And when evoking before Arzilla the epic form of D. João I. in Ceuta, acknowledges that his reign is a true parenthesis in the history of Portuguese civilisation and can not do otherwise than offer its homage to that form which so poetically illumines the last expiring rays of chivalry, romantic and adventuresome, which flashes amid the dark shades of the Middle Ages. Alfonso V. was to the Portuguese the last king, so to say, of the Middle Ages, with his chivalrous warlike instincts, and D. João II. rises before us as the first king of the new epoch, astute, political, and despotic. But if the aim he had in view was similar to that of Louis XI., and if the means he made use of were in a great measure also similar, his proceeding, nevertheless, revealed a grand spirit and the frank energy of a man who knows well how to wield the sword.

Although Alfonso V. was certainly greatly preoccupied with his war of Mauritania and did not pay great attention to maritime discoveries, nevertheless discoveries continued, if not very enthusiastically, at least perseveringly. It was during his reign that the Portuguese ships for the first time passed the Equator, and that new constellations on a more splendid horizon were unfolded before the astonished gaze of Portuguese pioneers. The farthest point which was reached during the lifetime of the Infante D. Henrique was Sierra Leone, and to a bay which later on Pedro de Cintra called Santa Maria das Neves (Saint Mary of the Snow). The successful navigator who took the caravels of the Infante to this distance was Alvaro Fernandes, nephew to João Gonçalves Zarco.

But the coast, which extended from the Rio Geba and the Bay of Santa Maria das Neves had not been as yet carefully explored. This exploration was effected by one of the household of D. Alfonso V. called Pedro de Cintra. The narrative of this voyage is given by Luiz de

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Cadamosto, and is appended to the *Navegações*. In the year 1461 or 1462, two caravels departed, commanded by the captain, Pedro de Cintra. After visiting the islands which stand at the entrance of the Geba, and which they found deserted, they followed on to the south, and to a river whose mouth stands about 40 miles from the mouth of the Geba they gave the name of Rio Bessegue, because this was the name of the land-owner through whose territory the river flowed. They then continued demarcating the Cape de Verga, and subsequently that of Sagres, this name being given in memory of the promontory sacred to the genius and the expeditions effected by the Infante D. Henrique.

The Cape Sagres of Guinea marks the limit, according to modern geographical demarcations, between the coast of Guinea, of Cape Verde, and Sierra Leone. It was on this latter coast that Pedro de Cintra found the river to which he gave the name of Saint Vincent, and which at the present day is called in foreign maps Mellacoree. Further down they saw another river, which they called Verde. From thence, continuing to the south, they found a cape, which they called Cape Ledo or Alegre, and which the English call at the present day Cape Sierra Leone. Close to this is Freetown, the capital of the English colony of Sierra Leone, a flourishing city, whose splendour strangely contrasts with the misery of Portuguese colonial cities. The luxuriant aspect of this point induced the Portuguese navigators to call it Cabo Ledo. Towards the interior rises a mountain, to which was given the name of Sierra Leone on account of the roaring which was heard from the storms that frequently burst over the heights. A dense fog constantly hovered around this peak, and produces thunder and lightning, which reverberates for a distance of forty to fifty miles, and this fog is never cleared, even when the sun is at its fiercest.

Below Cape Ledo there were some islands on the sea, to which Pedro de Cintra gave the name of Selvagens (wild), and which the cosmographer Pimentel later on named Bravas, and in modern maps are styled, for a contradiction, Bananas.

Continuing further still to the south, Pedro de Cintra found a river, with yellowish or reddish looking water, and the ground around of the same colour. This river was therefore called Rio Vermelho, or Roxo, and to an adjacent cape and an island, Cape and Red Island.

The extreme point to which Alvaro Fernandes had attained was reached. In the vast inlet where he anchored flowed a river, which

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Pedro de Cintra called Santa Maria das Neves, because it was on its festival that he sighted it.

It was so far that the Infante D. Henrique had driven his caravels, and pursuing the impulse which the vigorous hand of the prince had given to all Portuguese, Pedro de Cintra followed on further, and finding some low sandy islands, he called them Islands of Bancos, and these islands are called generally throughout Europe the Turtle Islands.

The Cape of Sant' Anna was the next promontory demarcated. Subsequently was found the river called Das Palmas, owing to the number of palm-trees growing along the shores. To another river was given the name of Fumas, on account of the smoky fires the natives lit on all sides. Then they reached a cape dominated by a hill, which they called Cabo do Monte. This is the extreme meridianal limit of the coast of Sierra Leone, and here commences the coast of Liberia,* formerly called Malagueta.

A short distance towards the south they doubled another cape, which they called Mesurado, or Cortez. The coast beyond is lined with trees, and a dense wood he found, sixteen miles to the south of Cape Mesurado, Pedro de Cintra named Arvoredo de Santa Maria.

This traveller extended his discoveries two degrees beyond the point to which the ships of the Infante D. Henrique had reached, or, more or less, to the sixth degree, northern latitude.

A fixed date cannot be assigned to this voyage, but it is probable it took place in the year 1462, and certainly must have taken place between 1460 and 1463, because we know it was effected after the death of the Infante D. Henrique, on 13th November, 1460, and previous to the departure of Cadamosto to Italy, on 1st February, 1463.

We have few and vague accounts of the discoveries effected between 1463 and 1469. It appears these were not extended beyond the last points demarcated by Pedro de Cintra. What imparted to them a new impulse was the commercial spirit.

* The change of name was only effected within this century. The name of Liberia was given to nearly the whole coast, owing to the Republic of Liberia being founded, in 1821, by the negroes and mulattoes who had fled from the United States. By purchasing lands this republic became extended, and at the present day is acknowledged by England, France, and the United States; and it is presumed that in time it will assume some importance, in view of its prosperous condition.

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In the year 1470, Fernão Gomes, João de Santarem, and Pedro d'Escobar, with two pilots, Martim Fernandes and Alvaro Esteves, were sent out. Following the coast towards the south, they discovered the coast of Benin, the coast of Calabar, and the coast called Gabão (Gaboon). It appears it was during this voyage that the island of San Thomé and the island of Principe were discovered. The latter island was first called the island of Saint Anthony, and later on changed into that of Principe, when the sugar tributes had been given as appanage to the eldest son of the King. On that occasion, it appears, was also discovered the island called Anno Bom, and probably Fernando Po discovered the island which still bears his name.

As may be perceived, the impulses for discoveries did not proceed solely from the Crown. It was the commercial spirit which ruled, and the great scientific scheme of the Infante D. Henrique was blotted out by D. Alfonso V., in the same manner as the political scheme of the Infante D. Pedro had been likewise ignored by him. It was reserved to D. João II. to continue these traditions, and complete the designs sketched out by the men of the epoch of D. João I. The seed which these had sown was matured by the great man who merited from posterity the glorious surname of the Perfect Prince, but the ingathering was effected by D. Manuel, who merely garnered the fruits of the past and sowed misfortunes for the future.

With the reign of Alfonso V. terminated the Portuguese Middle Ages, and in few countries is the dividing line so deeply and clearly defined which separates the two great periods of the history of humanity—the Middle Ages and modern epoch—as in Portugal.

Alfonso V. was on the throne when Constantinople fell before the arms of the Sultan Mahomet II., and, as is well known, it was this event which historians have selected as the final ending of mediæval times. On all sides, more or less, about that epoch modern royalty commenced to manifest its especial and individual character; and in Portugal, D. Alfonso V. was the last king of the feudal order, and D. João II. the first political king. D. Alfonso V. the last king according to the formula of the Assizes of Jerusalem, merely the first among the nobles; while D. João II. the first king according to the formula of the revived Roman jurisprudence. D. Alfonso V., the friend of Azurara, and the last of the semi-legendary kings of the ancient chronicles; D. João II., the correspondent of Angelo Policiano, the

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first king of classical renaissance. In France, Charles VII. already assumed to cast down feudalism ere Louis XI. had given it the death-blow. In Spain, Henry IV. is the victim of the power of its ricos-homens, which the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella were to irrevocably crush. In Portugal, Alfonso V. commences life as the champion of the nobility against his uncle D. Pedro, the representative of the monarchical idea, and terminates it favouring the pretensions of the powerful lords against the nascent royalty of Ferdinand and Isabella. The last act of his life has for its aim strengthening the alliance of the nobility and the King, by reconciling his son with the Duke of Braganza; and the first act of D. João II. was to erect the scaffold in Evora whereon that same Duke of Braganza, the most powerful and haughtiest of nobles, was to expire. Hence this dividing line had been well marked in Portugal.

When the Middle Ages terminated, the danger which threatened Europe on the East, as it had formerly threatened the West, became dispelled as so much smoke. The formation of the French nationality was principally the obstacle which prevented the Caliphs from passing beyond Poitiers, whilst the formation especially of Spanish nationality was the obstacle which prevented the Sultans from passing beyond Lepanto.

When the Middle Ages terminated, all the germs of the splendid modern civilization were openly developing. The men who were destined to unfold all these brilliant germs were born, or about to be born, and some had even commenced to prepare their fertile labours — Vasco da Gama, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand and Isabella, Luther, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rabelais, Copernicus, Gil Vicente, D. João II., Ariosto—those who wrenched from the ocean unknown worlds, and resolved the last great problems of geography, the emancipation of human thought, the Corypheus of the artistic and philosophical renaissance, the founders of the theatre, the renovators of poetry, the founders of nationalities—in a word, all who in thousands of ways, with the chisel, the palette, the pen, the sword, the telescope, and the compass, gave the human race a powerful, immense impulse, and realised in the sixteenth century the marvellous work of the Renaissance.

What was the part taken by Portugal in this great movement of European civilisation? Coming late on the scene of the world, at the beginning of the twelfth century, Portugal had not to suffer the

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ominous domination of feudalism, which, moreover, never very fully ruled on this side of the Pyrenees.

From the commencement of the Monarchy, royalty always possessed sufficient power to dominate the pretensions of the aristocracy; its wrestling with the clergy was more prolonged and undecided. We have seen in effect at the commencement of the reign of Alfonso Henry and Sancho I. royalty invoked as a protection by the humble against the powerful, and almost from the very cradle of the monarchy do we find this intimate union between the King and the councils. This union reaches its height when the people in arms place the Master of Aviz on the throne; and the nobility and clergy succumb, crushed by that firm, close union. During the reign of Alfonso V. the nobility regains in a great measure its supremacy, but it is the last gleams of the expiring fire; and still protected by the municipalities, the third state, D. João II., following the general tendencies of his epoch, decapitates the heads of those who attempt to lift them above the common level, and in the midst of a submitted and crouching nobility raises the haughty throne whereon D. Manuel fearlessly seats himself.

This one completes the work betraying the alliance: the same will be done in Spain by Charles V.: the people who assisted royalty in the combat is by it victimised, and the great monarchical and religious despotism of the sixteenth century is triumphantly established. But the movement of the spirits is not stopped; reform becomes the great cry of reaction; victorious in the North of Europe, it is smothered in the South by all the united forces of absolutism and theocracy; but the strife continues to wage, and the revolutions of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries newly affirm the despised right of the people, and unfurl over demolished thrones, or bent beneath the yoke of constitutionalism, the august standard of liberty.

END OF EIGHTH BOOK AND OF VOL. II.

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